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PAPER BY K. K. KARNATAWALA

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IN MEMORIAM

Simple goals, disarming courageous journey and hard-working life—Kamabha Gandhi, who died on 12nd February, 1944.

12-2-30

GANDHI AND MARX

IV

I shall now state the basic principles of Marxism as I have understood them. In this connection the first will please excuse me if at any place I have made a confusion between Marx and Marxism or later interpretations of the Marxist doctrine. For I do not write with a scholar's knowledge of the subject.

As stated previously Marx is a materialist like Gandhi and the Advaita Vedantins. But according to Marx the basic principle is that Matter and not the Spirit or Atma. He holds that there is no evidence for believing that matter has its rise from somewhere in, and return to somewhere or substance called the Spirit and that without it the former could not exist. On the contrary, the story of life of the universe and the history of evolution show that for millions and millions of years life did not exist upon our earth, that out of billions of heavenly bodies known to astronomers it is doubtful if it exists in any form anywhere except on this earth. Science traces pretty accurately at what form life first appeared on this earth, how it evolved at different stages and got transformed into millions of types of living organisms, from the most simple cell to the biggest animal and tree, until at last, man, its highest development in existence at present, appeared on the scene. On the basis of this study of science and history, one can safely assert that even when life was not matter was. One cannot say with equal confidence that there was life when matter was not. Hence it is life which has its birth, sustenance and dissolution in matter and not vice versa. What is imagined to be the spirit or Soul,—that is, the capacity to cognize, think, feel, remember, etc.,—is as much a development, arrangement and interaction of material forces as a complicated man-made mechanism, like a robot, or an air-plane which propels itself to an aimed target by a judicious combination of the several energies known to physicists and chemists. There is no pure spirit in the one chosen in the offer. From the smallest single cell to the most

developed human being, ultimately it is all a congregation of matter and material energies, systematized and organized to act in a particular manner. The thinking process is a type of record-making and re-creating produced by the interaction of a series of fine movements in the body. This is possible as long as the body machine is in order. If for any reason the body machine goes wrong it cannot do so, even as a radio set cannot produce any sound if it has got into disorder. There is no more departure of a soul or the spirit from the body when it breaks, than there is any departure of it from a radio set, when it is hopelessly apart. Violence and non-violence, righteousness and sin, truth and falsehood, morality and immorality are mere inhibitions and man-made taboos, and killing, torturing, cheating etc., have no more intrinsic spiritual significance than what is involved in the demolition of a natural object or the destruction or alteration of a man-made object. Objects are produced and maintained with a purpose and can be destroyed and altered for a purpose. The same principle applies whether they are natural or man-made.

Since the time life took the form of man, this species has made a wonderful history of its own. A close study of the various stages of man's evolution indicates the main direction in which he and his social institutions will develop in the future. The progress and passage of man through certain definite phases is inevitable. There is a set order of such phases which it cannot escape from or leap over. Whether man willingly co-operates with nature or obstinately opposes it, the march of progress in a definite order is determined. This is called Determinism in Marxist philosophy with a few words, with its own. What is not to happen shall not happen, and what is to happen is bound to happen. No efforts to change the course of destiny are futile. The way, therefore, should help the destiny to fulfil itself completely and speedily by their willing co-operative drive, so that the germ for the next phase of evolution might develop well. This faith in Determinism is a strong motive-power behind the activities of the Marxists. They believe that they help the course of nature, and thus fulfil its law.

The next marked phase for human society is according to Marxism, the age of capitalism and the rise to power of the proletarian. The

letter is marked out by nature as the agency for accomplishing the overthrow and suppression of the capitalist system. And attempts to put obstructions in the course are doomed to failure.

Not until the dictatorship of the proletariat is fully established and has attained its full stature, will human society be classless and ready for enjoying peace, equality and freedom from war and violence. After Communism is established in the world, there will be no classes and class-conflicts, no private property in the means of production and no room for profiteering. Hence there will be no need for violence also, and so non-violence will come in a natural way. There will also be no need for complicated machinery of government, and the stage will have been set for the birth of the State of Ideal Anarchy, which Gandhiji, in common with other idealists, dreamt of.

Downing men must start to help Nature to fulfil itself. In Nature, it is only the end which counts not the means. So the distinction between so-called law and fact means is unphilosophical. The means must be restricted only for their effectiveness for achieving the end in view. Those who resist the destined course of evolution, whether generally, foolishly or selfishly, must be removed from the way.

Thus necessitates a revolution. A nation-wide general strike is the most potent weapon to accomplish revolution in a capitalist economic order.

Religion and ethics are partly folly and partly deliberate means of controlling simple people. Under their coverings are concealed weapons of expelling the masses. They are spurs to quell the people's power to think and act for themselves, and an attractive outer skin to hide one's selfishness.

Gandhiji's emphasis on God and Religion helped the feudal and capitalist rulers, and his emphasis on non-violence and praise of ideal anarchy misdirected the people in the immediate task before them, namely the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Moreover, his philosophy of opposition to industrialism and return to the *shramika* and village industries was negation of progress and a reactionary rejection of the achievements of science. Since the world will not go back, Gandhiji was a failure himself and Gandhism is bound to fail.

Thus, according to Marxists, Gandhism is incompatible with Communism. It is also incompatible with it, because of its emphasis on non-violence, which is a distant stage, and its recognition of the irrational belief in God and Religion, — the chief of the feudal and capitalist orders. The truth according to Marxist theory is there can be neither a revolution nor a government, without resorting to violence; and without revolution and the power of the State, Communism cannot be established. So Communism will have to be brought about by

establishing a dictatorial State of the proletariat through a violent revolution.

I hope this will be accepted as a fair representation of the Marxist doctrine. The Gandhian position, vis-a-vis this, I shall try to elucidate next week.

Bombay, 22-2-63

K. G. MANJUNATHA

GOVERNMENT AND MUNICIPAL NEWSPAPERS

[The following article by Shri Purushottamdas Kothaki refers to an important and serious matter. There is no valid answer to it, and the place which are usually made for and arising promptly in the matter are based on consideration of its economic consequences on the whole class people. The Caste Hindu and the middle class people have neither the willingness nor the leisure to personally take part in uncovering and cutting shortness of their shortcomings. They therefore, have only one course open to them, that is, of getting it done on wages. And newspapers of the middle class being limited they follow the principle of first paying the body and the mind, that of safeguarding the interests of their own class to the extent of the level. Thus, primary school teachers and municipal workers are the main victims of this policy.]

Urban municipalities decide to collect their taxes from the people in the form of grants, debt and personal labour and not restrict themselves to accepting money only and also to pay the remuneration of their staff partly in kind. I am afraid this could mean that class war will remain a permanent feature of society — K. G. M. J.

Every day brings fresh troubles and hardships to the municipal workers. Their utterly helpless condition to which they are reduced is shocking and a standing disgrace to both the Government and society. This problem is an old one. During the British regime efforts to improve their lot met with little success, because the rulers were not sufficiently interested in the matter. The problem was clouded off with sympathetic assurances.

Thereafter Mahatma Gandhi and Shri Thakkarbhai came on the scene, and with the view of tackling the problem of Harijans from all sides founded the Harijan Sevak Sangh. It drew the attention of municipalities and other public bodies to the deplorable conditions under which sweepers lived and carried on their occupations with little or no remuneration. Their efforts brought some relief, but still much remained to be done.

After the installation of popular ministries in 1937 the Bombay Government issued a circular recommending that the municipal workers should be treated as permanent employees and as such they should be granted all available privileges and facilities. The effortful Harijan workers in the districts of Kutch and Ahmedabad met with some success. Some of the municipalities of these districts implemented the recommendations of the Government. But the main problem remains as unsolved as ever.

The Government has shown considerable alertness and skill in solving many other difficult problems. But so far as this problem is concerned, they have adopted a policy of delay. It is said that the Local Self-Government Act stands in their way. But to me this plea appears

extensible; for if the Government could amend many other laws, they might as well do the same in this case. I firmly believe that if the Government willed it, there were a thousand and one ways to do it.

A majority of municipal members are devoid of progressive ideas. They seem to believe in the so-called theory of karma. That the present life of man is determined by his actions in the past birth, and accordingly, Harijans are born in communities which are ordained to rot in misery during their earthly life. It is, therefore, their duty to do their job under every hardship, and with or without remuneration. They cannot ask for the same treatment as is accorded to other people. One can easily imagine how far the circular of the Government can influence such minds.

With increased awakening in the municipal workers, their hardships have also increased. If they behave with their officers with self-respect, they become the victims of their wrath, and direct or indirect attempts are made to dispense with their services. The less we talk of the strikes and acceptance of demands of the workers the better. The tense atmosphere of intense disputes which arise out of reality soon better words for future conflicts. This is most harmful to workers and also adds to their hardships. Leave aside also the talk of starting co-operative societies. Municipalities which are co-operative societies think of closing them down or running them in a way not conducive to the interest of the workers.

No objection could be raised if municipalities took steps to ensure fair distribution of responsibility and regularity in work, but under the excuse of doing so, what they are now doing simply brings about moral degeneration of municipal workers and the mixing of their blood. This at least should stop. At their sweet will, on the pretext that the population is less than supposed, they reduce the number of workers or their wages and thus do irreparable harm to them. Where is justice in this? Is this the treatment meted out to those who have for years worked at the cost of their lives?

New workers are recruited after full consideration. But when they put forth their demands either for increase in wages or other facilities, they are looked upon as if they had committed a serious offence, and as such they are sent to prison, both with legal and extra-legal means. Government also shows indifference towards them. There is hardly any other task in which Government looks so much delay.

'Give up sweeping work', 'Harijan's work is as sacred as that of a Brahmin', Harijans are advised by well-meaning friends. I have no ob-

jection to agree with these views. I have been long attempting along with several other friends to persuade Harijans to give up their occupations and take up a better one. But this is not a task which could be achieved in a month or a year. It is a long-time programme. Such programmes are not carried out by merely speaking of them. The question is what should these people do until they can take to other callings? Is the work they do superfluous? Will the advice that it is sacred fill their hungry stomachs?

When this problem is discussed in municipalities, they talk of first creating public opinion on the question. It is said that the increase in taxation will be resisted by the people. How many years will be required to cultivate public opinion of people who believe that it is their past actions which are responsible for their being born Harijans? And until public opinion is cultivated, should the municipal workers continue in the present condition? Did the Government wait for creating public opinion in creating several social reform laws? And did they think of people's resentment against increase in taxation? And what are they doing even for cultivating public opinion?

The problem of Harijan sweepers in Government offices, police lines and other Government and semi-Government departments is also pending in the same way.

The Government have appointed a committee to find a permanent solution of the problems of municipal workers. The committee have started gathering facts and information for their study. Though the problem being an old one almost all data is on hand, the committee will work in the haphazard manner. I am afraid the committee will take a long time to study and report on the problem, and the Government will take its own time for studying the report when made, and if complications arise in the meanwhile, the report will be pigeon-holed, with the result that poor municipal workers will be reduced to a more and more miserable condition.

Under the circumstances, I do not find any other solution to the problem but making a legislation on the question. It brooks no delay.

Will the Government and its committee regard it their bounden duty to give justice to those who have for centuries endured previous social servitude under insupportable hardships and at the cost of their lives for insignificant or no remuneration at all?

PURUSHOTTAMJI JETHABAI SOLANKI

(Translated from Gujarati)

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NARAYAN BOMB

There is a Marathi devotional couplet which means thus:

"I sought Thy refuge, because I had heard that Thou purdest the sinner. But now I am told that I must be free from sin before I can meet Thee. So I go back."

The couplet is said to have been sung by a repentant devotee who went to a famous shrine for offering worship, but was refused admission on the ground that there was some sin attached to him, and his entry would pollute the god of the temple. If God himself was subject to pollution, what hope was a sinner's salvation of being delivered from sin?

Smaller and weaker nations of the world feel that U.S.A. and USSR are two of the most powerful modern States of the world. They can help the world out of the mire and secure peace and happiness to every people in the world. They are held to be very stout and so also are technically advanced. They have, of course, different repugnances for serving mankind. If both can work together, even so they did to win the last war, they can make this world blessed to other nations as well as individuals back to the one or the other with faith and hope and for charity and inspiration.

But alas, how tragic their own mental condition is! Each lives in terrible fear of the other, and seeks to protect itself against the other by as terrible and fearful means. It is difficult to say whether the fearfulness of their bombs is greater or the intensity of their own fear. It is not clear how fear can inspire courage and sense of security in themselves as also in those who look to them for protection and aid. There is an old poem which says,

"A merchant approached a king for aid. The king was engaged in prayer. The merchant heard the king say, 'Oh Lord, augment my kingdom and increase my riches, make me more powerful than my neighbouring ruler.' The merchant thereupon turned back without making the supplication. The king noticed this and sent a messenger to call him back. He asked the beggar the reason for his going back without waiting for aid. The merchant said that he found that he had approached him (the king) under a misapprehension. He had not realised that he was asking aid of another beggar like himself! On discovering the mistake, he had turned back."

This might look pretentious, pleasant enough to be told in a club of literary wit, but of no value in serious politics. But it helpfully inspires Jewish statesmen of the world to look at real-

ties in the simple way of a child and not as impressionable diplomats. Can the atom, the super-atom, the hydrogen, or the bacteriological bomb, cause rays and similar weapons of destruction protect and save humanity?

Let us refer to one more story from old literature. The war of the Mahabharata is full of descriptions of martial weapons. One of them was the Narayan Astra. It is described in one aspect which there was no effective counter-weapon. The only way a person could save himself against it was, it is narrated, to throw down on earth every weapon he possessed, and sit or stand motionless wherever he might be at the moment. There was only one Narayan bomb in existence at the time, and the Kauraves possessed it. They used it against the Pandavas. Krishna immediately issued instructions to the army to throw down all their weapons and remain motionless in their place. Every one obeyed, except the proud Bhishma. He began to wield his weapons frantically with the result that they flew against himself! Ultimately slain, Krishna's postscriptary advice he obeyed, with the result that the Narayan bomb became nullified.

The story may be partly imaginary. But the moral is clear. The only protection against terrible weapons of war is to courageously disarm oneself. The maddest race of armaments and hunt for mightier and still mightier weapons cannot prevent war and bring peace and prosperity to any country. Even rich America will become a poorer country in the distant

What applies to America, applies with still greater force to India and Pakistan. Let both countries seek wisdom. This method fear and militarisation against each other cannot benefit any. Let us not repeat the folly of our forefathers of the time of the East India Company. The East India Company is dead, but has left plenty of heirs, even as our forefathers have done. The foreign capital and foreign experts are but modern children of the old. Let it be remembered that even with all their ill-will neither India nor Pakistan can crush the other out of existence. But with mutual goodwill they can together make both regions happy and prosperous.

The only strong weapon is to dare to stand unarmed. But it is too difficult to take the extreme step, there are easier stages of doing this. There can be unilateral resolution not to use aggressive weapons of greater intensity than a particular level. Then one can render that arms what may, even in face of war, it will not resort to aerial bombing. It will not fight through air-planes. Then in the next stage it may resolve not to use machine guns, not to resort to firing against people not in possession of bombs, guns etc., and so on, until all fighting by States against States or between States and the people is renounced.

Bombay, 15-3-50

R. G. KARNATKALA

NOTES

Shrimati Varadati Dastane

Shri V. V. Dastane is a well-known worker of Maharashtra. Not so his wife, Shrimati Varadati Dastane, who breathed her last in the Kestor Hospital at Secapore early last month (January). But that does not mean that her contribution to the service of the nation was less than her husband's. In fact she had to perform several duties simultaneously, as the wife of a husband who suddenly gave up a lucrative practice without having saved much and brought too many people, as the mother of three daughters and a son to be brought up and educated in a manner befitting a middle class educated Brahmin and as a co-worker in public service.

"When the Ashram was founded at Wardha," writes Varadati, "Shri Jannaiji Bhat and Shri Dattatraya resolved to educate their children at the Ashram. Shrimati Varadati herself accompanied her children and had the foundation of the present Mahadashram. (She was its superintendent for a long time). But those who did not know her from near will not sufficiently know the intensity of her spirit of service."

Shri S. E. Patel

Shri Sharadha Chondrabhai Patel of Viper (North Gujarat), who died of sudden heart failure at the age of 73, while he was reclining here from his usual morning "walk to the fields" in the intense cold of the last week, was not a worker in the usual sense, but was a devoted believer in the message of the shukha, ever since it was given to the world by Gandhiji. He had good health for his age and it would not be surprising, he and his friends thought, if he lived up to 80. But would he have the strength to ply the shukha till 80? He apprehended that he may not have that strength after 80, so he resolved to spin yarn sufficient to last him for 10 years so that he might always be able to wear only self-spun khadi. When he died, he had already made khadi sufficient to last him for six years more, over and above what he gave to his son and friends. He spun for nearly 3 hours a day.

Shri Sarat Bose

As I was writing the above, I received the information of the sudden demise of the great leader Shri Sarat Chandra Bose. A great and brilliant leader himself, his devotion to his greater brother, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, was even more remarkable. Perhaps he was the first to put faith in him, and he stood by him and was prepared to run any risks for his sake even if the whole world had abandoned him. To me this seemed to be his greatest virtue, and made me always regard him with great esteem. My respects to his memory.

Bombay, 21-2-50

Application or Selection?

Referring to the article Ideal Representatives (Feb. 26), Shri Modynarayan Chaudhari desires to point out that in saying that selfish Gandhian workers must not expect Congress leaders or office bearers to invite them of their own accord, he did not suggest that they would not be invited because of their selfishness, integrity and devotion to duty. He meant simply to convey that it was not to be expected that Selection Committees would themselves approach or persuade suitable candidates to stand for election. Like other candidates, Gandhian workers also should make regular applications and if they did so, he was hopeful that they would be preferred to others.

While I publish his explanation, let me say that it is not altogether unusual for Parliamentary Boards to request, even press, a person whom they considered particularly required and, if necessary, even to bring influence upon him through a leader, a word from whom he would not disregard, to make him consent.

I am rather of opinion that no applications should be invited from candidates themselves. The Selection Committee should themselves approach suitable people and if they consent, put them forth. This is the least which can be done even under the present system. Even the system will not always be satisfactory, but it will at least stop that ugly march by every applicant to the Central Parliamentary Committee to press his claim to be accepted in preference to others. Since only one out of several applicants can be selected, this results in antagonising all who, in their own opinion, have been rejected very unfairly.

Bombay, 22-2-50

"Gatha of Rishabhshira"

I am not a scholar of ancient languages and as such have no qualification to take notice of *New Light on the Gatha of Maly Rishabhshira* by the well-known Gujarati poet Shri Anandbhai Khatavdar. But even a cursory perusal of that large volume of 250 pages of large size is sufficient to convince one of the amount of diligent and patient research labour spent upon it. When one remembers that for some years Shri Khatavdar is almost invalid and financially hard pressed, this production of his life's work with great respect. The publication consists of what are known as the Gatha Literature, Puras (Saraswata, Agastya) 26 to 34, in the original language of the Gatha (in Gujarati and specially devised Roman script), a word to word rendering thereof in Vedic Sanskrit, and their translations in English and Gujarati, the latter both in ordinary prose and lyric poetry. The Vedic rendition is Shri Khatavdar's original contribution. In doing so he claims to have discovered the key to the exact pronunciation of Vedic words in accordance with their udatta, anudatta and svarita accents, the true knowledge whereof, he says,

was lost to India more than 3,000 years ago. He claims that the Gatha script, and its correct pronunciation preserved till date by Parsi scholars of the Gatha. If translated in the Nagari script in accordance with rules discovered by him, would show at once why a particular sign of Vedic accent would have to be used along with it and how exactly the word should be pronounced. It is for scholars to examine this claim. But if established, it will undoubtedly throw new light on both the Gatha and the Vedas.

The book is priced at Rs. 20. Though almost entirely in Gujarati, I understand that it has been well appreciated and patronized by foreign scholars. It is regrettable that Gujarati scholars do not seem to have paid much attention to the work. It would be a pity if there are no Gujarati scholars, competent enough to evaluate such scholarship.

Bombay 19.3.56

R. G. M.

Uneducability in Rural Areas

Shri Mayasid, working Secretary, Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Fund, in the course of a letter says:

"Our present Republican Constitution has situated uneducability in all spheres and from everywhere during our freedom. And that we were very much pained to find uneducability prevailing with all the loss of high and low. In our (Kasturba) era too, if Marathi children could read Marathi would benefit them and if some Marathi children could, Marathi children and of four there and some."

"We in the Marathi Society though tackled the problem of uneducability in towns and village alike but not in rural areas. The devil of uneducability is still there. Unless the caste system goes and brings there is no hope of social equality, but which franchise has been responsible in screwing the caste system all the more as a political tool."

I thoroughly agree with him in believing that the census of uneducability is still rampant in all our rural areas—which means in not less than 85 per cent of the country. We have not worked enough in the villages yet. With only a period of 18 years—1939 to 1956—before us as per the new Constitution, I am wondering if we will be able to achieve our goal unless a miracle happens.

If adult franchise entrenches the upper class people more strongly in their supremacy, I do not know if a few reserved seats given to Harijans for ten years only will create a revolution in the minds of our conservative people. May God give us better sense of equality, fraternity and liberty.

A. T. THAKKAR

I feel that social workers must work with sufficient intensity and zeal to ensure Thakkar's hope that the desired revolution will have been achieved ere 1960.

—R. G. M.]

Postal Rates

Now that the budget for 1955-56 is impending it is appropriate to reconsider the postal

rates. As the places served by air mail are very few, the "all-India" air mail service has very little significance. In as far as the present rate of 2 annas per letter is justified on the ground that it covers despatch by air, it amounts to penalizing I feel worse of people whose mails are sent by surface. In any event since all mails cannot be sent to all places by air, the postal customers should be given the choice as to which of their mails should be sent by air and which by surface and pay according to the service. It is, therefore, suggested that the charge per letter be one-anna by surface and one-anna and six pils by air. The postage on post-cards may be halved by surface, and three-quarter-anna by air.

Bangalore 4

P. KODANDA RAO

Newspapers in Assam

The Editor's attention was drawn by subscribers reading in Assam, that it took more than ten days for *Narayan* to reach to them, from Ahmedabad, and desired him to see if any improvement could be made in the matter. He referred the matter to the Manager of Cinnamara with a request to think over it. This is the outcome, as conveyed to him by the Senior Deputy Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs.

It has been decided that with immediate effect newspapers will be carried by air between Calcutta and Assam with an additional surcharge of quarter anna for every 15 lines. These newspapers will travel by surface route up to Calcutta and will be given air transmission from there onwards. In addition to this, existing already orders regarding in which newspapers can be sent by air throughout all over India with an air surcharge at the rate of one anna per line. A press note on the subject is being issued separately."

Accordingly subscribers of *Narayan*, *Marjans*, *Narok*, or *Narjan* readers in Assam can get their paper early, if they will pay an additional charge of One Rupee per annum.

J. D. DODAL
Manager

Nal Talim Conference

The sixth All India Basic Education Conference will be held on April 8, 9 and 10, 1956, at Angul, Dist. Utkalanchal, Orissa. The special nature of this year's Conference will be that it is being organized not as an educational conference only, but as an integral part of the Sarvodaya Sammelan (All India Conference of Constructive Workers) to be held at Angul (Orissa) from the 6th to the 13th of April, 1956. Problems of National education, therefore, will be discussed against the wider background of the constructive programmes as a whole.

The discussions of the Educational Conference will centre round the problems connected with the five main stages of 'Nal Talim' or New Education, namely, Pre-Basic Education (for children below the age of 7 years), Basic

Education (of boys and girls of 7 to 15 years), Post-Basic or Adolescent Education, University Education and Research work, and Social or Adult Education.

Besides general discussions it is also expected that the delegates to the Conference will discuss in small groups special problems of Basic Education, such as the training of teachers, the technique of correlated teaching, the technique of craft teaching, the teaching of special subjects such as art, music etc., techniques and standards of assessment in Basic Education, preparation of literature, etc. An attempt will be made to make the programme of the Conference elastic so as to afford full opportunities for those desirous.

An Educational Exhibition will also be organized as a part of the Conference.

For further information please write to E. W. Arjunaiahkum, Secretary, Hindustani Talim Sangh, Secyagram, (Wardah).

FALSE ACCUSATIONS

Some of our patriots think that any official function which indicates against their sense of propriety and duty towards the nation was first introduced by the British in our very vitriolic and faithless people. Thus a village worker whose sensitive mind could not maintain equanimity at the extravagance of the official banquet given on 26th January, writes that even the republican Government had continued the evil custom "introduced by the British in pursuance of their divide and rule policy." Now, this is an altogether false accusation of the British people, whatever other sins they might have been guilty of as rulers. We Hindus and Muslims and our Indian rulers have always been efficient organizers of grand dinners, picnics, feasts, drinks, dances and similar luxuries, even if we lacked efficiency in our military and civil organization. Poor British had not even the excuse of doing all these things on a scale, which could be compared with that of the Moghals, the Marathas and other Indian rulers. And side by side with their own feasts, it was also usual to treat the poor and by throwing handfuls of coins etc. among crowds distribute shoes on such occasions. Of course, it was nothing in quality and quantity before that enjoyed by courtiers, and it necessarily violated the self-respect of the poor.

Thus feast making and charity-doing are both in keeping with the habits of the whole nation. We do that not only on the occasion of marriage or birth, but even for celebrating deaths of dear ones and within a fortnight of their death! And we do so not only when there is peace and plenty in the country, but even when there is famine and war at the gate. The Peshwa was feasting his minions when the enemy troops were marching on the city during the 1857 rising and there were only one or two who saw, who understood the gravity of the situation. Unthoughtfulness and heartlessness are not qualities in which Hindus and Muslims are deficient.

It is of course dressiness in culture but let it be confessed that it is our own weakness. If at all, the British really took it from us partly because of its attractiveness and partly under the belief that that was the only way of establishing their prestige and maintaining their dignity among Indians.

As the above was being typed, I received another letter, in which the correspondent says, "Worship of money, which was introduced in our land by the British Rulers, is the root of all evil." This too is an extravagant and untrue charge. No notion of community except the poorest one of our country, has ever been deficient in the worship of money. Our Kings, courtiers, ministers, generals, as well as merchants have worshipped Lakshmi more intensely than they have done God, country, good morals or honesty. They have more than once played traitors to their masters and the State and acted as middlemen between the British and the masses. Perhaps we developed that art further under British guidance. But our own productivity was already high enough. We cannot improve if we throw the blame for all our drawbacks upon the British.

Bombay, 4-3-36

E. O. MANDREKALA

REFORM IN JAUNSER

A hurried trip to northern India took me last summer to the hill station of Chakrata in the District of Dehra Dun. This region is a hill tract of the Himalayas lying between Mussoorie and Shimla and between the Jammu and Tawi rivers with an area of about 400 square miles and a population of less than 50,000 souls consisting mostly of Brahmins, Thakurs and Khatris etc. etc. The last are like wells attached to the first two.

The hills begin with Kadi across the Jammu, about 30 miles from Dehra Dun. Kadi is famous for one of the most complete of Emperor Ashoka's ancient Rock Edicts. A winding motor road takes the traveller 20 miles further to Chakrata Cantonment, a cool hill station 7,000 feet above sea level studded with bungalows, barracks, hotels, busses and with a marvellous view of snow ranges.

Villages are numerous in the hills all around. The population is far too backward having a very very low percentage of education or literacy. Having been made a partially excluded area under the British administration drinking and liquor distillation is uncontrolled.

However a very uncommon social custom and one disapproved by higher civilisations, is polyandry. Unlike in any other part of India it is universal here. The main reason offered locally is that land being scant and everything in these hills, families must needs remain undivided and this can best be achieved under the system of polyandry. For as a rule a woman wife or wives are among brothers of a single family and only. It must also be noted that these people come into constant contact with

Thrust which lies just behind the snow ranges at their back and where polyandry is universal has been immemorial.

The spirits does not seem to have brought in its wake any discernible evil effects for society for centuries. The family unit functioned smoothly and harmoniously. There were no jealousies and no family feuds. But since the advent of the British and during recent decades particularly with the growth of commercialism, capitalism, forests and trade, herds of people from Indian places invaded these mountain tracts and the quiet social system of the locality was exposed to all manner of liberties at the hands of the new comers who took undue advantage of an unsophisticated people's code of morals.

The results have been disastrous. Over 50 per cent of the inhabitants of these villages are said to suffer from venereal diseases. Traffic in girls from this and the adjoining district has steadily grown and girls from villages now openly go out for the houses of ill-fame in Indian cities like Delhi, Kanpur, Allahabad, Calcutta or Bombay often without much protest from parents and elders.

The light of education being want, the seal for reform was at the lowest tide. But the phenomenal awakening among the youth all over the country during the last 5 or 10 years permeated these mountain recesses too, and there have been vigorous efforts among Jannari youths to put up a stopped light against social evils among their people.

Shri Dharmdev Shastri of Ashok Ashram, Kashi, has been the pioneer social worker in this area, who is responsible for the present enlightenment and fervour among the student world and among youths generally. Though not a Jannari himself, he gave up a comfortable teacher's job at Dehra Dun, Kanya Garhwal about 8 years ago and took up his abode with family among the backward folk of Jannari villages near Kashi where he built up a centre of social service. From here radiated rays of light and hope which infused a new spirit among the youth. It impelled them to go out for the service of their people. With their help Shri Shastri founded high village schools and institutes and day dispensaries and health centres which in their turn became centres for imparting a new culture and for broadcasting a new gospel of cheer and hope among the toiling folk.

They have been working against immemorial odds these eight years against official opposition, apathy or indifference, against the opposition and machinations of vested interests, even against personal insults, assaults and what not. I had opportunities to spend the deliriums of one or two of their village councils where local disputes were settled by arbitration and I could see the healing effect of their influence and their persuasions.

I had also the privilege of attending one of their youth conferences and to listen to the speeches of talented youngsters, who had succeeded in persuading a number of elders of the community to attend their conference in an atmosphere uncharged with suppressed emotion and feeling, speaker after speaker rose choked and overcome with a sense of intense humiliation and pain, with as I never remember to have witnessed anywhere else in my life, they hunched their parents and elders, their pretty little sisters sitting in front rows with faces beaming with intelligence and devouring avidly every word of their brothers' speeches. Every speaker pleaded the cause of prompt wholesale reform, pleaded against polyandry, against traffic in the daughters of their race, against their tormented women, against the drink evil, against their treatment of their wife, — the Kolia Harijans. They pleaded against the prevailing mass ignorance, against their exploitation against a doom other allied evils. The little girls applauded constantly. Their brothers were their heroes.

Here is food for earnest thoughtless reformers. Shri Shastri and his colleagues have acquitted themselves well in their pioneer work of bringing about the awakening and creating an atmosphere. If our leaders and workers and Governments have done well in deciding a number of post-partition problems relating to millions of displaced persons of our divided land, a few of them would do equally well to tackle a tiny number of their country's daughters and their parents who are displaced in the moral sense.

At Chakrata Cantonment I saw scores of well laid spacious mansions formerly used by British troops now vacated and lying unused. A single one out of these can easily be converted into a Home or Ashram and placed under an organisation like the Kasturba Trust for housing orphaned girls and for women workers, for propagating reform among Jannari women and for weaning girls from the path of social evil. I venture to draw the attention of the Government and of our eminent social workers like Gopalji Ramdasrao Mahra, Shrihari Sakhari Kripalani and Behn Mridula Sarabhai to this spot of evil on the social map of our motherland.

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GANDHI ANNIVERSARY DAY AT NALPDI

Headlight and eyes, they on January 30 was celebrated in various parts of India in a suitable manner that the dignified manner and mode of the celebration at Nagpur under the guidance and inspiration of that 'Bhai' (father) seems to have to parallel.

Shri Yashaji Maharaj is a Maharashtra devotee of Mahatma Gandhi who continues the tradition of popular action like Jharkhand Gandhi Vahanam and others. Even that the youth of Nalpedi in connection, line of such devotion, though naturally all have not reached equal status and have. Some years ago Dodge Road was in the darkness. Even today he is busy with his work, but he has grown old. Shri Yashaji Maharaj is a new man; he is old and has already attained old age and is growing day by day. He is a great singer in a bhakti and bhakti poet an effective preacher and an able organizer. He is still young and came into close contact with Gandhi at Jharkhand. Generally he loves to keep his own company and share thousands of village-bits from various country sides who at all his hours of the night in Nalpedi to his mouth and mouth.

Shri Yashaji has an up as inspiration called Gurukul Bhai Mahatma in the village in Nalpedi. But Gurukul have been established in various regions of Mahatma Gandhi, where he has voluntarily accepted to be known for organizing study group, physical exercise, village cleanliness and spinning. Gandhi was of a religious color in that participating large. In Nalpedi Shri Yashaji Maharaj gives lectures in other times of the day, attending program etc. He has transmitted the values of work and need. The house through his own or previous the influence of the morning and day-evening work humanity. In his early age he had studied about in the company of various conditions and poetry and played with children and recalled 'harmless' children of the village. He is therefore free from any quality of blind or caste. Of course his own faith and love of work are based on the old Hindu tradition. He discipline being back to the present and the religious means. He is tough enough to treat equally at home with children, religious youth and poor alike and in this he has, every one at his own level. His religious departure at the time of prayer is striking. He is back enough to make his discipleship.

He was extremely agitated by the assassination of Gandhi. The day which he composed at that time has become popular and those who are in the habit of listening to the radio regularly might have heard it. Since this religiously episode he has been devoting greater attention to the spread of Gandhi's message. He took special interest in organizing the celebrations of January 30 and February 12 in the year 1948 at the local center of his activity in the District of Amravati. This year the venue of the programme of February 20 was held at Nagpur. Below are extracts from the report regarding the function held by Shri Kama Chavla.

Gandhar Bhai Mahatma remarks various kinds of activities but he made emphasis to do the following:

1. Congregational Prayer;
2. spinning, also working to some extent;
3. physical culture through athletic exercises and exercises;
4. women's training through knitting, embroidery etc.
5. medical aid through Ayurvedic dispensaries in villages.

His volunteers train village people to sing songs and hymns. The language of the songs is simple and clear with themes like devotion to God, constructive programme, liquidation of untouchability, communal unity, etc. Several villages take advantage of medical relief and congregational prayer organized by Bhai Mahatma. Where it is not possible to hold the program daily it is held on Thursdays. Those who participate in program and group activities are expected to strictly observe certain rules

of discipline. For instance, they have to maintain a particular posture, a particular direction from one another and so on. The people are prepared to the more need both in amount of the discipline it spreads and the discipline in numbers.

Shri Yashaji has demonstrated that if we unite freely with the rural or urban people and win their hearts through service it is possible to get a happy response from them.

It was difficult to procure a ready market in Nagpur such as small movements like a lakh or more people in an orderly manner. There was no open ground at a distance of a mile and a quarter from the railway station. The police used it at an open day that public assembly it was difficult for women in poor dress. The ground was uneven and rough. The municipality tried to persuade Shri Yashaji Maharaj not to select such a spot for a meeting, but he refused. He said that to select such a spot and someone would be contrary to Gandhi's teaching. Shri Yashaji tried to select such a spot discarded place and convert them into clean and level grounds to carry out his programme. So Shri Yashaji went to his native at being in tune with Gandhi's teaching.

The Mahatma stand was much appreciated by the municipality which not only got the ground cleared of all obstacles, but also helped him win the permission to make a new arrangement of houses for the public.

It is worth noting here that Yashaji sought money. One of persons from different walks of life in such the programme a success. A sum of about one lakh of money should be ready at hand before one dreams of collecting, buying and feeding more than a hundred thousand people under a single painted tent. But the Mahatma was not interested without any centrally organized fund.

Shri Yashaji Maharaj indicated the materialization of his programme with the arrangement of his village. He then organized different groups, each one being made responsible for supplying and of a specific task. These were occupied at the feeding of food material, the distribution of the ground, the cleaning and decoration of the pavilion and the distribution of booklets. In order to fulfil the duties allotted to each group, each member of the group was expected to contribute his share in the form of either money or material. The Mahatma expressed his willingness to make payments to the labour engaged by them in charge of distribution and transportation.

There are a number of gymnastics (athletic) centers all over the city of Nagpur. The difference existed between them were compared and only one was chosen long ago. Now the substantial work began. The members of Gurukul Bhai Mahatma volunteered themselves to the meeting job of organizing the events of the day for some days. Gymnastics spread all around. Subsequently these programs were held in such distant markets. The Mahatma made a point to be personally present during the prayer time and discuss the programme of the next victory day.

At least some funds were necessary for the construction of such a large-scale project, since every aspect of the day was saturated with the responsibility of collecting some themselves from persons residing within its boundary.

Two or three kitchens were organized. Food was given to those whom it was necessary to feed at these kitchens.

The way the pavilion was constructed and built were picturesquely truly of its organizing genius. Every minute detail was thought out and provided for. For instance, we hardly had suitable arrangement for drying wet clothes on the occasion of such community gathering. Since the people spread their clothes under shelter. But here we found special bamboo structures erected to hang wet garments as well as by. This was

miscrepancy in the spiritual domain? Is it impossible to multiply the exceptions so as to make them the rule?"—*Young India*, May 5, 1938

"Satyagraha as conceived by me is a science in the making. We have to make truth and non-violence our matters for mere individual practice but for practice by groups, communities and nations. That at any rate is my dream. I shall live and die trying to realise it."—*Harigan*, September 24, 1938 and March 2, 1940

"Though I have talked with the Working Committee (of the Indian National Congress) in persuading them, at the supreme moment to declare their undying faith in non-violence as the only strength remedy for wrong committed from destruction, I have not lost the hope that the masses will refuse to bow before the Malak of war but will rely upon their capacity for suffering to save the country's honour."—*Harigan*, September 10, 1939

"Resistance to a State law wholly at large is unjust in an internal battle for liberty. Thus considered civil resistance is a most powerful expression of a world's anguish and an eloquent protest against the continuance of an evil state."—*Young India*, November 10, 1931

"A call may come which one dare not neglect, even what it may. I can clearly see the time coming to me when I would refuse obedience to every State-made law, even though there may be certainty of bloodshed. When neglect of the call means a denial of God, civil disobedience becomes a preceptory duty."—*Young India*, August 4, 1931

"The risk of remaining sapient in the face of the greatest world conflagration is known to infinitely greater. If non-violence is the greater force in the world it must prove itself during the crisis."—*Gandhi's Correspondence with the Government, 1942-44*

"When in the face of an upheaval such as we are witnessing there are only a few individuals of immense faith, they have to live up to their faith even though they may produce no visible effect upon the course of events. They should believe that their action will produce tangible results in due course."—*Harigan*, March 10, 1942

"A perfect passive resistor has to be almost, if not entirely, a perfect man. We cannot all suddenly become such men, but if my proposition is correct—as I know it to be correct—the greater the spirit of passive resistance in us, the better men we will become. Its use therefore, as I think, indisputable, and it is a force which if it becomes universal would revolutionise social ideas and do away with dogmatism and the ever growing militarism under which the nations of the West are growing and are being almost crushed to death—that militarism which promises to overwhelm even the nations of the East."—*Speeches and Writings of Mahatma Gandhi*

NATURE-CURE CLINIC, UNULIKANCHAN

Readers might be aware of the Nature-Cure Clinic at Unulikanchan (Pondicherry) founded by Gandhi, during the last years of his life. It started functioning from April 1949 under the guidance of Dr. Dinsha Mehta. It was taken advantage of by a few middle-class patients. The Nature-Cure technique determined in the light of Dr. Dinsha Mehta's guidance proved efficacious to many of these. But, under it, the average monthly expense of each patient came approximately to Rs. 120 and the treatment lasted for about three to six months. This was felt to be rather heavy and prohibitive for men with very limited means. Hence, the Clinic failed to be of water use to the general public. There was provision for 20 patients, but the number hardly rose to as much as eight. It was felt that though the Nature-Cure method was effective, there was not much possibility of its being propagated among the masses, since it was not cheap and its application involved cumbersome processes and the use of specially prepared apparatus. The state of affairs was in the doldrums and there was no way out. It was a matter of regret that the difference of opinion between Dr. Mehta and the rest of the Trustees on some fundamental issues led to the cessation of the former's services to the Clinic. The burden of the Ashram, therefore, was entrusted to Shri Balakrishna Shetty and Dr. Appasambh Shetty. After taking stock of the situation afloat, it was decided that under the supervision of Shri Balakrishna the Clinic should evolve a nature-cure technique which could be practicable and popular in the rural areas from the experiments made by Dr. Shetty, which were cheap, simple and facile. It is not unreasonable to hope that this difficult project will be accomplished by the joint labours of Shri Balakrishna, who thoroughly understands Gandhi's conception of a Nature-Cure Clinic and his well-versed colleague Dr. Shetty.

Thus it possible only if a greater number of poor patients take benefit of the Institute. In order to make it possible for them to do so, the following two rules have been framed and brought into operation from 1st January '50 for all new patients desiring to receive its treatment.

1. A patient will be charged only the actual expense of his board and the cost of fuel and water to be used for his treatment. The same charges will come to about Rs. 2 per day. Every effort will be made to minimise expense.

2. Whenever the patient stands to give willingly will be accepted as Treatment Fee.

We hope that the public will take advantage of these new facilities. Persons, desiring to be admitted as Nature-Cure patients should immediately send their applications with a two-anna postal stamp to the undersigned.

RAMPRASAD DEBAM
Manager

Nature-Cure Clinic,
Unulikanchan (Dist. Pondicherry)

EDUCATION FOR PEACE

(The following report was submitted by Mr. Wilfred Wilkins on behalf of Commission "B" of the World Council Meeting, during the foregoing strings.)

It must be noted that the phrase "Basic Education" has been rather loosely used in the report. The philosophy underlying it is, in its general application, has been voiced by Gandhiji and Peace (Non-Violence). Basic Education is particularly used in India for the Adivasis during the period of a primary and secondary schooling, roughly from the age of 7 to 14. —(Editor.)

1

Key to World Peace

The doctrine of faith which is called Positivism in the West and non-violence in the East, like all other vital doctrines, must needs change its content and implications, and thus its ends and means from time to time.

In the West during the last 40 years Positivism has passed from a policy of war resistance, pure and simple, to one which calls for far-reaching social and economic reconstruction, the abandonment of imperialism, racial discrimination and Capitalism. In recent years, both in the West and the East, Non-violence has begun to demand far more fundamental changes still, changes which affect the roots of social life everywhere, its culture, content and aims.

To-day the world is in chaos. Its material part is almost completely divorced from its spiritual parts. The material, which knows no moral law, has become a law unto itself. It, therefore, the physical world is to be stabilized and saved from self-destruction, it must become part of a unified world order. It must, that is to say, be brought under the control of moral and spiritual law.

In the East spiritual traditions have not been broken down to the same extent as in the West, although in fact spiritual values exercise little influence indeed upon economic life, whereas in the West, chief emphasis is placed unashamed upon high standards of material living. Hence in both hemispheres, there is an almost complete failure to appreciate the spiritual and the material. To achieve this synthesis is the outstanding need of our time.

By one means or another the things of the East must be brought into proper relationship with the things of the West. Only then will they be able to make their fitting contribution to life as a whole, to the well-being of human persons, of society, and to the peace of the world.

This relationship can best be established in the sphere of education, where conduct can be determined in relation to human needs. Education is fundamentally a process of life-building, of training in the art of living. It is the art of putting all things in their right order so that every function, interest or activity which has a contribution to make to the good life, may find its appropriate place in the scheme of life as a whole. We are thus brought to the vital principles involved in what Mahatma Gandhiji called Basic Education or Education for Living. In the exercise of all man's powers to purposive, social

living, which is essentially co-operative living, Gandhiji discovered a unifying principle by which the human person might become a whole man, who must be the foundation of integrated families, integrated communities, and of a peaceful world.

Work is man's basic activity, the means by which all his material needs are satisfied. It is also the major means of exercising and developing all his powers and of enabling him to experience the joys of self and social fulfilment. The moment a person handles any raw material with the object of giving it a serviceable function in the life around him, he becomes a creator and develops an inward strength and a self reliance which spur him on to greater fulfilment.

Hence then we have a life principle of high value. To make something in the external world correspond to something in the spirit is to add beauty and value to life and quality to human personality. This order of labour exercises all man's mental and spiritual powers to the utmost and so calls for their renewal. This renewal is achieved in rest, in sleep, in meditation in religious devotion and artistic appreciation and enjoyment in all its forms.

Accordingly in the Indian ashrams where Gandhiji's Basic Education is now being practised, periods of silence for meditation come as naturally as sleep and waking, while silent or meditative spinning is added to this, symbolises the sacredness of every common task. In this latter act we have found the same principle at work which during the Middle Ages in the West was expressed in the words "To labour is to Pray".

The major evils of our time, including deepening ideological conflicts and total war, are the direct off-spring of failure to connect work with religion and art. The result is the atomisation of the human person, the disintegration of the home and the community, and a complex of violent international relations.

The primary cause of this failure is the materialism which has led to the exploitation of the masses both in the highly industrialized West and in the tradition-bound East during several centuries. In both cases exploitation has led to the debasement of the masses in the West by repetitive labour and in the East by appalling poverty.

It is customary for those who defend the highly mechanized life of the West to argue that machinery paves the way to a short working day and an ample leisure in which man may develop his creative powers.

This however, is a delusion. In a mass production society with its inevitable negative processes, man can only work for money. He thus becomes a materialist, who expects to buy with hard cash all his pleasures and relaxations. From this fact comes the multiplication of appetites and wants in every direction, to which there is no end. To satisfy the growing demand

for goods and services, increases the present demand of the false prophets of a capitalistic society.

Furthermore this expansion of material demands which we now know as "Standards of Living", becomes the dominant factor in basic and foreign policy in every country where a money economy operates. It thus leads directly to a situation wherein, commodity after commodity (as for example food) supply is unable to keep pace with the demand. Hence competition for the earth's resources leads inevitably to superlatism, ideological conflicts and world wars. Despite all our technical and scientific advances, therefore, in every generation there emerges the haves and the have-nots and the consequent demand for bigger and bigger expenditures on militarism. This also prevents the enlargement of leisure.

We thus make the discovery that the key to world peace lies in the development of an economy which by its nature is peaceful, produces none of the stresses which lead to war. Such an economy is the purpose of Basic Education, the essence of which is creative co-operative living, in every country.

The significance of this discovery cannot be too strongly emphasized. It changes the nature of every human and social function and gives rise to an economy which is related to the needs of the whole man and the whole of humanity.

Expressed in international terms this means that the acceptance of Basic Education would remove the demands which nations make upon the world's resources to be needed by basic concepts of man's needs and needs. At one stroke, therefore, the major causes of friction in the modern world can be removed by the practice of Basic Education and all that it involves.

In these circumstances, it is possible to face the world's political and economic problems with a new hope. About the nature of the organizations that would be required to perform the functions necessary to the smooth working of international relations we need not here be concerned, since these can easily be determined once the field has been cleared of its major impositions.

So long as the aim of nations is over-rising standards of material living, there can be little hope for anything in the nature of World Government now. In a materialistic society these countries with high standards of living, will not cease to plan and strive to maintain, and even raise their standards, notwithstanding that by so doing they will stimulate revolt and ideological upheavals in other parts of the world, which in turn will cause them to devote larger and larger percentages of their national income to militarism and to the buttressing of collapsing national economies, as is happening in our time. In such circumstances World Government will

continue to evade the more vital issues in world affairs. Not until the stresses caused by the center of reservation have been removed will effective co-operation at the world level become a practical policy. The end and means of Basic Education are the Canadian remedy for the materialism and its consequences.

SOME REMARKS ABOUT CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

While I was in India as a delegate to the World Parliet Meeting, I was a little surprised to find that Canada's country still maintains capital punishment. When I inquired about it with several Indians, among them some in a very high position, I found that the real essence of this question is not generally known. Coming from a country (Germany) which is known for being very violent, but where capital punishment has been abolished (1948 in the Russian Zone, 1949 in the Western Zone), I should like to put before Indians some reasons why I think capital punishment should go.

I shall not dwell on the fact that errors are possible, and that in every country where capital punishment exists now and then there happens a case where an innocent man is executed. Some people say that we have to run this risk, since the danger from murderers is too terrible, and a strong deterrent must be maintained.

But is capital punishment such a deterrent? All the evidence shows that it is not.

In those countries where capital punishment has been abolished, no subsequent increase of the murder rate has ever been reported. The murder rate goes slowly down since a deterrent—the abolishment of the death penalty has neither increased nor stopped this steady decline. In the U.S.A. some States have abolished the death penalty, others maintain it. The murder rate however is highest in the big cities like New York and Chicago, where capital punishment still exists.

In about 1890 a discussion took place in the House of Commons, London, when the death penalty for pocket thieves was sought to be abolished. It had been the practice till then of hanging the culprits in a public place. One M.P. pointed out, if this was abolished, the evil of human civilization and especially of private property had come. But the Police presented a statement, that on no occasion since stealing was pardoned thus during the public execution of a pocket thief? At the very moment when they can see what consequence their activities may have, they steal—because the opportunity is so propitious owing to the general excitement of the public. So where is here the deterrent?

When the death penalty was abolished in Germany last June, the last executioner just happened to be in jail. He had committed a heavy crime. That man at least knew what an

certainly means, he had cut off some heads himself. Was he deterred? He was terrified!

The only effective deterrent is a good police. What deters a man from committing a crime is the probability of being caught. When a man knows he will be sent to jail for 10 years, he will never commit a crime. You need no death for that.

But there is one further argument, which I think to be decisive. You all know such people as are used to eat meat but say that they "of course" were not capable of killing with their own hands the animal they eat. If they would have to do that, they would rather become vegetarians. But they have others doing it for them—when they often condemn for the bloody work they are doing.

You all, who are in favor of the death penalty, are you willing to execute a murderer with your own hands? Oh no, certainly not, you are so conscientious, you never would kill a man! But you oblige others to do so on your behalf!

What would you say if your daughter one day would tell you, that she is going to marry a man whose profession it is to kill other men? Would you like it? Oh no, you look down on such a professional killer—and forget that the man is acting on your service.

As long as there is capital punishment, there must be an executioner—a man whose job it is deliberately to kill other men. The law makes a distinction between a man who kills in a contest fit of passion and a man who kills in cold blood and deliberately. This latter crime is considered to be the worst of all. But our society obliges a man to commit it professionally.

Wasn't it Gandhi who said that no good crime could ever be stained by evil means? Deliberately killing men, that seems to me to be a rather evil means. A well organized human society does not need to be protected by such means. But if human society cannot be protected by other means than by paying a professional killer, then I think such a society is not worthy of being protected at all.

WIKKA UNCONSCIOUSLY CHUCKS

[Note: I wonder if it is really necessary to argue at length the case for abolition. It is not want of conviction that is in the way, but of will and courage to take the step. The Governments in Government were convinced that capital punishment was good in free lands as far back as 1941 but then there was no power! And power is a danger and is generally afraid to pursue moral principles. U.S.A. is so powerful that it is trying afraid of its safe extensive without equally powerful bombs! And Great Britain is afraid of demobilizing its policies. No wonder, if India, which follows them, cannot unmitigate them.

—R. G. H.]

TOTAL PROHIBITION

The State of Bombay has by the Bombay Prohibition Act of 1940, produced the manufacture, sale, bottling, consumption or use, or keeping of still and other apparatus for the manufacture of liquor finally from 31st March, 1940.

Classroom activities against total prohibition have been frequently called by certain papers, business magnates and their associations. They do not deny the social and moral value of prohibition, and its need in the interest of the people. But they counsel that the prohibitors must go slow towards it, because of the great loss of revenue to the State (Rs. 14 crores annually in Bombay), loss of industry of public opinion in its favour to make the implementation reasonably easy, the honoured place of wine in 'civilized' countries and 'high class' circles and its 'absolute necessity' in certain callings etc. the except. They feel that the seal of a mass action of persons, in power for the time being, must not be allowed to make things so vicious.

I believe that the social and moral value of prohibition is a factor which should be considered decisive in the matter, against all other considerations.

The case for prohibition is based on ruined health, unhappy homes, ruined for women, children and domestic affairs, lost wages, street lawns, murders and other crimes, and suicides. Prohibition is thus not a mere partial good, but stands on its own positive and concrete merits. Though the reform will also need constructive steps to wear away habits, it cannot be allowed to rest on mere persuasion and preaching. The temptation must be removed from the way to reinforce persuasion, and the Government for the people can ignore it.

Sobriety multiplies man-power manifold. Those who breed the loss of revenue of 14 crores of rupees are astonished at the fact that the money is not lost but comes with the reclaimed drink-addict, more often than not a needy person, and enables him to purchase better needs and enjoy happier home-life.

Also, vice cannot be eradicated by indulgence. This method has been tried in the case of prohibition and failed. At a cost of several crores of rupees spent unprofitably. The vice must be eradicated all at once and in toto and the Bombay Government has taken the right step in not departing from its policy of total prohibition throughout the province.

Commencing, soliciting the use of, or offering any intoxicant and to be found drunk or drinking in a common drinking house or to be present there for the purpose of drinking has been made a penal offence in the Province of Bombay including the merged areas, from June 16, 1940, on which date the Bombay Prohibition Act came into force. But some exemptions and exceptions were allowed under it till now. These will stand repealed from 31st March, 1940. Now

that the law is well laid, any criticism will be but needless which will undermine public confidence in the consistency of the State's Acts and policies.

Mumbai, Bombay 7 SARADANI PRATAPAI

Scientific Terms

An English-Gujarati Glossary of Scientific Terms in Nagari Script. (2nd edition, price Rs. 4) compiled by Shri P. G. Shah and published jointly, by the Rajarat Research Society and the Porbeni Gujarati Sabha, Bombay, deserves careful notice of educators and students of Indian languages, including the German Language Union.

It will remain for some years a debatable issue as to whether there should be a common terminology throughout India for all scientific and technical words, or whether different regional languages may select or coin whenever convenient or needed such words as would fit in with themselves or appeal to the immediately concerned masses. It will also be keenly debated for some years to what extent international and foreign words should be retained or adopted in our languages. Shri P. G. Shah has given both in Gujarati and English detailed working rules followed by him in compiling the Glossary. It would take too much space to reproduce them in full, but he has accepted in this regard as guiding principles the opinions of Cornhill Dr. Dymondrewood, Pandit Jivanlal Mehro, Shri Kaka Kulkarni, Prof. J. B. S. Haldane, and others of non-borrowal of foreign words as such acceptance of international words avoidance of pedantry in the formation of new words etc.

When one examines specific words of such compilations, it is always possible to pick up some words which sound strange and clumsy, too difficult, too pedantic, or too simple to make an appearance of respectability. Every such glossary can be ridiculed by a jesting critic. It may not be impossible to find a few examples of such from this glossary also. But this is not the proper way of assessing such works. The better way would be to mark out words which are good and acceptable. If one examined every compilation by a diligent and competent scholar might be found to contain words, a majority of which are common to all those who accept similar working rules and a few such as would be regarded as particularly happy formations. The difference of opinion would dwindle down to a few, except where the basic principles are altogether different.

I hope this glossary will be found useful by educationalists and writers on technical subjects. It purports to provide words for 25 branches of Physical and Social sciences and I believe, has about 1000 entries. Its utility has been enhanced by publishing it in the Nagari script.

Bombay, 15.3.50

S. G. M.

* The book is available at the Narayana Publishing House, P. O. Box 100, Ahmedabad.

ASHRAM ACTIVITIES

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I

Worship

(III)

Prarthana (Gujarati word for prayer) literally means to ask for something, that is, to ask God or ask for something in a spirit of humility. Here the word prarthana is not used in that sense, but in the sense of praising or worshipping God, meditation and self-purification.

But who is God? God is not some person outside our body or away from the universe. He pervades everything, and is immanent as well as transcendent. He does not need any praise or petition. Being all-pervasive He hears everything and reads our innermost thoughts. He abides in our hearts and is nearer to us than the mark are to the finger. What is the use of telling Him anything?

It is in view of this difficulty that prarthana is further paraphrased as self-purification. When we speak out aloud at prayer time, our speech is addressed not to God but to ourselves, and is intended to shake off our torpor. Some of us are intellectually aware of God, while others are afflicted by doubt. None has seen Him, face to face. We desire to recognise and realise Him, to become one with Him, and seek to gratify that desire through prayer.

That God whom we seek to realise is Truth. Or to put it in another way Truth is God. That Truth is not merely the truth we are expected to speak. It is That which alone is, which constitutes the stuff of which all things are made, which sustains by virtue of its own power, which is not supported by anything else but supports everything that exists. Truth alone is eternal, everything else is momentary. It does not need any shape or form. It is pure intelligence as well as pure bliss. We call it *Akshara* because everything is regulated by its will. It and the law it promulgates are one. Therefore it is not a blind law. This law governs the entire uni-verse. To propitiate this Truth is prarthana which falls down into an earnest desire to be filled with the spirit of Truth. This desire should be present all the twenty-four hours. But our souls are too dull to have this awareness day and night. Therefore we offer prayers for a short time in the hope that a time will come when all our conduct will be one continuously sustained prayer.

Such is the ideal of prayer for the Ashram, which at present is far, far away from it. The detailed programme outlined above is something external, but the idea is to make our very hearts prayerful. If the Ashram prayers are not still attractive, if even the results of the Ashram spread them under compulsion of a sort, it only means that form of us is still a mass of prayer in the real sense of the term.

In heartfelt prayer the worshipper's attention is concentrated on the object of worship so

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MARATHA CASTES)

Editor: E. G. KARNATAWALA

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TWO ANNAS

CRISIS IN EAST BENGAL

Having deliberately withdrawn myself for too long from active work in East Bengal for the purpose of preparing Ghandi's Biography I have witnessed almost over recent happenings in East Bengal and Calcutta. There are moments when silence is the best strategy one can render. But silence may also give rise to misunderstanding.

One cannot blame the people for giving credence to rumours in the absence of authentic information. Whoever denies liability for obtaining it takes a heavy responsibility. But the very magnitude of the crisis calls for the strictest restraint on our part. To allow our emotions to run away with our judgment would betray the height of irresponsibility, for which others might have to pay a heavy price.

Our first thought today should be about the victims of disturbances, whose fate hangs in the balance. The best help we can render is to be more than ever correct in our attitude towards the minority community in our midst. Indian citizenship is on trial. Indian Muslims are our nationals, and entitled to equal treatment with the rest. I know how deeply both our Prime Minister and Deputy Prime Minister feel on this. We should bring our Constitution if we fail to implement the guarantees that we have ourselves provided to our minorities.

What applies to Indian citizens applies with even greater force to the refugees from East Bengal. Let them think of their unfortunate brethren and sisters whom they have left behind, whose safety might be jeopardised if they give way to retaliation. Indian Muslims have done them no wrong. By taking the law into their own hands they would forfeit the sympathy to which their unprovoked sufferings entitled them and handicap their Government in settling the score with the Pakistan Government. May I, as one who regards himself as a sincere friend of Pakistan, having tried to serve its people in East Bengal for nearly two years, address the same advice to Pakistan too? I know of people in Kashmir as well as Western Pakistan who must be feeling humiliation and anguish at what is taking place in East Bengal. How can we make their voice audible?

Only Three Courses

In things stood there are only three courses before us:

(1) To rehabilitate the victims of disturbances in their original homes—with full guarantee of safety. Numbers of them have come over to India, others have taken shelter in improvised camps in Pakistan while still others are marooned in their villages. Where their homes have been for they seized they should be restored. Where they have been destroyed new ones must be provided, with compensation for the losses suffered. The minorities must be brought to look on as an object of proper treatment of the minority in future.

(2) Mass exodus under safe conduct of the minority community in East Bengal with compensation by the Government of India for the losses suffered by them in East Bengal and perhaps territorial readjustment to make it possible to accommodate them in India.

(3) Mass compulsory exchange of populations, with full settlement of Government land of claims arising out of properties left behind by members of the minority community in either country.

It is clear that it is altogether beyond the resources of the Indian Government to meet a general invitation for exodus with promise of compensation, unaccompanied by territorial readjustment. It would cripple it for years, and if attempted at the expense of the general taxpayer, might create a feeling against the minority community in India which would jeopardise the very basis of the united State. That would be the worst reverse that India could suffer, and cannot be thought of.

The third course would only be the precursor of war between the two countries which would benefit neither, and, as Ghandi used to warn us, might result in the loss of their new-won independence. It might even cause a world conflagration.

We are thus left only with the first course, and it should be clear as daylight that a well-aid help if we allow ourselves to be led by the mood of the moment.



It is a pity that the Pakistan Government has turned down the proposal for a joint inquiry by India and Pakistan and a tour of the affected areas by the Prime Ministers together. Nothing would have helped more to restore confidence. Let us hope that the Pakistan Government will still reconsider its decision.

But whether that happens or not, and irrespective of what the two Governments may do, a heavy responsibility rests upon those who believe in the method of peace and abhor war, having realized from repeated experience that war achieves nothing, and in itself constitutes an evil which is a concentration of all the evils it seeks to cure.

Peace-Makers' Opportunity

There are working in India and Pakistan people like the members of the Friends' Service Unit — convinced pacifists. I am sure that there are other men of faith among Europeans in India and Pakistan, like the late Metropolitan, whose humanity must be feeling the challenge of recent happenings. I know of others again who have come to the conclusion that, so far as Islam as this continent is concerned, there is no salvation except through Gandhi's method of non-violence. Then there is the International Red Cross Organization. Indian Muslims too might feel the call to render humanitarian service to their non-Muslim brethren in distress across the border.

It is up to all three groups to go to the affected areas to try to ascertain the true facts, and take hope and success to the innocent victims. They must take no refusal at the hands of the Governments concerned to let them proceed with their mission. That would make them passive witnesses to the martyrdom of elementary humanity at the hands of unworthy ambitions and fanatical forces. Success will depend on putting truth and humanity above all, the peace gained by sacrificing them would be the peace of the grave which is a misnomer.

Four years ago Gandhi, by his victorious passage in Noakhali, Bihar, Calcutta and Delhi, helped us to rediscover truth and God for ourselves, and to re-embrace them in our midst when for the time being they were eclipsed by man's inhumanity to man. His spirit will not fail us at this juncture if at least a select few rise equal to the occasion and have the faith to do and dare.

PERKINS.

"Gandhi and Marx"

I regret that owing to pressure of both time and space, I have not been able to give this week the fifth installment of Gandhi and Marx.

Sunday, 3-3-58

R. C. M.

SELECTED LETTERS

Second Series

(By T. K. Gandhi)

III

[A footnote of this letter can be seen in the *Hawale's* *Illustrated* edition.]

—T. K. G.]

I am sorry for your loss which in reality is no loss. 'Death is but a sleep and a forgetting.' This is such a sweet sleep that the body has not to wake again, and the dead land of memory is therein overgrown. So far as I know, happily there is no waking in the beyond as we have it today. When the material drops such they share the tragedy of the comic to which they belong. In isolation they die but to meet the crowd again.

IV

[He is a little girl who asked why we can not remember anything of our previous births.]

We cannot remember everything even of our present birth, and it is good that we forget most of it, otherwise we would go mad. We should leave the brain that any event is capable of teaching us, and then forget it.

V

[Should the Indian girls keep long hair or shave their heads clean?]

When you remove the hair, you save the time which would be devoted in dressing it, as well as the money which you would spend on combs, oils and what not, you kill the superstition that the 'glory' of a woman is her hair and your head is free from dirt. A head shaved clean is the symbol of independence for women. If young girls as well as married women shaved their heads clean, a clean-shaven head would cease to be a sign of widowhood as it is at present. And so on.

VI

[Should a person who is reported to have eaten a live tiger's head, tail, claws and all the like in the presence of a 'fortnightly' audience.]

In my opinion they [such exhibitions] are degrading both for the demonstrator and also for the public. And if the demonstrator died, as he most likely would if these demonstrations were continued those who encouraged him by attending them I should hold guilty of man slaughter. I do not think that either science or humanity is served by such revolting exhibitions. The textbooks on Naturopathy clearly lay down that Naturopathy is expected not to exhibit their people powers or make use of them for purposes of gain.

VII

[He is a little girl who asked him to give hair and beard.]

I hold a totally different view from yours. Whatever value outward symbols had before, they do not and ought not to possess the superlative value that you seem to attach to the growing of hair and beard. For me I can see no reason whatever for departing from a long established practice which I have accepted for myself. I would far rather that people judged me by my deeds than by my outward appearance.

VIII

You ask me when I shall come so that we shall meet. If you made a proper use of your eyes, you would surely see me there, for my soul is there. It does not matter if my body is here or has even been reduced to ashes. It is quite possible that I may not be there in spirit although my body is there.

[IV, V VIII translated from the Goparati by T. G. D.]

EDUCATION FOR PEACE

II

Scope of Basic Education

We must now consider the aim and nature of the social unit which Basic Education envisages and how it may be established. Let us keep in mind the values on which Basic Education is founded. These include responsibility, creative opportunity and community co-operation in various forms as the means of developing whole, self-reliant persons and a neighbouring community confident of its unity and inward strength, through its power to ensure a large degree of self-sufficiency.

The social, economic and political aims of Basic Education include: (1) a community of limited size such that every person within it can enhance it in his mind and imagination and feel a communal relationship with all its members; (2) small scale industries communally or co-operatively owned and co-operatively run; (3) where power machinery is used, new industrial technique will be required.

The organization of the economic and social life of these small communities would constitute the basis of their political life, which would be in the control of small councils, the title and constitution of which will differ according to the varying conditions in different countries. These small communities would achieve degrees of self-sufficiency according to their size and make up, in highly industrialized countries, small industrial units, capable of supplying the needs of several or many villages, would no doubt be established, which would call for a measure of planning and then for a regional economy. Even where this situation did not occur there are many reasons why a regional economy would be advantageous. A group of villages around a small country town might become a cultural centre of great value to them all and be the means of stimulating a varied artistic life of high quality. Indeed they might be the means of giving birth to a new creative era.

Another characteristic of these new social units is that by combining agriculture with a wide variety of handicrafts and several small-scale industries they would become well-integrated, whence they would create a sense of completeness. Able to belong to a community rich in the fruits of good husbandry, of numerous crafts, of thought and imagination expressed in letter, painting, music, drama, dan-

cing, etc., would be an acquisition of incalculable value.

These village communities would be of a wide variety of types and organizations. In general, those in the East would be simpler in character, and would achieve a much greater degree of self-sufficiency than those in the West, because of their different climatic and environmental conditions.

Many villages would be wholly built under our new conception, while others would be old villages reconstructed.

In the West, small scale power machinery would be introduced in many which would give them a distinct character. At the same time it should be stressed that handicrafts possess a remarkable power of personal and family integration.

The question of the highly centralized industries raises problems which cannot be dealt with in a document of this kind but, since some 80 per cent of industry as organized in the West is capable of being decentralized, the problem of the remaining 20 per cent can safely be deferred for the present.

It is in such a setting that we must consider the teaching and practice of Basic Education or the art of living. This mode of education is basic because it is a way of life and not a creed, a process of developing inward strength by self-giving in contrast to the way of money-making or profit planning. The former wins all because it gives all, whereas the latter loses all because it seeks to possess all. Self-giving opens hearts and hands everywhere, and so gains friends and unbounded spiritual treasure, whereas self-seeking groups dead things only, and have the seeds of greatest pain.

How then are these new communities to be established? Obviously they can only be built by those who have the vision of them. For a long time to come, therefore, the extension of small community living on the lines of Basic Education must proceed independently of Governments, on voluntary lines, and powered by means of the abundant life which they bring within the reach of all.

On the other hand, as most reconstruction, co-operative work comes into conflict with tradition and various vested interests, opposition may occur which may be unhelpful and cruel. Here will be the real test for the worker in Basic Education: the test of soul force, the basis of which is honesty, patience and undented faith in the possibility of spiritual miracles, which at root is the triumph of the good over the evil in human nature. The process of spiritual rebirth may be short or long: hence the need of patience. In general, however, self-giving is the most potent force which lies within man's power and so it is the powers in basic living that rely to the utmost.

"Basic Education", said Gandhi "extends from the moment a child is conceived to the moment of death."

HARIJAN

March 12

1950

ALL-INDIA UNITY

The Prime Minister's statement on the situation in East Pakistan is extremely disturbing to the soul. According to my simple understanding neither war nor exchange of populations is a remedy. Nor economic measures as such. Nor can the situation be witnessed with equanimity. Nor should a sense of helplessness be allowed to take possession of us. When darkness is intense and one thinks that he is unable to see anything, after a little waiting and a little straining of eyes one begins to perceive a little, which gradually reveals itself more distinctly. In the darkness of mind, the waiting has to be perpetual and the waiting that of innermost belief and humane ways—these of truth, non-violence and love—must be there and it is our duty to seek them in the same spirit in which Gandhi sought them. We must have the faith that the Great Spirit which guided him has not died with him, and it must guide us also if we make ourselves receptive enough for his light.

It seems to me that time has long come when we must think afresh and examine the very roots of our various assumed premises. Wise and discerning Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs and others of both Bharat and Pakistan must do this.

(1) that Bharat and Pakistan though politically two independent sovereign States together constitute one 'All-India', and one fatherland of all the people living in either of the sub-countries;

(2) that any war or killing between or within the two sub-countries, whether by the governments or as a result of an outbreak of religious fanaticism or passions among the people,—is a civil conflict—a conflict between different groups of the same nation. It should never take place and should never be allowed to spread;

(3) that no State must be founded in the name of any particular class, creed, race or culture—and the mere fact that the majority of the people in the one are Hindus and in the other Muslims cannot be allowed to permit either of them to develop into a State based on or dedicated to the culture, religion or principles of any one of them.

(4) that the people of both the sub-countries irrespective of their caste, creed etc., must remain equal citizens of and enjoy equal protection from their respective States.

(5) that such conditions must prevail in both the sub-countries that a person of

one sub-country might go to the other and move about there with the same feeling of mental ease and confidence with which he might do in another province or administrative unit of his own.

(6) that the suggestion of exchange of populations or driving away the people of one sub-country into another must be renounced and condemned as inhuman, abominable and wicked barbarity; so also, the depriving them of their property.

(7) that acts of cruelty, arson, abduction, rape etc., and destruction of religious places of the one by another, in whichever sub-country perpetrated, must be regarded as unreservedly condemnable and whoever encourages them must be held as no better than a felon.

(8) that all the distinctions between Indians and Pakistanis must be obliterated and regarded as inconsequential and merely of administrative convenience, so far as the fundamental rights, liberties, political, social, religious and other movements and activities of the people of either of the sub-countries are concerned.

(9) that whatever might be the differences in the political set up and administrative systems of the two States, the people of the two States are one, their pleasures and hardships are common, and that the citizens of one sub-country may rightfully take as much interest in the affairs of the other, as he might in those of a different province of his own sub-country.

(10) that the glorification of and assertion of an exclusive Hindu Muslim Sikh or other religious or communal culture, and allegiance to a religion in a manner which undermines the development of a sense of fundamental unity of the people of all India must be discouraged and discarded.

(11) that problems can never be solved by war, murder, arson, deception and other violent means. These must be renounced absolutely and search must be made for other means even though it might involve running risks and making sacrifices in the beginning.

Nothing short of a radical change in our attitude and a searching examination of their very root of the religious and cultural tenets accepted by us as unquestionable will I feel show us the way to stop these barbarities in one sub-country or the other. In the name of religion, culture, race, language etc. men has surrounded himself to States and installed him as place of God in his heart. Mankind must be freed from clutches of Satan at all costs.

In the meanwhile it is the bounden duty of every citizen to help the Government of India in maintaining fullest communal peace and harmony inside Bharat. None may take the law

into his own hands. None may think that he is justified in molesting an Indian Muslim or despoiling a Muslim religious place either fully or as an answer to what might have been reported to have taken place in Pakistan against his co-religionists. Let him remember that any such act, besides endangering the safety of those still living in Pakistan, serves only as a sure method of promoting 'Hindu-Muslim' hostility in Bharat. And in this connection, I cannot hide my dissatisfaction with the attitude of even some Congress leaders holding responsible positions.

At the same time, there is a grave duty falling upon Indian Muslims at this juncture. A statement here and there of individual leaders, even of such of them as were Muslim League in the past, supporting the Government of India, or condemning that of Pakistan, is hardly sufficient to meet the needs of the time. There are those whose silence or inadequate expression creates misunderstanding. Muslim mass leaders and Muslim masses should rise to the occasion and give an unmistakable expression of their attitude towards the acts and policies of Pakistan, even as they might rightly express commitment for molestation of innocent members of their community by Hindus and others. All barbarities must be condemned whether perpetrated by Hindus or by Muslims, whether in Bharat or Pakistan, whether with the consent or connivance of the Government or otherwise by individuals.

While I address them frankly to Muslims let us Hindus rise too for taming a Muslim. Let him remember that in these communal disturbances Hindus are not quite innocent victims or even mere retaliators, and have never been guilty of inflicting the crimes. So none may taunt another or enter into invective comparisons. But let us all realise that unity and power will come to all-India, when Hindus die for saving Muslims, and Muslims die for saving Hindus. This courage has to be cultivated by members of every community both in Bharat and Pakistan.

Bombay, 1-3-50

K. C. NARAYAN

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COMMENCING ENGLISH

The reported decision of the Bombay Government to reintroduce English in Standard VII, with the probability of being carried down to standards V and VI as of old is an instance of inconsistent policies which are responsible for wasteful expenditure and embarrassment to students, parents, school-authorities and teachers alike. When changes take place in a haphazard and ill-adjusted manner, those who view the changes unfavourably become suspicious of the motive behind them.

Cardinal's was a very powerful and revolutionary personality and conceived of an original and bold method of pedagogy. He got it endorsed by the Congress. Unfortunately for orthodox educationists, it received high praise also from foreign educationists, including experts of U.S.A. The Congress Government and organised Congress men in general found themselves in the uncomfortable position of having to accept it as a sort of State policy and above speak highly of it, while their personal training and bias rejected it to a great degree. This mental conflict betrays itself in policies, which very frequently deviate from the central principle.

Basic education demands that education must not be belaboured for a period of at least 5 years if not more. It should mark the completion of a stage, after which majority of the students are not expected to take further training in regular teaching institutions. This means that whatever training is imparted to them must be fairly sufficient in itself, and that they should not be made to begin a study which will never really be too good to be of practical use.

English is a subject of this type. One or two or three years' study of English is quite insufficient by itself, and it cannot be taught without prejudice to the teaching of craft, which is the centre of basic education. Hence it has become a controversial issue between two schools of educationists and nationalists.

If we examine this issue well, the whole thing falls down to finding room both for craft education and linguistic education. We are so placed or so developed that I do not know whether we are more language-mad or more compelled to learn several languages under force of circumstances. The mother tongue a provincial language (including Urdu), Hindi, Sanskrit, English all prefer their claims against us. Then, if the subject is a Muslim, Arabic has a special claim upon him. A South Indian language must not also be neglected by a good citizen. Now, either we have to stop somewhere, or devise a scheme which will provide for everything.

If we can persuade ourselves to extend the system of compulsory basic education to 8 or 10 years instead of 7 or 8, it would not be impossible to give more languages than two (the mother tongue and Hindi) to every one. Nine or ten years' course of basic education would not only equip the pupil with better knowledge of the

craft, and make the school more completely or better self-supporting than most, but would also make it possible to teach at least two of the following languages—English, Hindi or, a modern Indian language besides the mother tongue and Hindi. Science mathematics etc. would also be better taught and grasped. Those whose capacity for languages is poor could have alternative branches of study. If along with this we can persuade ourselves to reduce the number of our writings, the study of languages would become easier still.

Our present conservatism again and again throws us back into old and rejected grooves, with the result that we make no progress.

Controversies are good where they are needed for finding truth. The present controversy about the place of English and the stage at which it should be introduced is not so. It serves only to create confusion. There are two ways of resolving it. Either as I have suggested above to extend the Basic education period to 8 or 10 years or to make English compulsory for all whatever the standard at which it is introduced. High and low centres in education should be definitely avoided as very harmful. If English must be taught before the end of the accepted basic period, it is far better that even basic school pupils are made to learn it than that they should carry the feeling that they belong to an inferior type of school. No doubt, the knowledge of English, which they will get may not be more than that of the English Primary and be perfectly useless, nevertheless it is better than the development of an inferiority complex. Finally the whole Primary and Secondary course should be treated in a full and satisfactory way, so that there is no abandonment of three hours' credit at any stage.

Bombay, 27-2-55

S. N. KARNATAKIA

TRAINING CAMPS

Holding of camps and conferences has been getting popular among the constructive workers for some years. They play an important role in the promotion of constructive work and the propagation of its philosophy. Hence it will be useful to give a brief account of the experiences of the camps and conferences organised by us during the last two years.

In November, 1948, a camp was organised at Sevagram for all-India constructive workers to deliberate upon the various aspects of the new scheme and programme formulated by the A. I. S. A. This was followed by similar camps in several provinces. The discussions which took place in the camps brought home to them the importance of the Charkha as a makeshift weapon to accomplish the social and economic revolution. They also realised that unless they order their personal life fully in tune with the aim and object of their mission, their propaganda and formulation of plans will be only superficial and will not achieve much progress.

The camps also gave them the practical expo-

rience of organising programmes of spinning, cleanliness and knowledge of diseases. We also discussed some details of our camps. One was lost of training with the people of the village, another of dependence on the central fund for expenses of food and other arrangements. This is inconsistent with the aim of organising work entirely with the help of the village without dependence on any other source for help. This is a point which deserves our serious consideration.

In November last at the conference of Khadi Tools (Sarvashil) Workers, there was a suggestion to hold an all-India meeting of members of Spinning Clubs. This led to the consideration of the above details in the present manner of holding camps. It was then decided that villages should be made the venue of such camps and that the delegates should not be all boarded and lodged together but distributed among the villages as guests. This will enable the delegates to mix with the members of the family of their respective hosts. Each delegate would carry out a programme of cleanliness of his own surroundings and conduct a joint prayer. He would also explain to them the philosophy of constructive programme. The delegates would meet together only for deliberation upon the agenda of the conference.

It was decided to hold provincial conferences of Spinning Clubs on the above lines. The work done in various provinces was promising. The idea caught the imagination of the people and was taken up with enthusiasm. The A. I. S. A. now feels that organisation of camps of this type only is not sufficient. The regular training camps of workers and trainees must also be organized in the same way and there should be a permanent machinery to guide and organize the camps in a disciplined manner. A separate autonomous committee has, therefore been appointed for the purpose.

Under the scheme that has been formulated, there will be two types of camps. Ordinary and Special. An ordinary camp is meant for students, congressmen and others. (Spinning members of Spinning Clubs) who wish to understand the philosophy of constructive programme. It may be of two types. One is last for three days and another for seven days. In the three-day camp instructions about the philosophy and ideology of constructive programme will be given. The seven-day camp will pay more attention to the training of whole life. The special camp, meant for constructive workers, will last for one week, two weeks or five weeks, depending upon the training to be imparted.

In a one-week camp training will be given for preparing a charkha from bamboo. It will also give the philosophy and training of life. In a two-week camp, we shall be able to give them education in philosophy of life and art of living life through various processes of collective spinning. At this stage, a five-week camp cannot

be organized in villages, and will have to be maintained in a regular institutional centre.

The programme of the camp will be something like this: A group will go one week in advance to the village which undertakes to invite the camp. It will train the village people in the manner of organizing camps, programmes of cleanliness, congregational prayer, the manner in which villagers should participate in the items of work etc. As far as possible, it will be our attempt to attract invitation from villages where spinning spindles have been already organized, so that they might get the benefit of lasting results of the camp.

I invite constructive workers to think over and make suggestions on these matters.

Sevagram

INDEPENDENT BAHAMAS

President,

All India Spinning Association

(From Hindi)

AIMS AND OBJECTS OF SATYAGRAHA UNITS

The A. J. M. S. Satyagraha Programme for Guyana has been referred to below. The following are particular extracts from it: — (A. J. M. S.)

Aims

Our aim is the development throughout the world of a Non-violent Society. We believe that this can be achieved only by a Non-violent Revolution.

A Non-violent Society is one which realises social justice and brotherhood. It is free from exploitation which is always built on violence and leads to violence. In the nature of the case it must be based not on material but on human and spiritual values or standards. It aims at the development and expression of human personality.

A Non-violent, Non-exploiting Social Order

The social order for which we strive has the following basic characteristics:

1. It will give first consideration to the development and expression of human personality and to the satisfaction of the natural and spiritual needs of human communities rather than to the amassing of material goods or power.

2. It will aim at organizing men as far as possible in comparatively small and largely self-sufficient social units, widely spread out so that every one may be in daily contact with nature.

3. New industrial techniques will be sought to bring about decentralization in most industries, so that responsibility and creative opportunity may be enjoyed by all. For the same reason, the ownership of basic industries, mines, and workshops will be socialized and control will be vested in the workers and technicians directly concerned rather than in the hands of private monopoly or bureaucratic State machinery. The technique of co-operation will be extensively used. The principle of equal pay for all socially necessary labour, with only

such modifications as are socially determined, will prevail.

4. A reasonably balanced economy as between primary and secondary production will be sought for in every country, and trade will consist of exchanging surpluses of the commodities which communities, regions, or nations are unable to produce for themselves.

5. Political organization will largely develop naturally and organically in conjunction with the local and regional economy in every part of a country. It will in all cases be thoroughly democratic. There will, therefore, be no institutions on liberty of speech, press, association and religion.

6. There will be no segregation or discrimination on racial, religious, or other lines.

7. The new social order will involve the conviction that persons are to be loyal first of all to the one human family, the world-community, and that other loyalties must be subjected to this. Sovereign nation-states such as we know to-day, largely devoted to the waging of the power-struggle and to war, will cease to exist. Political, economic and cultural world-organizations such as may be needed will be developed with the needs of human beings, regardless of locality, race or nationality, in mind. We reject any concept of an armed world or super-state.

There are two fundamental and complementary ways in which aspirants work for the new social order, the non-violent revolution. First, by "constructive work", i.e. by promoting at once, wherever possible, the organization of communities on a natural, co-operative basis for self-sufficiency and healthy inter-dependence, and by supporting and extending measures taken in our respective countries in this direction. Secondly, by resistance to the forces of exploitation, discrimination, oppression and war wherever we may encounter them. Co-operation with all healthy forces and forms, non-co-operation with evil, are the means for achieving that non-violent revolution which in Gandhi's words "is not a programme of 'seizure of power'". It is a programme of transformation of relationships ending in a general transfer of power."

Non-violent revolutionists cannot put off until some moment in time when "the revolution" has taken place, the being of a life and the building of a society based on Truth and Non-violence. They must begin at once to revolutionize their own lives.

Commitments

More specifically, this involves the following commitments on our part:

1. A non-violent revolution changes external relationships and arrangements but it is primarily an inner revolution, a re-birth of man. We recognize, therefore, that first of all the inner life of each of us must conform more and more to Truth and Non-violence. Conquering of our unworthiness and weakness and of our need of inner

discipline, each of us pledges himself to continue or institute a plan for regular physical meditation or prayer, and also whatever possible to establish disciplined cells for corporate meditation or prayer, study, and action.

2. We are pledged to the principle of non-attachment to possessions, especially those which involve control over the livelihood of others. This means simplifying our lives, reducing our personal needs, and recognising our obligation to share our possessions if needed with each other and with our fellow human beings. In partial and systematic fulfilment of our responsibility to be identified with our fellow-men we adopt the spinning wheel or some suitable equivalent means of performing a minimum of an hour of manual work daily.

3. We recognise that in our respective countries we must not stand aloof from the economic and political struggles of workers, farmers, and rural groups subjected to discrimination but must take part in these struggles, making clear that we are identified in spirit with the oppressed and underprivileged, and striving by teaching and example to win them to the practice of non-violence. We recognise that we are on very weak ground, both morally and practically, in advising the Communists or others who may resort to violent methods unless, on the one hand, we are known to give ourselves at least as heartily as they do to the struggle for social justice and on the other hand, take the initiative in constant experimentation with non-violent methods for the waging of that struggle.

4. Each of us will work in his or her own country to bring about understanding and good relations first of all with the country regarded as its most dangerous enemy. We shall do all in our power to initiate or greatly expand in each country the campaign to isolate the will of the people to resist war and to bring influence to bear upon the government to abandon war unconditionally, and to dismantle its military establishment as rapidly as possible. In other words, we shall not only support action for universal disarmament and the establishment of world organisation, but each will work for unilateral governmental law on our nation, which would thus withdraw from the armaments race and start a disarmament race.

5. As it is the moral responsibility of each nation to renounce war and violence, even if others are not yet prepared to follow, so we recognise that it is our individual responsibility to do so, even though others may not be ready to take the same step. Our first loyalty is not to our national State or any other limited grouping but to the one human family or world-community. We declare ourselves, therefore, to be World Citizens, conscious that in this way we can best serve the true and legitimate interests of our respective nations or peoples, but fully prepared to be deprived of or renounce our status as citizens in any national State if that should be required in order to maintain our supreme loyalty to the world community.

We pledge ourselves, furthermore, to refuse to bear arms under any circumstances, to render any service in the armed forces of any nation to which is military training or assist in equipping it or others, or to work on the production or distribution of war materials.

The need of effective and total resistance to war and conscription in the Atomic Age is so great and urgent that Civil Disobedience to these orders for as not only legitimate but necessary and imperative. We are, therefore, pledged, as opportunities may be found and as individuals and groups may most effectively practice it in the situations in which they are placed, to engage in Civil Disobedience, such as refusal to register under any conscription law, to pay taxes for war purposes, fasting, and other measures.

6. Recognising that those who renounce war and violence are under obligation to do their utmost to demonstrate the effectiveness of law and non-violence, we undertake to carry out non-violent actions in striving to overcome racial segregation, religious intolerance, and exploitation and oppression of individuals and groups in our respective countries. We declare ourselves ready also to serve in non-violent forces or "Peace Brigades" if necessary to resist aggression under a government committed to non-violence. We recognise also our responsibility to find means for organising non-cooperation or non-violent resistance in case of invasion or occupation where the government of our fellow-citizens is still wedded to armed force and violence.

7. We adopt the Gandhi Cap as the symbol of our fellowship. Without increasing its use as a requirement, we urge its wide adoption as a rumour by which sympathisers may be readily identified wherever they are and as in itself a perpetual reminder to those who wear it of the cause for which we stand.

"No one," Gandhi declared in *Haripur*, August 23, 1940, "need wait for anyone else in order to adopt a right course. Men generally hesitate to make a beginning if they feel that the objective cannot be had in entirety. Such an attitude of mind is in reality a bar to progress." And again, "There will never be an army of perfectly non-violent people. It will be formed of those who will honestly endeavour to observe non-violence."

A. J. MURTE

(A copy of the entire text of this document may be obtained from No. 4, J. Murti, Followership of Gandhi House, 11, Anandam Ashram Road, Calcutta 12, N.W.)

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TWO ANNAS

GANDHI AND MARK

T

The reader knows that even some schools of spiritual philosophy justify the employment of untruth, violence and other foul means for achieving an end. On the other hand there are naturalist and ethical schools of thought, which regard morality as untransgressible and most open party of means. Thus the basic question, namely, what is the true basis for the ethics of truth, non-violence etc., remains unsolved.

Let us leave aside for the moment all metaphysical discussions about Spirit and Matter, and look at both the world and ourselves as we find them in the present. It is a world in which life (i.e. sentient creatures) is always found in closest association with matter (i.e. material) elements. Manhood is one type of such life-matter-complex bodies. It is spread all over the world. A few ethnological varieties of it are easily distinguished. These are again sub-divided into various secondary types as a result of a multiplicity of causes whether of hereditary and congenital nature or exterior ones. This has led to the formation of big or small distinct groups or societies. Some of them are centuries old. Common features bind the individuals of such groups together and impel them to work together for achieving common purposes. The differences between one group and another are often so bewildering that one is apt to think that mankind is not a single species, but several distinct and mutually incompatible and unworkable ones.

But experience, experiment and history show that these apparent distinctions are only superficial, and that underneath them are certain similarities and features of evolution, which are common to all mankind. The course of their evolution and devolution is common not only to all races and groups, but even to individuals. For instance, the ethnological differences of colour, hair, cheek-bone etc., in human beings are less serious impediments to their interbreeding than similar differences in the various breeds of cows. Also the story of the growth and decay of their moral and intellectual faculties and of the order of evolution and devolution of and readiness to benevolent and malevolent acts is similar everywhere. Every race and group has produced and is capable of producing

men and women of very noble, talented and heroic type as well as their opposites. With suitable opportunities, every group may establish a powerful kingdom, and a great culture and make the fullest use of the scientific knowledge then available. They may all attain to great height in moral and intellectual qualities, and may all in course of time lapse into luxury and vice, and bring about decay and destruction of their particular civilisation.

Eminent scientists are thinkers have examined the order and history of the growth and decay of various human groups from various angles, such as, of ethnology, language, religion, political rule, social and economic institutions, literature, music, painting, sculpture etc. Since society has a longer life than its individuals, and since the latter's statements and doings are transmitted to the survivors either through heredity or association, some have attached greater importance to society than to the individual, regarding the latter as no more than a leg of a centipede, a few of which may be sacrificed by it to save its life. On the other hand, some attach more importance to the growth and development of the individual, because society exists and evolves through, and for its individuals and has no existence or purpose apart from its individuals. All these studies reveal that no scholar is capable of looking at life from every angle. The best of them is able to look at only a minute phase thereof, and draw inferences about the whole from that limited experience. And yet several of them feel dogmatically certain about their conclusions, and regard all those who do not accept them as ignorant, mistaken or wilfully false and wicked, whom they feel it to be their right and bounden duty to suppress or destroy. Valuable though that knowledge may be, it must always be remembered that it is after all preliminary and partial. The conclusions have to be justified and proved both in their physical and moral effects by one's own direct observation and experience. None can deny the conclusiveness of science and history, in the extent they are proved on the touchstones of experience, which is more important and basic than the studies. There is little room for difference of opinion as to open realisations of experience. Differences arise only over that part which is inferential, conjectural, based on analogies, or influence of prepossessions.

The experience of human life as it is shows that the line of human progress is its upward course proceeds from ignorance to knowledge, from dependence to self-reliance, from a sense of poverty and powerlessness to that of plenty and power, from transience and short life to permanence and longevity, even immortality, from despair to hope. Also true on the line desires to be deceived and kept in ignorance of truth, to be hated by or live in fear of others, or willingly to put up with injustice, meekness etc. Every one wants to know the truth of a matter, to be loved and esteemed by others, to be treated justly and kindly and to be free from fear.

Again the experience of life is that the relation of an individual to his society is that of a resource life *as it is* during the stage of his childhood and adolescence, and the extent of society varies from one's family to a narrow group, the nation or the whole creation according to circumstances and enlightenment. Such individual regards the society in which he lives as existing for him and sees it as a means for achieving his own ends. In a semi-advanced stage the relationship grows into one of mutual deal. The individual and society accommodate and serve each other according to exigencies and try to grow by mutual give and take. None thinks that one is absolutely good for the other and may be sacrificed or exploited for one's own ends. But on certain occasions, the individual willingly sacrifices himself for society and on certain others, society makes sacrifices for maintaining and developing the individual. Thus for instance, the whole family spends itself out for the recovery or education of a child, or a single earning member for maintaining a great number of dependents. None takes this as anything but a natural act for a man to do. So too in relation with the community, with the nation, with humanity and with creation in general. Normally there is not even the consciousness of having performed a duty. It is as natural a conduct as smelling one's own chair in crossing a street. The unhealthy awareness of regarding such conduct as an act of sacrifice arises only when there are indications of selfish and ungrateful behaviour on the other side. If the behaviour is normal the occasion for making a sacrifice is not a matter of heart-burning or mental discrimination. It is just an act which is expected of any human being towards any other. The reason is that in the line of progress the development of the capacity to give is higher than the stage in which one is a constant receiver.

Hence, as the human mind develops from the mobile stage to a still higher one, the urge to give and serve the weak and to help him to be strong, self-reliant and prosperous becomes more intense. If a sacrifice is necessary either for one's own good or for a common good, or even for a noble purpose, it is not the weak who are to be sacrificed but the strong ones. If people are to be rescued from a sinking steamer, it is the women, the children and the infirm who are

to be helped out first, not the able-bodied men. Where the weak, the dependent and the backward parts are sacrificed for a seeming good, it is exploitation. In the course of its growth the human mind feels a sense of satisfaction in advancing towards a life of regeneration of the fruits of prosperity from that of enjoyment thereof. He who desires to be a protector and a guardian of the weak feels encouragement of comforts and luxuries as elevating and indispensable. Leadership (*etc.*) consists in the capacity to protect and resource, not in the display of plenty and enjoyment of luxuries.

Also, the human mind, to the extent it is evolved at present, presents certain unmistakable features as characteristics of the form of energy known as mind. Some of these are: Memory, Will, Desire, Control of memory and desire, Discrimination, Emotion and Faith. All the rules, conventions and ideas about morality, good conduct, rights and duties of man, as also religious, political, economic and other systems which man has founded or destroyed are the result of the growth or decay of these common characteristics of the mind, and these characteristics are the basis on which ethics is founded.

Thus, ethics stands on direct experience and is independent of metaphysical speculations on *Atma* and *Matter*. Individuals and groups of men in their undeveloped or underdeveloped stage of physical or mental childhood have to be receivers, as such they will tend towards selfishness and even resort to falsehood, violence, vice, corruption etc., to achieve their ends. That they behave so, as it is a natural way and cannot restrain themselves and may even have to be excused for doing so, does not mean that such behaviour is *dharma* or lawful, is right for man. The function of *dharma* or law is to lay down what is right for man to do, and this can be only to act with the highest degree of discrimination, knowledge and benevolence i.e. with progressive adherence to truth, non-violence, self-control, renunciation etc.

It may be said without fear of contradiction that the human mind is the highest development of sentient organisms in the world known to us. In Western philosophies, and in common parlance also as Indian ones, no distinction is made between mind and the soul or Spirit. The highest and noblest individuals which mankind has produced show to what height mind or spirit is capable of rising in its course of evolution.

Thus, though ethics does not require a spiritual basis to justify it, it may not be denied that Spirit, *Atma* or God plays a very important part in keeping a person or persons on the right line at a critical moment. It also sustains him in periods of disappointment and distress, it enables him to fight against odds, and also saves him from getting choked with success or intoxicated with power. He does not regard himself as the centre and fulcrum of the universe or

truly think that the world will go to ruin after him.

This does not mean that God or soul is an unprovable concept or has been hypothesized for a purpose. The faith in the soul is a conviction born of further and deeper plunges into the depths of the mind and is as much a conclusion based on introspection, observation and thinking as any other truth of science. But I must leave this side of the discussion at that and proceed to other aspects of the main topic.

Bombay, 1-3-50

A. G. MANSURWALA

EDUCATION FOR PEACE

III

Tasks for the Present Age

It is to the territory and reclamation of spiritual values that we must look for the solution of our major national and world problems. In the midst of modern materialism it reveals a total lack of imagination to regard Russia as the arch enemy of freedom and progress. Let us not forget that Soviet Russia is the product of social and economic breakdown and that Communism is a sincere attempt to find a better way of life. That it has failed in this purpose only makes more urgent the continuation of search. Both Socialism and Communism despise their professed faith, have taken over the money values of Capitalism in consequence of which they are functioning in the manner created by that system. Were the diplomacy of the big powers during the last 25 years to be exposed, which country would dare to cast a stone at any of its neighbors?

The alternative to capitalism has yet to be found and it is our view that it is to be found in Gandhi's basic education which offers to humanity what may be its last chance of saving itself from destruction. Once again men and women in every country are looking into the leaves for a sign of better days to come. But no sign is given to them. Satisfaction must be won, and only courageous living can win it. Even the courage of 25 men, ten or even one, might yet save the situation.

The Freeing of Colonial Peoples

There are still wide areas of the earth to be freed from colonial rule. The duty of securing this freedom chiefly falls upon members of the ruling race. Basic Education is a major means of freeing such peoples in that it develops self-reliance and economically self-sufficient co-operative efforts. There lies wide open a big field of heroic endeavour for the youth of the imperial powers which offer so few occasions with a spiritual content.

Disarmament

To ask for Disarmament without removing the forces that are responsible for armaments is to trifle with reality. It is necessary to face the grim fact that amidst the quarrels, the inequalities, the privations, the tyrannies, the conflicting ideologies of power politics, the mount-

ing financial and economic and political problems of our age, disarmament is an old dream. A peace propaganda that is unrelated to a policy of fundamental social reconstruction and human transformation will fail in its purpose in a period when time is fast running out.

War Resistance

This does not mean that there is no place for determined war resistance in a war-based society. On the contrary, the pacifist who tries to live in accordance with the demands of peace has the duty to obey his conscience should war break out. His role will be in part that of a Jewry who deliver the judgment of everlasting truth upon a truth-deying generation, and in part that of presenting a constructive alternative to a war economy.

The Roots of War

It is a common saying that the people do not want war, and that Governments alone are responsible for it. The latter is important, for if the statement is true, the abolition of war comes to be a fundamental problem. But in truth the seeds of war go deeper into the life of nations today than they have ever done. Not only the profit seeking of Capitalists or the power politics of Governments, but the high standards of living which the workers in most lands are encouraged to expect are among the causes of war. We all need to walk humbly, therefore, and to ponder more deeply over this problem of the roots and causes of war. We must ask ourselves to what extent violence resides in the demands we make upon the earth's resources by reason of our self-indulgent existence and what is to be our own personal contribution to the realization of peace.

A Four-Field Task

Every age has its own peculiar problems, and raises special demands upon its people. The present age calls for action in four directions:

- (1) that of personal discipline and simplification of personal life so as to reconcile one's demands upon the resources of the earth with the needs of all mankind. It is necessary to realize its oneness with every other member of the human family.
- (2) that of personal and group action in reorganizing society on the lines above indicated;
- (3) that of expounding to others the need of establishing these basic social conditions;
- (4) that of influencing political opinion with a view to securing maximum freedom and help in laying the foundations of world peace in one's own country and of bringing the national economy into conformity with the world's needs.

In this a long term or a short term policy? Who can say? It is a policy which places maximum reliance upon what Gandhi called *satyagrah* which none can measure.

HARIJAN

March 15

1939

DEMOCRACY—FORMAL AND MORAL

Why should there be a constitution? It is to lay down the respective duties of the citizens and the Government and to correlate them. It should not be a mere set of rules to tell us how to carry on the work of Government.

What do we mean by democracy? Western democracies are largely formal and are paper affairs. The people elect their representatives, and afterwards these representatives rule for a certain term of years, while the electorate is barred. That is not a true democracy. A true democracy must be living union between the Government and the people. For example a hotel warden makes rules. The guests are not permitted to go to the cinema without his permission. But they do go. That is a democracy on paper. The other type of democracy is the democracy of the mother, of the home. She does not refuse you food because you come late. She does not run the home by rules. She directs it by love. Her loving thoughts go with you the twenty-four hours of the day. She governs, if we may say so, by the "rod of love". It is a moral, duty-based democracy. The power used is creative, not destructive. The rules do not cause suspicion, bitterness or hatred or lead to childish ways. The love of the mother makes you hesitate to wound her, she appeals to your sense of moral duty. You feel you must share everything with the rest of the family. You work together for the common good. Thus the Government must also rule with a sense of moral duty. It must rule by the love of the people. We must ourselves be ready to suffer for the sake of the welfare of others.

Here is an illustration taken out of the recent so-called "sugar-cane Satyagraha" which was reported in these columns last month. A sugar factory was built. The owners did not think of the need of sugar-cane until the last moment. The people were making jaggery as usual for themselves and for the people of Madurai. The factory wondered how it might secure that sugar-cane. It learned that the Government of India had passed a Sugar-cane Act under which the Provincial Governments might control the sugar producing. It persuaded the Madras Government to pass an order to issue no permits for jaggery-making. The price was to be controlled. The people were to bring cane even 20 miles away at their own expense. That is a good example of legislative democracy. Government functioning with no real sense of responsibility for the welfare of the people as a whole. Then some workers came in to help the cane-growers to secure their rights. It was an example of a real democracy working for the

welfare of society. In that kind of democracy citizens must be ready, if necessary, to lose their own property, that all may be served.

In a village near Madurai, the tanks were dry. They were probably built by those who built the great Meenakshi Temple. It was built out of a sense of moral duty. People in those days worked for the good of others. But later these tanks were not kept in order. The Government did not work with a sense of moral duty towards the people. Today the people are without food. Actually the Government should be a partner with the people for the good of society. A citizen is concerned only with the milk, his cow gets. It is the Government that must be concerned with the breed of the cow. The Government must have long term policies. The Government should help to produce good cows, provide farmers with manure, with necessary equipment, irrigation facilities and with good selected seeds. It is the duty of the farmer to turn well, to know that he is but a trustee of the land he farms. The constitution should lay down clearly these functions of the Government and of the people. It is for the constitution to distribute the duties of society, not the body born society. The present constitution lays down such details as the salary of the President and others. That is unimportant. It gives a wrong emphasis. The Government must begin to work from the point of view of the people and carry out the will of the people.

Legal Democracy rules from the top; duty-based democracy originates and derives its power from the people. Thus the Cabinet carries out the orders of the people. Formal and law-based constitutions tend to produce hatred, bitterness suspicion. A dharma (moral) duty-based constitution gives the people a sense of responsibility, a willingness to suffer for the good of all. That is dharma—sense of moral obligation. That develops man. There must become something more than a mere interest and thanks in terms of the whole group.

The agriculturists in a moral democracy must learn to cultivate for the good of the nation, not for self. But the farmers today farmed only for profit, in that respect they were no better than the factory-owner who sought only his own profit. The feudal farmer will not cultivate tobacco for the sake of money when the country needs food. It was so in older days. The land belonged to the whole village. Each had his own place in that village economy. Some built the roads, some the tanks—all worked together for the common good of the whole village. That was a dharma-based democracy. If any one did not co-operate he was ostracised, he was condemned to a living death. We must also develop this consciousness of unity—a subjugating of the self for the sake of the family, the village, the district and finally the nation. Each has his own duty. That is a true Indian conception.

It is remarkable how even now the villagers respond to this thought. It is in their blood. I have seen it work at Haridoli when villagers left their houses, because the Government insisted on collecting taxes. The people can still do these things. This sense of duty and responsibility must be developed.

In such a *dharma*- or duty-based democracy the economy will be that of the mother who prepares the *khichri* from the best of materials and with no sense of the time involved. She wants the best of food for her children without calculating the cost. Present enterprise-economy thinks primarily of cheap materials, of lessening of time and effort of production, no matter how much the food value of the *khichri* is destroyed. How is it possible to reproduce time and high quality when human values are concerned? The mother-economy is production for use, the present economy is for exchange and profit. The present economy fits into this legalistic democracy. It thinks only of material and economic values; is not concerned with our lives and man's welfare. It is a gangster economy. The mother-economy looks for the welfare of the children. It is eager to develop human values. It grows in its social consciousness. We do get glimpses of this concern in our ancient history. We must develop it today. We must take fresh minds to these modern problems and develop the seeds of our hope of the morrow.

The practical implementation of a *dharma*-based democracy is the approach of *khadi*. We are concerned about our neighbour's welfare and we purchase his products. We work together in our area as a joint family. There must be united action. There must be a programme of self-sufficiency. There must be through it all a conception of the whole, based on human values. We must work out new ways in the light of the modern setting. For this we must think in terms of fundamentals.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

NOTES

Double Regret

Twice within a week or ten days the Premier and the Deputy Premier of India had to express regret for gross misconduct of highly placed Government officers.

The first was in connection with the illegal deportation of Khan Bahadur Sahasra from Delhi to Lucknow. I shall not enter into the merits of his case. The procedure which I have noticed about it does not show that he has absolutely no case. But I may not be in possession of all the facts, so let me assume that the fact is altogether unproved and its observance at Rajghat quite indefensible. Still the high-handed manner in which he was removed to Lucknow by the Delhi Officers is a place of conduct which is full of danger to the civil liberties of the people, and shows how emergency powers might be abused. If a member of Parliament can be so

hounded what will the Service not do to lesser people? The Prime Minister and the Deputy Prime Minister have expressed regret, but I wonder what compensation has the officer guilty of abuse of authority offered or been asked upon to offer on his own behalf?

The escape of Shri Laik Ali with his whole family is a still graver instance of misconduct of high officers. Such escapes are not unknown in history. They have taken place even under efficient and honest officers. They cause annoyance and indignation when there are reasons to suspect dishonesty and corruption in top officers.

It is to be regretted that the free and frank discussion in the Parliament was at first wrapped up in legal technicalities. Whatever may be the position according to constitutional technicalities, laymen regard that, since the present Government of Hyderabad is a creature of the Central Government and there is no regular representative and responsible Government and legislature in that State, the State Ministry must answer for all major events there. It is gratifying that the State Ministry realised this and laid before the house all the information it could gather on the subject.

Drunkenness and Corruption

The State of Hyderabad had never enjoyed the reputation of efficient and incorrupt Government in the past. But since its take over by the Central Government, its notoriety for inefficiency and corruption has increased manifold. Drunkenness and corruption are freely mentioned in connection with the highest officers of the State. Shri Laik Ali's escape seems to add testimony to the correctness of the latter reports.

If drink, bethe, thoughtless idleness and dinner parties are going to be the principal features of our official life, there need be no surprise that the administration has continuously broken down, and chaotic forces have been acquiring momentum in some parts of India. The political history of India is a long story of debauched princes, corrupt dewan, officers and generals, and traitors and intriguing diplomats. More than once they have played roles to the ruler of the State and handed him over to the enemy. With the present Indian Public Service continue the same tradition?

How tragic it is that we have to spend 67 per cent of our revenue after military defence, just to meet it to officers addicted to drink!

It may be difficult to direct and stop corruption. It is not so difficult to stop drunkenness. Let the purification of administration begin with the removal of every officer (whether government ministers or judicial, executive or military officers) who cannot give up drinking. Let no presidential considerations stand in the way. Corruption and other vices might thereafter become easier to tackle. It is difficult to

combat black-marketing, a minister is reported to have said the other day: "It can never be done as long as the Service itself drinks and accepts bribes."

3-2-30

No Disparagement, Please!

My note on 'When a Neg!' Progressives has been interpreted by some readers as written in disparagement of that movement. This is curious. But to remove all doubts let me make it clear that I fully support the movement, not only for raising a race, but also for clearing more, washing less and stopping faster. Every effort and call to sacrifice to tide over the present crisis is welcome. All that I said was that we must not lose sight of the positive aspect, namely, production of more food.

3-3-30

W. A. W.

Anti-Prohibitionists, Please Note

The following is a foreigner's tribute given to our people one hundred years ago:

"Spirit of Intemperance Amongst the Indians. Previous to the subjugation of the Malacca country to British rule the people were comparatively temperate—but since then, including 1840, more harmful liquors have been introduced. In India, as in other warm countries, there are no prohibitions to intemperance. The people are abstemious by nature as well as habit—and even now abstemious is confined to the lower orders—the classes most distinguished for wealth, respectability and intelligence for both and for moral energy, wholly abstain from intoxicating drinks" (The Times of India, 1941/1930).

Let our judges, magistrates, police officers and ladies and gentlemen of fashionable clubs, who think that the Prohibition policy is a Christian prerogative, and not in keeping with the standard of life and morals of common people, consider what respectability was regarded to consist in only a century ago.

B. A.

The Pacifist Creed

14 statements presented to the World Peace Conference held at Stockholm and Saragossa, India, during December, 1924:

All human beings irrespective of race, creed, religion, language or culture belong to one human family. Their mutual relations, therefore, should be governed by the law of the family, i.e., the law of mutual love, forbearance, support and service.

As human beings, each one of us is responsible for the well-being of all. Any injustice done to any one is injustice done to every one of us.

Being members of one family men may not use violence towards any one. If any one individual or group uses violence against another, it is our duty to resist that violence, but of course in a non-violent way, i.e., through Satyagraha. It should be the supreme mission of our lives to spread that law of love and collective responsibility progressively through sustained persistence, unflinching patience, selfless service and unflinching self-sacrifice.

This mission should be permeated with an abiding faith in Godness, i.e., God and a continuous prayer for His grace.

To be worthy of this religion, we must be always vigilant and introspective. There should be an uninterrupted effort at self-purification. Truth, non-violence, self-restraint, non-possession,

simplicity and neighbourliness, these should be our guiding principles. Bodily labour and austerity must be the hall-marks of such a dedicated life. Goodwill towards all religious groups, races and cultures should be its fruit.

MAHA BALAKRISHNA

THE NEW CULTURE OF SARVODAYA

A culture, allowing as it does scope for the development of all sorts of peculiar characteristics of a society, does not admit of barriers of narrow-mindedness, so as to restrict its free flow and contact with other cultures. A similar law governs the atmosphere. The atmosphere of Calcutta is not quite the same as that of Delhi. Each has its own characteristics, but that does not come in the way of a free passage and movement of air between Delhi and Calcutta. Any attempt to encase air in a particular locality by erection of barriers will mean self-destruction and poisoning. So too it is with culture. The idea that culture loses its individuality by intermarriage and inter-dying is an erroneous one. Rather, it brings freedom. Mutual give and take enriches cultures and removes misunderstandings. As a matter of fact, in non-religious matters we always had free intercourse with other people and their cultures.

Let us take music for example. Music is the vehicle through which highest sentiments of the human heart find their expression. During the Mughal period there was an unrestricted exchange between Indian and foreign music. It would be hard either to the Muslim or to the Hindu culture. If free intercourse could not have so delicate and deep a subject as sentiments it passes one's comprehension why people should be afraid about it in the sphere of food and drink. Undoubtedly the difference between vegetarian and non-vegetarian diet is of great importance. But it can be maintained even with inter-dining.

The age of conquest is over and the era of service of humanity has commenced. We have to march forward despite the resistance of reactionary forces, which working only the past. With the motto of 'Service and humanity' we have to crush a barrier out of all the conflicting forces. We must knit together the various lessons of history lying scattered over here and there, and make out of it a whole and full life of man, and from it raise the culture of Sarvodaya.

Unorthodox patience, ceaseless effort, and brotherly and intimate love are needed for achieving this. Those who have the courage and capacity to identify themselves with the lowest, the most depressed and the down-trodden, the dejected and the disheartened will be the torch-bearers of the new culture of tomorrow. The world will follow their lead. He alone who has studied the past from history, understood the present and

can look into the future will be able to bear the burden of such leadership. With faith and courage, he will devote his life to the service of mankind and will join Gandhiji's masses by evincing extraordinary strength even in the ordinary man. What is the duty of the ordinary people like you and me in this task? Our duty is to understand this new duty of the new age, become aware of the powers lying dormant in us, and also discover him on whom the Load of India's Destiny has cast the responsibility of founding the new nation. For this purpose we shall have to free ourselves from old prejudices and keep our mind open to fresh ideas. Gandhiji has already indicated us for this, and he has also incited the habit of constant effort in a few. That spirit has got to be diffused in every nook and corner for this is the age of hero-worship.

RAMES KRISHNAIAH

(Shortage) and translated from English Preface, March 1935 being part of a Radio broadcast.

Concerning Sadhus and Sanyasis

A number of Sadhu and Sanyasi organizations have passed resolutions asking the Central Government "to incorporate all sadhus under a separate heading of 'sadhus'" and not keep them together "under the class 'Unproductive' along with vagrants, promoters of jack, opium, bananas and even prostitutes in the census records of this country."

I do believe that a sadhu cannot and ought not to be grouped with the classes of people named above. But it is not incorrect to say that they are 'unproductive' in the same way as ministers, judges, lawyers, teachers, clerics, journalists, writers, poets, actors, priests, political and social workers, bankers, landlords and people subsisting on unearned income. Not that most of them has any useful function in society, but there is no defamation involved in saying that they are all 'unproductive'.

The organizations also draw attention of the Government of Bombay to the difference between a beggar and a sadhu, and to make due provision in the Beggars' Act to exclude the latter from the operation of the Act.

This too is a reasonable demand to a certain extent. But like all social workers, the sadhus of this age should also consider whether it is right (dharma) for one to subsist on alms or donations and take no part in producing any of the articles which they share with other human beings have to consume. Can human society prosper if a large section of able-bodied people do no productive work, say, even consider it derogatory to do so? Let it be frankly realised that subsistence on that can never be dharma. It may be one's righteousness, but never a right. The sadhu institution of India may be good evidence to show that India must have been a possessor of plenty of food and absolute necessities of life for a long time in the past. But the alleged complacency of the country necessitates a change in the outlook, and sadhus must report

participation in productive work as a daily sacrament upon every one.

Bombay, 7-3-38

R. G. M.

INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION TO PEACE AND GOODWILL

The Vedas Preval

!

The Aryans in general and the Indo-Aryans in particular were great lovers of truth and believers in the final triumph of righteousness, and this love of and faith in truth are reflected in their sacred literature. The Romans used to say: Magna est veritas et prevalebit (Great is truth, and it shall prevail).

But long, long before the Roman name was heard in the world, the Hindu of Mundaka Upanishad had said:

satya satya satya ;

satya satya satya satya ;

"Truth alone conquers, not untruth. Truth opens out the way to paradise." And he too only echoed a stanza of the Rigveda (VII-184-12):

satya satya satya ;

satya satya satya ;

satya satya satya ;

satya satya satya ;

"Truth and falsehood oppose each other, of these two that which is the true and honest, alone (i.e. God) prevails, and brings the false to nothing" (Griffith's translation).

Perhaps the greatest single step ever made in the history of man's upward progress was taken when the practice of untruthful speech began, and as Herder put it, "The use of Amphibia has not built cities. No magic wand has transformed deserts into gardens. Language has done it—that great source of sociality."

Hence the Indo-Aryan conception of human speech as something divine and later personification of it as Saraswati. The arts were claimed by men were clothing and housing and then came the recognition of the uses of fire and the development of the technique of producing fire at will, which was "as fundamental as clothing and housing and even more marvellous as an invention. If there was a single man who invented fire, no greater inventor ever lived. Clothed, housed and provided with fire, man was able to undertake the conquest of all regions, and without fire he could not leave the wigwag even of the middle latitudes." Then again "fire alone could open the door of the primitive race not merely to the use of metals but to many others of the earth's treasures." Such being the vital importance of fire to mankind, we are not surprised to find that the Indo-Aryans paid divine honours to that element. The earliest method of producing fire by rubbing together two bits of wood until a spark came became a sacrament with them. In order to save the labour of producing fire afresh each morning, each Aryan household kept the fire alight all night, and there are specialists in India today who do the same, and there is the fire temple

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TWO ANNAS

GANDHI AND MARK

VI

We are often told that you cannot go back upon the progress which man has made in the realm of general knowledge, science, industry, art, technology, etc., and return to a past age. The advice is partly good, partly out of place, and to the extent it is good, it applies to non-material and intangible progress also.

If, in very nature, the world is so made that you cannot return to the same place again. Seasons appear to return year after year, the sun, the moon and the planets seem associated with the same stars again and again. We do speak of their revolutionary cycles and even actually declare when a particular heavenly body would apparently be at a particular moment. But the path of progress is of the nature of an extremely complicated endless spiral, whereas though the face turns in the same direction again and again, neither the looker nor the object looked at is ever in the same place. Therefore the expectation that you might return to the "primaries of Middle Ages" of the past is as groundless as the desire to return to the "golden age" of the past is futile. A higher civilisation, it is a particular society of human beings, might decay and degenerate, and be overruled and destroyed by one, which is still low, but marked will never return to its own past.

Secondly, if one cannot consent to go back in the realm of material sciences, can one do so in the sphere of spiritual and moral development of the human race? Can we disregard the progress made by man, age after age, in the spiritual, moral, intellectual and mental spheres, which made it possible for humanity to produce men like Socrates, Buddha, Confucius, Jesus, Gandhi and others who stand the light-house to others for centuries, and who in their own selves show a path higher than the one preceding?

Winwood Reade, an atheist in the ordinary sense, but a great humanist, says in his book *The Making of Man*:

"The desire for the good which arose in humanity which was developed by the ages of a slow, steady, forward, is one of the marks of the human race."

There will always be individuals for virtue as there are now men who share and purify their souls before the mirror of their conscience and who strive to attain an ideal condition in their actions and their thoughts."

Identifying himself with this class, he then expounds the form of life "Virtue-religion" and the discipline for attaining it.

"To develop in the utmost our genius and our love that is the only true religion. To do that which deserves to be written, to write that which deserves to be read, to read the able to conduct the successful, to estimate the worthy, to keep the temple of the body pure, to cherish the divinity within us, to be faithful to the faithful, to advance those powers which have been entrusted to our charge and to employ them in the service of humanity, that is all that we can do. Our religious theories in Virtue-religion are placed in the brightness of our poverty and faith is the perfectibility of man. Love, not fear will unite the human race. With one faith, with one desire, they will labour together in the sacred cause—the extinction of disease, the extinction of sin, the perfection of justice, the perfection of love, the perfection of humanity, the perfection of the individual, the conquest of creation."

All that cannot be done by invention, or physical discipline, but all that man can give in the physical and mental work of the progress of creation, "Virtue-religion" will be the result, because the individual will be able to do what he can do. He will strive to extend his will towards the interests of the old, the young, the old and the children, the social relations, to who endeavours to better his conditions and to make his children better and happier than himself, wherever may be his nation, he will not have need to wait."

But this condition is not to be easily attained. Virtue is the purest and most elevated form can only be acquired by means of severe and long continued culture of the mind."

Man has often appeared to have gone forward and backward in the course of his evolution. He has also often stood, and has had to stand over and over again. He has often tried to undo what had been done once deliberately and to restore the status quo as nearly as possible. For instance, in the realm of political institutions he has not settled down to any one form as yet. Absolute monarchy (dictatorship), limited or constitutional monarchy, oligarchy, democracy, republican State, unitary governments, federal governments are forms which have been tried in a variety of shades again and again, and may again be tried in the future. The historian does not look into the apparent forms of these governments and the temporary advances and set-backs to them, but examines the state of political thought behind every such experiment, and the extent of humanity influenced by it. It is on this that he assesses the civilisation of that period.

Marx examined the political institutions of the world from the point of view of their effect on the economic status and freedom of man, and came to the conclusion that with the passage of time political power will progressively pass into the hands of the industrial workers. They will be the most privileged class of people in the State. Hence, he concludes, it is the duty of disarming men to help that transformation.

This might be true. But this does not mean that it is the whole truth, and even if it be so, it may be brought about by any means whatsoever. The spiritual and moral progress made by man during all these centuries must also be borne in mind in achieving the end. And this progress should be properly assessed. If Gandhi showed the climax of moral perfection of the present age, the next great mass of the world will have to show a still higher stage of perfection. If detachment has any value, this may be taken as the next spiritual goal of humanity, and if it be true, as the Marjans believe, that an individual man is nothing more than a small bee working itself out, even unto death, for the perfection of the beehive and its queen, he must so work that it may be possible for humanity to produce a man greater than Gandhi at the next stage, and within a shorter period than humanity has taken hitherto. It must be remembered that only thousands of individual struggles for social perfection could have made it possible for a Gandhi to be born. Tens of thousands of similar struggles are necessary to produce one still greater than him. Hitler might have excelled all the great conquerors and despots of the past. Even super-hitlers might appear in the world. But they too are born as a result of thousands of smaller adventures of the same type. But the development of this feature cannot be the right goal of humanity.

The moral goal is as important and inevitable as the economic and political goal. Rather, it is chance has to be made between the two, the former must be regarded as the more important one. Any attempt to disregard it will fail in bringing about the attainment of even the material goal. It will either be not achieved at all or even if seemingly achieved will bring no peace and prosperity to the people on whose behalf it is attempted. We see with our own eyes, how the neglect of the moral emphasis of Gandhi is responsible for absence of peace and prosperity in our country in spite of independence. It will be the same after the establishment of Communism.

It is also a partial truth to say that it is wrong to give up a line of progress once traversed. Progress is not synonymous with breaking a path round irrespective of its moral value and utility. Such a theory can lead us only to the ever-increasing perfection of destructive

weapons and devices in human form. The next war would have to be more extensive, total and terrible and to be directed by more inhuman generals than the last one. Progress would consist in destroying a larger part of humanity than hitherto.

Indeed there do exist people who believe so, nor is it impossible that the appearance of such events and monsters might occur in the future. But it will be progress not towards further development but towards decay and destruction of civilization and mankind. If a conscious effort is to be made, it should be to prevent it, never to hasten it.

14-3-36

R. C. MARIJANWALA

(To be continued)

ARBITRATION IN POLITICS

Non-violence is one of the fundamental bases of human life which finds its expression in various forms in relation to various fields. In politics it is expressed in its emphasis on mutual consultations in search of common points and through them in hammering out a solution whereby the parties concerned can pursue their own course without coming in conflict with the rest. In economics, the non-violent approach is distinguished by an endeavor to protect all legitimate interests. This is, in modern parlance, called negotiation.

Failing to come to an agreement in both the above cases, the issue is referred to arbitration. If arbitration is not agreed to, Satyagraha is resorted to, which again is a militant expression of non-violence. Thus negotiation is a pre-arbitration step and arbitration, a pre-Satyagraha step, all three, designed to diffuse opposition.

Gandhi started the great experiment of non-violence in South Africa. The then question, which was before him, was, how to liquidate dispute between the Indians and the Whites. Negotiations were tried, but they failed. Arbitration postulates the recognition of equality of the two parties. The strength of the Indian community there could be established only by their readiness to suffer in vindication of their self respect, i.e. by Satyagraha. Thus where there is either no scope or no possibility of arbitration, Satyagraha is resorted to. *Necessarily* as is said above arbitration must precede Satyagraha.

As was Gandhi's word, he started the experiment of arbitration in his own life. He settled the case of Dada Abdulla v. Tyab Shah by arbitration. He writes in his Autobiography

"My job was breadwinning. I had learnt that practice of law. I had learnt to find out the better side of human nature and to enter men's hearts. I realized that the true function of a lawyer was to unite parties

riven sunder. The lesson was so indelibly burnt into me that a large part of my time during 20 years of my practice as a lawyer was occupied in bringing about private compromises of hundreds of cases. I had nothing thereby—not even money, certainly not my soul" (p. 168).

As days went on and he returned home to try the efficacy of his new-found weapon, this valuable lesson assumed colossal proportions as did his personality and work. In all the disputes he began to examine for settlement the possibilities of arbitration. "Quarrels must be made impossible," he asserts in *Communal Living* (p. 48), "by making arbitration popular and obligatory." He refers to arbitration as a civilized method. "If we cannot, after the manner of civilized men, resort to arbitration, we shall perish. We must learn to settle all our differences, whether religious or others by arbitration" (ibid., pp. 140-42).

The communal tension proved the most baffling problem in his life which at one time threatened him even to doubt the efficacy of a Hindu principle. But he would not lose hope. While writing of Pakistan he wrote:

"My hope is that some day or other all parties will come to their senses and not insist on their demands being accepted and consent to go to arbitration. It is an age-long method and a civilized method and I hope, it will be accepted" (Harlan, 24-6-1953).

Regarding the settlement of the Paragraph question also he suggested that the "only honorable way out was the ancient method of arbitration in the usual manner" (Delhi Diary, p. 192).

In 1943 the Indo-British question developed into a crisis during war. But Gandhi's love for peace was too genuine to melt away before the conservative obstinacy of the other side. He made a sporting offer to the other party in reply to a foreign correspondent. He asserted:

"Any day, I would advocate arbitration for the Indo-British problem. I suggested long ago that this question could be decided by arbitration." (Harlan, 24-6-43).

Is it not interesting to speculate at this stage whether the Britishers would not have fared better, had they accepted his offer?

In response to an anonymous wire from London before the declaration of the last European war, Gandhi writes:

"How I wish Herr Hitler would respond to the appeal of the President of the United States and allow his claim to be investigated by arbitrators in whose choice he will have as effective a voice as the disputants" (Harlan, 2-8-1938).

PHI politicians are not known to have wisdom in time. They can do so only partially when they succeed in bringing other nations of their people. In all the cases cited above, Gar-

fare Gandhi's sage advice of arbitration was not heeded with what lamentable results we already know!

R. J. ROMAN

AS AN AMERICAN SAW US

India is far away from us in customs and tastes, near though it is in time. (Thirty-four actual flight hours). It is a land of great contrasts in climate, race, languages, religion, and types of government. To us the greatest contrast was the extreme poverty of the masses and the comfortable, even luxurious standards of living of the upper classes. As an example, we found people sleeping in the streets and on the steps of the great Mosque of Delhi because they had no place to go, we were lavishly entertained in the Viceroy's sumptuous place in New Delhi and were given a banquet by a wealthy industrialist, where we were served various wines and champagnes. Delegates to the (Second) Congress came in contact primarily with the university people and with the governing classes, both Indian and English.

In the Science Congress we found the meetings of various scientific sessions much like those of our own American Association for the Advancement of Science.

The discussions were keen, and the criticisms of the papers were searching. We were all impressed, I believe, with the knowledge, the Indians had of foreign literature, and I had an experience similar to others in finding that my own work was well known to the specialists in my particular field.

The greatest fault I could find with Indian scientists was a certain disinclination to use their hands. This fault I have also found among some other foreign scientists. The lack of appreciation of the dignity of manual labour, as well as caste system—which now appears to be in process of gradual elimination—is a great handicap to their technological advancement. Perhaps as valuable a thing as any that I told Indian scientists with whom I had conversation was that I helped my wife wipe the dishes in our own household.

One of the American vice-consuls in India told me that the difference between Indians and Americans could be demonstrated by the fact that, when an American gets a Ph.D. degree, that is the start of his going to work more intensely, but when an Indian gets a Ph.D., that is likely to be the end of his work—he feels he has reached his goal.

ALBERT F. BLACKBURN

(From *Science and Culture*, Aug. '58)

Correction

In *Harlan* of March 3, 1960 (XIV-1), page 15, column 2, paragraph 2, line 5 for *have read* have

HARIJAN

March 26

1950

FOR ALL-INDIA UNITY

Among powers possessed of authority, perhaps there is no greater champion than Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru of people who because of their lack of numbers, knowledge, poverty, or organisation are exploited or oppressed by the strong in any part of the world under the present of conquest, race, religion, civilisation etc. His interest in international politics is due to his burning passion for raising the status of the huge mass of down-trodden humanity in every part of the globe. His sympathy knows no narrow boundaries of race, colour, religion or place of residence. Whether it is the minorities and the poverty-stricken Harijans and Adivasis of Bharat and Pakistan, or whether it is the coloured people of Africa, the negroes of America, and the uprooted masses of the Middle East and South East Asia, Pandit Jawaharlal will be found to stand always on the side of the weak. He refuses to join any bloc because he is always with the bloc of the weak and the oppressed. He cannot break down selfish, cruel and arrogant treatment of the weak by the strong anywhere. We perceive how immensely anxious he feels at present about the Hindus of Pakistan. It is not because he is a Hindu in common with them. He would feel the same if, for instance, the Hindus and Muslims of Pakistan captured to himself say, the Adivasis or Christians of that region, or if the Hindus ill-treated the Muslims or any other minority in Bharat.

As he told at the World Pacifist Meeting at Sevagram, he is not a Pacifist in the usual sense of that term. That is to say, if he saw an evil deed being perpetrated in his presence, he would not hesitate to use his physical strength or fire his gun (if he carried one) to prevent it even to the extent of killing the perpetrator. That would be the immediate reaction of the situation upon his nerves. But that does not mean that he believes in the philosophy of violence as such and seeks the resolution of disputes through violence.

He is deeply agitated over the condition of the minorities in Pakistan and seeks a solution to that problem. It is his present mission. Like Bharat, Pakistan will have to realise and accept that both the sub-countries will have to be similar in their constitutional and political character, they cannot but be inhabited by people of different religions, and they must all enjoy an equal status. Both must be pledged to maintain a State in which the religion of the citizen will not be regarded as either a recommendation or a disqualification for him. All minorities must be absolutely safe in both the parts of all-India.

The duty of the people of India at this juncture is to give Pandit Nehru their fullest support

and co-operation in this great work. His policy and instructions should be strictly and faithfully followed. No obstacles and difficulties should be created in his way. Nothing should be done inside India which would add to his anxiety about communal peace or compel him to hang down his head with shame for our sins. If we are really keen on making the minorities in Pakistan free from danger, we must strengthen his hands in every way.

The most important thing in this respect is that the Hindus of India must put out even minorities altogether out of their view. Nowhere should Muslims be harassed, ill-treated or right-handedly dealt with. A coward is often apt secretly to do what a hot-headed person is bound to do openly. One must have known how a gentle looking boy keeps a gun under a spotted boy's arm, and the latter on getting the provocation loses his temper and strikes the other a blow. The blow is perceived by the teacher or elder, who ignorantly takes it to be an act of wanton aggression on the boy's part and punishes him for it. The silent member of the group is not known. Similarly, we Hindus often exploit our reputation for gentleness, meekness and piety and instigate ill-treatment of some stray and poor Muslims and when they express their resentment by a status disturbance, they are proclaimed as bullies and breakers of peace. We must remember that the person who starts mischief in however minute a form is most responsible for the disturbance. Hindus in India must pledge not to initiate mischief under any circumstances. It is not for the people to punish Muslim suspects or to avenge crimes perpetrated by them. It is for the authorities to do it. If there is information against any person, the authorities might be applied to it. To punish innocent residents for the alleged deeds of others is wanton and cowardly brutality.

Some of our papers have been carrying on a scurrilous propaganda against Indian Muslims, we are asked to look upon them all as fifth-columnists and to distrust their expressions of loyalty to India, we are also told that all the Hindus in Pakistan must be brought to India and all the Muslims removed there, that Indian Muslims must be treated as hostages for the safety of Hindus in Pakistan. There is also a propaganda in favour of immediate declaration of war against Pakistan for turning into a temple every mosque, against which there is evidence that it was so at one time in the past. The gaudy enthusiasm displayed for the restoration of the Somnath temple is partly due to the opportunity it affords of giving vent to the anti-Muslim feelings in the breast. Even non-ideal worshippers Arya Samajists have been taking interest in the restoration of that temple.

There are all irresponsible activities. They will disrupt the country. Hate cannot create a nation, it can create a temporary combination for mutual destruction, but never strengthen it and unify it. Even if we had the good of the

Hindus alone at heart, the cult of hatred must be abandoned.

That even in the midst of these heart-rending accounts, we hear also of instances in both the sub-continent of Hindus protecting the Muslims and Muslims protecting the Hindus at great risk to themselves, is a sign of hope and consolation. It shows that humanity has not left man altogether, and that no religious sect has the monopoly of possessing humane sentiments. It is such people who will raise the status of their religion and build up a nation. The volleys of hate will hurt and in destroying one another as also their religion along with several innocent lives. The way to all-India Unity will open itself when representative men of religion are awakened in an active manner.

12-3-50

K. C. HARNOTTWALA

MISCHIEVOUS FABRICATIONS

On one of his excursions the Prime Minister of Pakistan attributed the happenings in Calcutta on 19th February last to Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel's speech in the Calcutta Sabha a few days earlier and accused him of having been party to a "master plan for the loot, arson and murder of Muslims in Calcutta." The following is the concluding part of the statement which Sardar Patel issued on 12th March in reply to the false allegations of the Pakistan Ambassador and Press.—(K. C. H.)

It is clear that instead of looking ashamed of what has happened in East Bengal, the Central and Provincial Governments in Pakistan are engineering excuses by tracing an imaginary origin of those atrocities.

I need not say anything in defence of my Calcutta speech. It is there for any one to read and form his own conclusions. That unwarmed information has been resorted to is clear from the following supposed quotation from my speech given by the Deccan's Calcutta correspondent: "Bombs should not fall on your own persons. They are the guardians of the freedom you have achieved with the blood of your men, women and children in Noakhali. Do not forget Noakhali. Do not forget that important link of your Mother India have been cut. Do not forget that your goal is not yet achieved and finally do not forget that you and your police have to fight with someone else" (Compare that with what was actually said. The only reference to Noakhali was when I traced historically the pains and sorrows which Bengal had suffered. The reference to the police came when I was dealing with the menace of communists and other anti-social elements. I quote the actual words I used which are representative of the burden of that part of my speech, "We have got used to calling the police bad names in the past. We have to change that mentality. The police which we maligned was different from the police which is serving you today. They are volunteers. They are bearing the burden of a great responsibility. You should have respect and sympathy for these guardians of law and order. If you do not, you will regret it." I need hardly comment on the manufactured efficiency of the Deccan further. The Paki-

stan Prime Minister was more clever in his own way. He took sentences out of the context and placed them together to make a plausible story, and went on to add "our information is that what he actually said was even more poisonous than the quotations that I have given you, and they were kept out of the Press." I can only reciprocate the compliment which Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan paid me earlier and say that he must have been "singularly ill-informed." Perhaps one of the 'more poisonous quotations' is which he refers to in the following which both he and the sources of his inspiration alike have significantly omitted: "Anger or hate will not avail you. Our brothers, both Hindus and Muslims, have been separated from us. All of us do wish that people on both sides of the frontier should prosper. But for that both sides must be patient, brave and prudent."

WHAT WILL THEY DO AT ANGUL?

The *Principles of Sarvodaya* Plan has got a mixed reception. Some find in it a tendency towards primitivism. They fear that its desire to turn the principle of self-sufficiency into a dogma may put back the hands of the clock of progress by many centuries. Some hold that the plan is so realistic that it can easily form the basis of future planning and its main features can be integrated in a more comprehensive pattern that the Government of India might ultimately weave. And then there are some who have challenged the planners in good faith to live up to the principles they have enshrined in it. For they say "If the World could be saved by schemes and theoretical plans to bring about Utopia, we have them to abundance. What is wanted is the faith and power to achieve these ideas. Therefore they say, what we want most today are not schemes or plans but more Gandhis."

There are personalities so powerful and self-willed who for themselves need no organized social effort to fulfil their mission and to whom any kind of organization and government rather than being a help is a hindrance. They even do not think of the morrow. But the lot of the ordinary man is otherwise. Unless he becomes conscious and plans his life, it becomes a drift. A ship on the waters carried away by the wind or a stand in the sky rent, thunder. He has to share his life with his neighbours both for happiness as well as wisdom; if he does so with a consciousness and a plan he will be doubly rewarded.

Men like Gandhi are born once in an age, but he has left behind him men who believe in his principles and way of life. They can on their own implement the Sarvodaya Plan in their individual lives. The basic idea is a non-violent approach to individual and social life and non-violence is the quality of the soul which does not depend for its manifestation on anybody else. This non-violence is non-reactive, to be expressed in service and results in non-exploitation.

of man by man. Gandhiji has shown the way through his constructive programme how even a single individual can try to lead a non-violent and non-exploiting life. All-embracing constructive work makes a worker's life intensely social, because it requires a close association of the people and evokes the energy of all its units.

The constructive workers who assembled in a conference table in Wardha had before them not merely individuals or groups but the whole nation. They requested the president to appoint a committee whose main task would be to create public opinion in favour of the plan and to see that the plan is accepted by the Congress and implemented by the constructive organisations. The outcome of the deliberations of this committee is the Sarvodaya Plan.

The success of the Sarvodaya Plan, or as a matter of fact of any other plan, depends ultimately on its genuine acceptance by the people and their willing and active co-operation. The constructive workers will do this only through persuasion and education and their means will be the spoken or written word, service, and if and when necessary as the last resort, satyagraha. It must also be remembered that there are stems of the plan which can only be implemented by the State or governmental power.

The Constitution of the Indian Republic is democratic, based on such branches. Therefore, the most potent and powerful instrument of influencing, nay, making or unmaking the Government is the people. In the new era it is the people who are the ultimate depositories of power and source of all sanctions. Gandhiji's means of making the people conscious of their power and creating these sanctions was the manifold constructive activities. Workers must live with the people and serve them diligently and patiently. That is why Gandhiji in his last days advised the Congress to become an organisation of workers who will operate and serve the values in their own surroundings. The values being the masters, many politics and persons will lose them. If the worker by his sincere and disinterested service has become the guide, friend and philosopher of the voter, he is sure to work his guidance in his choice. If the worker has to discharge his functions properly in this nation, he or his organisation must be conversant with political theory and its practice, of various political ideologies or laws and of those political parties in the country who appeal to the people to put them in power so that they may serve them.

That need not and does not mean that the constructive workers should immediately enter the arena of political power or be drawn into power politics. Gandhiji wanted constructive workers not to engage themselves in ungraciously skirmish for power that was, in his opinion, the worst way of digging the grave of Congress. He wanted the constructive workers to guide and in-

fluence the voters. This was the way of wielding power without assuming authority.

The constructive worker should generate political power and without asking it for himself influence it through his undisputed sway over the hearts of the people. To accomplish this the first indispensable requisite was to set his own house in order. Gandhiji said, "If all the single give a good account of themselves, work sincerely and in co-operation without a jar or jolt it would be a grand thing." This means that the constructive workers should consolidate their strength and the way to do it was the unification and co-ordination of all the constructive organisations which were working for Gandhiji's principles and under his guidance: a Satya Yojna Sangh which will endorse and serve all activities of life including political. Only thus united they could play their revolutionary role, namely to influence political power to win economic, social and moral freedom. For Gandhiji life was one. It could not be divided into separate compartments. His philosophy is one synthesis: whole and deals with all aspects of life. His search for truth led him to fervent politics which he yet tried to spiritualise by his universal love or non-violence. He was the living link between the constructive workers and the country's premier political organisation the Congress. He symbolised that unity and indivisibility of life in his own person which he preached constantly through word and action. He placed before the country his constructive programme not merely as a means for the rich to satisfy their philanthropic instinct through the channels of social relief but as a solution for the political and social problems of the people. In his hand the constructive programme was a revolutionary weapon capable of peacefully solving any problem of individual or national life. This aspect of the constructive programme really appealed to the people and gave it a unique dignity and status.

After freedom we are facing new problems. Our political problem today is not freedom but establishment of a secular State. The greatest danger to the secular nature of our infant State is today the strained relations between India and Pakistan and their adverse effects on the inter-communal life in both the States. Peace and goodwill between the two countries is essential for our smooth and rapid progress towards democracy. We want to build a society in which economic and social freedom is equally guaranteed to all. Both our political and economic problems need an immediate and a long-term solution. The constructive workers and their organisations have to bear their burden and responsibility in this behalf. To discharge this responsibility effectively, the constructive workers will not depend on the Government solely, nor will they shun it completely. The modern state so informs every activity and institution of the people and controls their lives that without

its help and co-operating it is practically impossible to bring about any social change, especially when it is of a revolutionary character. If the constructive workers have to attain the Sarvodaya ideal rapidly they must influence the political power by their ideas and moral conduct. In this respect Gandhi himself is the ideal teacher. His non-violence was an active force—a force which commanded by right of service, backed with a social purpose and rendered through constructive activities this service must well up from one common realisation.

In my last and third article in the series captioned *Wageless and Constructive Workers* which were published in the *Harjan* last year before the Sarvodaya Conference at Rax, I had said: "Thus the duty of giving political shape to Gandhiji's idea of Loka-Sewa-Sangh naturally devolves on the constructive workers because it is they who have received the precious heritage of Gandhiji, viz. his conception of selfless and detached life of service to the people." No doubt the foundation of such a Sewa Sangh was laid in the conference at Sevagram immediately after the tragic death of Mahatma Gandhi and some more work was done at Rax and afterwards but it must be admitted with regret that the main structure has yet to be raised.

Two years have passed. We are passing through a crucial time. The constructive workers must pool their resources individual and organisational. They must work with a singleness of purpose and the consciousness of the whole. Thus alone will they be able to meet the challenge of the age and thereby create the conditions for the fulfilment of the ideal of Sarvodaya.

SHANTANUJAN DEB

WANTED: EARTHWORM-BREEDING FARMS

(The following is taken from an article by Shantanu Deb in *The New Statesman and Nation* of November 14, 1928, pp. 577-8.)

The earthworm, if each living kind be considered in its relation to the universe as a whole, is incomparably the most important of animals. Man and the higher animals are parasitic upon this apparently insignificant creature, we owe Handel, the Fifth Symphony and St. Paul's Cathedral to its voracious appetite and singleness of purpose. Not only can the earthworm do without man; man is frequently pernicious to its well-being. But man cannot for long do without the earthworm, and if the latter is in its turn dependent upon plants for its sustenance, yet this relationship is one of mutual service rather than parasitism: the worm does as much for the plant as the plant for the worm, whereas man, that is cruel man, does nothing for the worms which support him.

In nature of course man makes his contribution, the waste matter of his digestion and the debris of his corpse are excellent worm-brooders which, being consumed by earthworms, are in the guts of those animals converted into

a fertile humus for the consumption of plants. But no wormer does man become urbanized than he desists from discharging the most valuable of his products, from a universal point of view, into the earth and sends it through pipes into the sea. While as for his body, which he owes to the plant and which he has been lent out of the limited stock of terrestrial materials, he has it soaked into a coffin, perhaps even a coffin of lead, or he has it buried and so incidentally withholds payment of his debt to the universal community.

.... A single pair of worms can give rise to several thousand offspring in the course of twelve months.

Upon hatching out, the young worms begin at once upon their business of building fertile soil: burrowing through the earth in every direction, according to the whims to bring up a guffail of the minerals which have been leached out of the topsoil, churning into the topsoil to mix this with dead vegetable and animal matter, passing through their bodies everything which comes in their way, the worms discharge either just below or actually upon the surface their casts of finely divided, black, sweet smelling soil, neither acid nor alkaline, whatever may be the reaction of their environment, and so fertilise the plants growing in it. It has been tea to several hundred per cent more productive than plants growing in other soils.

Having accidents, the earthworm is apparently immortal, certainly very long lived, of a robust and careless constitution and a digestion beyond comparison more efficient than our own. Given the muscular strength of an earthworm, in proportion to his bulk, an average man could shift single-handed a weight of about thirty tons.

Darwin estimated the English earthworm population at 50,000 per acre. In more favourable conditions this figure may rise to millions, as the Nile Valley for example. Fifty thousand worms deposit in a year more than ten tons of casts, that is they create more than ten tons of perfect top soil upon which the plant, and therefore the animal and human life of the planet subsists. An acre of top soil a foot deep weighs about 1,500 tons. So that in 150 years fifty thousand earthworms will turn barren subsoil and vegetable and animal carcases into an acre of fertile top soil. If the worm population be raised and the available quantity of carcases also, then this term will be shortened accordingly.

Thomson and others have shown that with a suitably rich compost of animal or vegetable matter it is easy to support a worm population at a density of 500 to the cubic foot, which is twenty millions to the foot-acre.

But it should be quite possible to maintain 5 million earthworms to the acre of English land by harrowing into that land every kind of waste

organic matter which either agricultural, domestic or industrial activity produces. The consequence would be complete top-soil renewal every eighteen months, or allowing for inactivity on the part of the worms during very cold weather and drought, every three years. Moreover, it would be feasible to give a new and fertile top-soil to regions where none now exists, and thus render every square inch of British surface area productive. Millions a year would be saved in chemical manures of dubious value, soil drainage would be improved, soil erosion and exhaustion checked, and we should soon come near to being able to feed ourselves off our own land.

The United States and Canada already have sources of domesticated earthworms. They are sold to farmers at about a half-penny each and are often purchased by the million. The secret the Ministry of Agriculture sets up a breeding centre for earthworms and an organisation for their proper distribution, the better for our food prospects.

NOTES

Hindi, Out of Order?

It is reported that the Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University, after ascertaining the views of the House, ruled out of order a member's attempt to address the Senate in Hindi, the official language of the Union. The objectors thought that it would lead to confusion, as others might want to speak in their own tongue. That was irrelevant at the time. The Senate did not want to speak in any language, but in the constitutionally recognised language of the country. Can a member be out of order in doing so? Let it be noted that President Rajendraprasad has already begun to give his convention addresses in Hindi.

I hope the ruled-out member will seek another opportunity to get the point thrashed out in a proper form.

18-3-30

K. D. M.

Dr. Mathai and Gandhiji's Ideas

The following is from *The Times of India*, 20-3-30:

"Dr. Mathai claimed that ever since he joined the Government, he always kept fully before himself the great ideals of Mahatma Gandhi. He noticed the suggestion that in anything he had done or proposed he had departed 'as much as an inch' from these ideals."

"While saying that Government had explained apologetically, Dr. Mathai remarked that a modern defence expenditure of the kind India required could not be built up on 'the economy of the plough and the cow.' It needed stupendously industrial development. He attacked the House in comparison to pre-independence days in order to be able to turn up in the 'prime realities' of today."

From what Doctor Mathai is reported to have said it is hard to believe that he has not departed from "the great ideals of Mahatma Gandhi." From what he says later on regard-

ing the "economy of the plough and the cow", industrialisation, and "modern defence organisation" one may well ask what really, according to the Doctor, are those great ideals from which, he claims, he has not departed "as much as an inch"!

But there is one thing which all who love Gandhiji's ideas should note from Dr. Mathai's exposition. Whatever one may say or hear about peace and pacifism or no-war, the world today really worships Mohok, the god of war only, whether it be peace or called or war. When we are under so-called peace, what we truly live under is not peace, but the blighting shadow of war—everish preparation for war and destruction. Therefore the one and only central problem that faces us or rather the whole world is, how to avoid war, how to strive for peace and achieve a really peaceful order.

And was not this the whole ideal of Gandhiji, pursuing all along to and through his entire programme, including Satyagraha—the moral equivalent of war? Dr. Mathai was far away from the great ideals of Gandhiji when he ridiculed, or minimised the great importance of the "economy of the plough and the cow." If he was so earnest about those ideals as he wanted his hearers to believe he would not be using the language he is reported to have used. Does he not know that without that basic economy which sustains life, and even war, he cannot have industrialisation or all that he desires for building up a modern war organisation? It is not a war but the strive of the "economy of the plough and the cow" that it does not lend or lend itself to war-mindfulness. On the other hand, it must not be forgotten that industrialisation engenders war, as is evident from recent European history. Let us hope Dr. Mathai works the miracle in India, of being able to bring industrialisation and not allow war to follow in its wake!

18-3-30

MAHATMA JYOTI

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY BHABHAI GANDHI)
Editor: K. C. NARAYANWALLA



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TWO ANNAS

GANDHI AND MARX

VII

The difference between the philosophies of Gandhi and Marx manifests itself in their political and economic ideas. Marx puts forth the theories of class-war and its end, through the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, expropriation of land, mines and other material sources of wealth. State-capitalism, nationalisation of industries, and regimentation of life and labour. As against this the Gandhian theories are those of non-violence (or performance of class duties), self-help and self-reliance, decentralisation, trusteeship and as much individual liberty and decentralisation as possible in social life.

A careful examination of the theory of class-war will show that the solution suggested by Marx to put an end to it is crude and ultimately doomed to fail in establishing the goal of establishing a classless society. It is like murdering or dethroning a king and placing the monarch in his place under the rule of President, and calling the change a 'revolution'. Ultimately the net result is no more than a change of hands. A few changes and improvements in the system and order of life may take place in the beginning, but after a brief period it would be found that there is no permanent and substantial change in human relations except to the extent there has been a general rise in the moral character of the people. A new ruler and his aristocracy, a new staff of officials, a new set of favourites and a new section of the middle class replaces the old. The mutual relations among them on the one hand and between them all and the toiling masses on the other, are very much the same as those existing before the 'revolution'. Under new designations the authoritarian power of the ruler and his courtiers, the military power of the actual commander of the forces, the controlling power of the actual possessor and manager of land and wealth, the technical power of the expert and the power of physical work of the labourer continue as before, establishing the same class divisions and giving rise to similar conflicts of interests as before. If the Tsar's rule had become tyrannical and absolute and could be put an end to only by violence, a particular Dictatorship of the Proletariat on becoming universally so, would have to

be liquidated by the same method. There is no guarantee that the Industrial Workers' Dictatorship may not become a state of an tyrannical, imperialist and exploiting capitalism as that of the Tsar and his nobles or the capitalists. A true classless society is possible only if there is almost no permanent division of functions, and all people take part in almost every act necessary for life. That in a complicated society, such as we live in, even with a decentralised economy it does not seem possible to have a state of classlessness. What can be achieved at best as possible is class-harmony. And this is possible only in the extent men and women have become good, truthful, loving, simple, self-controlled, respectful of life, anxious to serve and make happy the people over whom they exercise authority and honest workers of their respective callings and functions in society. In a society of such men there will be all-round prosperity, peace and harmony and absence or minimum of conflicts and disputes. The essential conditions of happiness are (i) that men are moved with a sense of duty in their various functions and not by the motives of profit, pleasure or fulfilment of ambition, and (ii) that they regard themselves as trustees of that which is vested in them, whether it be property, authority, office, learning, technical knowledge, muscular energy, or guardianship of children, livestock, prisoners or other dependents. Then they will render an honest account of their stewardship, not exploit their position of privilege for selfish purposes, and take no more reward out of it than what is consistent with the ideal of a real classless society, where every one goes to the best of his capacity and takes no more than what is both just and necessary for his own maintenance consistently with the means of society.

If these two conditions are fulfilled the external form of political, social and economic order of a society is not of the utmost importance for making the system beneficial to the people. An apparent monarchy and capitalist society might be better than an apparent rule of elected parochialists, nationalisation of agriculture and industries and controlled distribution. Neither the first nor the second is an end by itself. It is of importance only to the extent of

creating a helpful environment for raising the character of the people. Gandhiji concerned himself more with the basic factors and less with the apparent forms of Government and organizations.

A young worker, who after eight years of active association with Communism, has recoiled from it recently spoke to me to the following effect:

"I turned back from Marx, because I found that he holds class-war, i.e. conflict between two opposite interests or forces as an essential condition of evolution. Apart from the fact that this theory of evolution has been exploded by modern science, it means that according to Marx the cult of hatred is essential for propagating class-war. Since hatred is a passion—a mental deformity—and not a perfect development of reason and sentiments, his doctrine is based on and requires deformation of the mind for its success. Can such doctrine ever be a philosophic or scientific 'ism'? Moreover, it is impossible for a human being to forget his or her human instinct of love for the whole of his life and live on a diet of hatred. No one can remain a demon till the end of his life. I am, therefore, surprised when those who speak of comradeship try to put their ideas in conformity with Communism, and speak of nationalization of industries, establishment of classless society etc., but seem to have lost sight of the principles of trusteeship and non-violence, which Gandhiji laid emphasis upon. I wonder if they have fully grasped the implications of the principles of Sarvodaya."

I think that the young man's remarks deserve careful consideration.

22-3-60

K. C. SHANKARWALA

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RECENT ACTIVITIES IN SPINNING

Spinning Clubs

Lately the Charika Sangh is devoting all its attention and energies in organizing spinning clubs throughout the country. Since the last Charika Week about 800 spinning clubs have come into existence and several more are under formation. The idea underlying the spinning clubs is to attack the problem of village poverty at the root. The increasing lure for money has blinded men to the fundamental principle of self-sufficiency and he has actually lost confidence in its possibility. Khadi has tried to check this and restore to the village a small fraction of the wealth that is being dragged away into the cities from the villages. But it cannot, as such, prevent the immense flow of wealth that follows the rail carts. This is the task for the spinning clubs to perform by making villagers self-sufficient in their clothing requirements.

When Gandhiji first preached the principle of *Swadeshi* to the nation, it came to it as something rather new. So also the principle of self-sufficiency appears to villagers as novel, though Gandhiji said nearly 35 or 40 years ago, "Khadi work should be carried on with the ultimate aim of self-sufficiency and it can be achieved through *charika* alone." Hence the principle of self-sufficiency was most discussed and deliberated upon in the conferences of spinning clubs held during the last three months.

The question is often asked why the Government does not prevent the exploitation of the villages by the cities through legislation. There is a genuine desire amongst the people that this village exploitation should be stopped. It is for Congressmen and political leaders to see what they can do in this matter. But it should also be remembered that law alone cannot achieve this object. Production of khadi is equally necessary for it. The Charika Sangh is therefore paying more attention to the production of khadi and its ancillary processes from cotton, growing to weaving. Experiments are conducted to achieve self-sufficiency in processes such as ginning, manufacture of *charika*, silver-carding, weaving etc. It is gratifying to note that the A.I.S.A. has been able to enlist the co-operation of several true and genuine workers in this direction.

Cotton Self-sufficiency

A cotton committee has been appointed to study the question of cotton self-sufficiency and to devise a plan accordingly. The Chairman of the Committee, Shri Dadabhai Naik, is making a tour in various provinces, at the end of which he will prepare a plan for growing cotton in different provinces. The report of the Committee is expected before the breaking of the monsoon.

Carding-plate

A small apparatus for carding which can be attached to the ordinary spinning wheel in place of the spindle-plate has been devised to solve the problem of good silver. Last month a class was organized at Bandoli to work upon this new

carding-plate. The model which has met with the approval of the technicians is simple, costing Rs 5. It will card baled cotton at the speed of 3 bales per hour.

Bamboo Charities

From 4th March 1960, a class has been started at Seravgram to teach the manufacture of the charities from bamboo. Provincial representatives will be trained in it till the end of March.

Weaving within Five Weeks

As announced previously, the classes will commence from April 25, 1960 at Maf (Dist. Chanda, Madhya Pradesh) and Barhat (Dist. Surgut, Gujarat). The details of the training and the forms of application can be had from the office of the A.I.S.A. Seravgram, Udaipur (M.P.) on sending postal stamps of 2 annas.

Khadh Camps

It has been decided that Maf Kaya Gandhi will conduct Khadh Camps of 3 to 10 days for teaching spinning, repairing of tools, manufacture of bamboo charities etc. The first camp will be held in the current month. Subsequent camps will be organized after the Sarvodaya Samaj Conference in Udaipur.

Khadh Conference

Along with the Sarvodaya Samaj Conference in Udaipur, a Khadh Conference will also be organized. It will detail information about the various activities of the Charities Sangh. There will also be a conference of branch secretaries and regional organizers for deliberating upon the programme of work for the next year.

Alongside the conference, competitions will also be held in various processes of Khadh. Ideas and regulations for the competitions can be had from the office by sending postage stamps of 4 annas.

All-round Centres

It has been decided that the Sangh should pay more attention to Khadh for self-sufficiency than to that for sale. The production of Khadh for sale should be supplementary to and for achieving the aim of self-sufficiency. With this end in view, the organization of 'all-round' centres where every process of Khadh production is carried out is considered more desirable than maintaining sub-depots catering to the needs of distant places or divided production centres doing only a part of the production of Khadh. Such centres will enable workers to get themselves trained quickly for the purpose of self-sufficiency. They will help the local development of Khadh work. Such centres will be opened where suitable workers and other facilities are available. In Maharashtra, three centres were opened last year. Centres will be opened from 20-3-60 in Tamil Nadu and Andhra also. It has been decided to concentrate the Tamil Nadu and Andhra Khadh Workers in the city of Madras, so that hitherforth the workers of both the provinces will work together.

(Translated and abridged from the Hindi A.I.S.A. Pamphlet)

ASHRAM ACTIVITIES

(By M. K. Gandhi)

II

Agriculture

This department of Ashram activities came in very convenient to Mahatma Gandhi. But for him I would not have had the courage to take up agriculture at all although an Ashram without it would be something like Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark. For we had not the requisite skill and equipment for it as I thought. Agriculture is a very big undertaking and would call for a lot of land, money and man power. I was afraid that it would distract our attention from other necessary things which could be done and would not wait. But Mahatma was insistent and I yielded to him. 'Let me do it,' he said, 'if only for my own diversion.' Mahatma hardly ever argued with me. He showed his big duty to carry out my ideas. If he did not understand them or if he disagreed, he would tell me so. If even then I stuck to my plan, he would take it that they were correct, and execute them. In fact he believed that an Ashram without agriculture was something not to be thought of, and he would have had to make out a case for his belief. Instead he put forward the supreme argument of love and the Ashrams lavished upon agriculture. Most of the trees in the Ashram were planted by Mahatma or at his instance.

'I still have my doubts about agriculture. Even today I cannot claim that it is a half-baked Ashram activity. But I am not sorry for what little cultivation of the soil is done in the Ashram. A considerable amount of money has been sunk in it. It is not possible to show that it is self-supporting. However I am inclined to think that this much farming was necessary for the Ashram. No farming, no Ashram, for it must grow its own vegetables and fruit as far as possible. Indeed here on Mahatma took a vow that he would restrict himself to the use of Ashrams-grown vegetables. An Ashram should acquire the capacity to grow its own food grains and grass for the cattle. It may not carry on agricultural research, but an Ashram without its farm would look like a face without the nose.

The Ashram farm is only in an experimental stage. It has not much to teach anybody. It is intended to impart only an elementary knowledge of agriculture. At first there was not a single tree in the Ashram, but now there are many trees, planted with a view to their utility. Vegetables are grown as well as some fruit and fodder. Nightsoil is used as manure with satisfactory results.

Ancient ploughs are used as well as modern improved models, water is pumped from wells by methods which can be followed in villages. We are rather partial to ancient implements which are suitable for the poor farmer. They

may be acceptance of some slight improvement but nothing definite can be said about it, as the Ashram has not the time to apply its mind to the subject.

(To be continued)

(Translated from Gujarati) — by N. L. D.)

HARIJAN

April 2

1955

TWO SUB-COUNTRIES

My article *All-India Unity* (12th March) has provoked criticism from esteemed correspondents. It is generally on the same lines as that taken up by *The Economic Chronicle* (12th March 1955) in its editorial article *Fortle Sug gestions*. It disputes particularly the correctness of two of my several propositions. I shall deal with the first this week. It is

"Bharat and Pakistan, though politically two independent sovereign States, together constitute one 'All-India' and one fatherland of all the people living in either of the two sub-countries."

I have stated nothing new in this except for using the word 'sub-country' to describe the territories of each of the two States.

That Bharat or Indian Union and Pakistan together constitute All-India is a statement which should not have appeared strange to any one familiar with the names All-India, National Congress, All-India Congress Committee, A.I.C.C., A.I.V.C. All-India Khudbadat Talfiz Tareekh and similar other institutions. Now, when all should use designate the combined territory of India and Pakistan (along with its French and Portuguese areas) simply by that fitting small compound 'All-India.' The adjective 'all' though not quite essential there has become very meaningful now since both the words India and Bharat which described the whole region before, have now come to be adopted for only a part of it. Some refer to the whole region by the word sub-continent. On account of its great magnitude it may well be referred to as also a sub-continent in its relation to Asia. So too may be said of China and Siberia, both far greater regions than ours. But if one is asked what is the name of this sub-continent, what shall we say? Since no new name is given to it, All-India, as it used to be called, is a correct description.

That All-India constitutes one country and is the common fatherland of the people of both Pakistan and Bharat is also just a truth. We are ever called this into question before the partition, and even now every book on History and Geography will have to treat the whole as one country, and the people as belonging to one country.

The existence of several sovereign States is not a new phenomenon in our country. Before the British became supreme there were several of them at the same time. Even during the British regime French and Portuguese India were parts of different sovereignties, however small the parts might be. That did not make French and Portuguese India separate "colonies." Even as we speak before of British India, State India, French India and Portuguese India, so we might say today Pakistan India and Bharat India. State is a political term; country is a geographical one. India was once a part of India politically, but could never be so geographically. East Pakistan and West Pakistan together constitute one State politically, though geographically they are different regions, and if each were to be called a 'country' then Pakistan would be a State composed of two countries. But no one thinks that it is so. And were it not for the fact that All-India is the common fatherland of the people living in both the sub-countries, neither India and her people, nor Pakistan and her people would feel much concerned about the safety of the minorities in either of the sub-countries. But they are left as part of us, and so, though the minorities cause so much expense, worry, dislocation of normal life, congestion, suspension of all plans etc., the gates of each State are kept open for those who want to take shelter in it. But for the communal hatred which has been raging in parts of both the States, whether the number of sovereign States in All-India were one or five, any severe interference in any part of Pakistan would evoke all those sympathies and phobias, thuggery activities which are in, say, Madras would do in the hearts of the rest of the people. The present out of hatred, even if it takes the form of a violent war for a time, must not make us lose sight of the fundamental unity of the entire nation irrespective of their creeds and castes. The Sikhs, Sinds and Muslims Jats might have quarrelled frequently, but that did not make one community regard another as foreigners. Except for a brief period of the British regime, inter-state wars were not a strange feature of our country. Not even that did not make the residents of one State regard those of another as foreigners. A brother might become an enemy but he is not a foreigner, a man of a distant land might be a close friend but is a foreigner. If the residents of different Indian States had been foreigners to one another, it would not have been possible for Hindu Vaisakhikas to bring about the union or merger of several States into about twenty units. The fundamental geographical unity of the region and the natural relations and intercourse among the residents of the various States made this unionisation possible.

If the first plan of the Cabinet members had not been set aside, politically there should have been even now an All-India Federation. If Sardar Vallabhbhai had not succeeded in bringing

about Union and mergers of States, politically the constitution of India would have been a Federated Union. States and the forms of their constitutions are created and recreated by political exigencies and boundaries get shifted for political and administrative convenience. These things will go on happening perhaps every year in one part or another of our vast country. Such changes cannot alter the mutual relations of the people concerned, unless they persist for very long periods and are accompanied with permanent environmental changes in every small matter of every day life.

The continuance of that political arrangements must be distinguished from laws of nature, and the natural fact is as stated in the first proposition.

25-3-50

K. G. MARATHI, A.L.A.

"SAHVODAYA" MEMORIAL AT PUNE

On Wednesday, February 15 over 600 people gathered at the Phoenix Settlement to see the Gandhi Memorial Building opened by Pandit Harinath Karmu, the leader of the Indian Delegation.

It was in a small wood-and-iron dwelling in the then wilds of islands that Mahatma Gandhi had nearly 55 years ago conceived the idea that it was peace, brotherhood and non-violence that would save mankind, declared Pandit Karmu, addressing the gathering from the verandah of what was virtually Gandhi's own home, rebuilt "in its original form," in the sugar cane and banana fields that were the 1883 scenery when the Mahatma began to study Baskin, Tolstoy and Thoreau there. "It was the study of peace and non-violence here," said Pandit Karmu, "that made him internationally famous, in later years. It was here that he conceived those great ideas that he took to India." He ended by hoping that the cottage would be used "to get the life and truth for which he died, so that this may be a temple for future generations."

In Chapter XVIII (Part IV) of his Life Story Mahatma Gandhi describes how he was given the book Ruskin's *Unto This Last* by a friend. He says: "The book was impossible to lay aside. It gripped me. I determined to change my life in accordance with the ideals of the book. (Of the books that I had read, the one that brought about an instantaneous and practical transformation in my life was *Unto This Last*. I translated it later into Gujarati entitling it *Sarvodaya* (the welfare of all)."

The Memorial Building is named Sarvodaya. We feel that this name is the most appropriate because it was this book that had made Gandhi transform his life.

(Abridged from Indian Opinion, 15-2-50)

HINDU LAW REFORM

Q. 1 Is the present Parliament of Bharat competent to enact the Hindu Code Bill?

A. 1. I am not competent to express an opinion as to the extent it is a question of law. I find that there is a difference of opinion about it even among eminent jurists. The ruling of the Parliament or, if necessary, of the Supreme Court (if it is the right authority to give it) shall have to be abided by in the matter. If the present Parliament is held to be incompetent to proceed with the Bill, of course it will have to be dropped. I have expressed my general approval to the principles of reform underlying the Bill on the assumption that the Parliament is competent to enact it.

The argument that the members of the present Parliament are not morally justified to proceed with this Bill, because at the time they were elected, the electors had not the Hindu Code Bill before their eye does not appear to me convincing. It must be understood that when the old Legislative Assembly was abolished and its powers were transferred to the Constituent Assembly, all the powers of the preceding legislature got vested in the new body and it cannot be said that this Bill was not pending before the previous legislature. Moreover I understand that the party-rule has been suspended in respect of this Bill and this should be regarded as sufficient.

Q. 2 You have said that the adoption of a religion should remain "a pure matter of personal choice of the folk of worship and pursuit of truth." How can then a State which claims to be secular interfere with the religion of one particular community? Marriage has been regarded as a sacrament in almost all the religions, requiring performance of prescribed rites and ceremonies. These should not be interfered with, for those who do not believe in any of the accepted religions, there can be a separate law.

A. 2. The English word 'religion' or the Arabic word 'mashah' has been for some years just mistranslated by the Sanskrit word 'dharma', and this has led to a good deal of confused thinking. A 'religion' or 'mashah' is an institution accepting the authority of a common and definite founder or 'revealer' and a definite scripture as a 'revealed book'. In that sense there is no such thing as 'Hindu Dharma'. The proper Sanskrit synonym for 'religion' or 'mashah' are *sampradaya* (Church or sect), *matra* (opinion or creed), *patha* or *mantra* (way or path), *shastra* (teaching). Only if we do not restrict *dharma* to the sense of a religion, may we group together Vedic, Jain, Buddhist, Jainism and similar systems under the head 'Hindu Dharma'. In this wider sense the word 'culture' has lately come into use in the English language. It means a bundle of ideas, modes of thinking, customs, traditions, social institutions, literature, art, etc., of a community type. When Hindu Dharma is interpreted

no more only Hindu religion, Jains, Buddhists, Sikhs and others hesitate to call themselves Hindus. The controversy as to who are Hindus and who are not would not arise if dharma is understood in the sense of "culture." For then there is no doubt that Sikhs, Jains, Buddhists have several things in common with the followers of the Vedas. The declaration that India is a secular state means that it does not recognize any particular 'religion' or 'Church' as State religion and will not attach any importance to the religious beliefs of its citizens. That does not mean that it is a State with no culture. Religious freedom means freedom to worship (or not worship) God in any manner the citizen chooses. But rules of marriage, succession, inheritance, etc., are questions of social and civil law and matters of culture and may be distinguished from the manner and form of religious worship. Reforms through legislation in this field cannot always be regarded as interference in religious matters.

It is argued that marriage is a sacrament to be performed according to rites and ceremonies prescribed by a dharma. The statement means that (a) among the many different groups of Hindus there are some rites and ceremonies which are common to all. So too are among the followers of different sects of Islam and Christianity, and (b) besides these common rites, there are also rites and ceremonies, which vary from place to place, sect to sect, caste to caste and even family to family. They are reported by the people concerned with the same respect and reverence as the rituals of the deities, but law does not regard all of them as obligatory for the validity of the marriage.

This sphere of dharma (cultural) rites and ceremonies has always been encroached upon by reformers. e.g. the Arya Samaj and the Brahmo Samaj have their own separate rites and ceremonies. Gandhi also made changes as it was time to time. Under his inspiration, Shri Karamchand Kelkar and Shri Vinoba had prepared once a booklet of suggested ceremonies. Later he made radical changes even in these. Thus in the matter of rites and ceremonies of marriage there is no uniformity in Hindu Dharma. Part II of the Hindu Code Bill should be regarded and welcomed as trying to bring uniformity and order in marriage rites. The Bill does not legalize performance of additional ceremonies or rites and cannot therefore be charged with interfering with dharma rites.

In matters of succession etc. also it is desirable to have a uniform law for all citizens. I accept the plea that in these matters no distinction should be made between Hindus, Muslims, Christians and Parsis. I understand that succession is governed by the law of Confucius in China. It differs from Muslim and Christian rules of succession. Should any family desire to divide the property according to Muslim or Christian rules it is at liberty to do so by private

arrangement, but in the event of their reporting to a court of law, the latter will follow only the law of Confucius. Whether or not this information is correct, it is reasonable that it should be so.

Q 3. Is there no difference between ritualized marriage and civil marriage? Are modern legislators competent to make changes in the ancient form and lay down new forms?

A 1. If we cease to be blind worshippers of the past and to ignore the present, the right of every generation to make reforms as and when necessary in laws relating to transfer of property, succession, adoption, marriage etc., would never be questioned. There was a time when transfer of immovable property was accompanied with the performance of a sacrifice in the presence of respectable persons of the place. The same persists still in respect of marriage, adoption etc. These formalities were meant to ensure that such dealings were not carried out in secret but duly published after mature deliberation and concurrence of the people. The same object underlies the modern formalities of duly signed, sealed and attested documents and their compulsory registration. We have accepted a uniform law for the country in respect of transfer of property even to the extent of dispensing with *shastha* rites altogether. The same analogy should apply to marriage, adoption and other transactions.

Under the old system the preceptors, the *gaut* or the *gauts* were the officers accepted both by the people and the State. The present day officers are designated *magistrates* and *registrars* but they perform the same function as preceptors *Baris* and *gauts* (*gauts* at *bars* and others, *Dharma Nirupya*, *Nirupya Sidesha*, *Mitakshara*, *Pyarabara* *Majalis* were codes of law or commentaries which governed these matters at different times and places. That there are a number of *Shastras* and interpretations, shows that the necessity of making reforms and amendments was always recognized. The belief that legislation and writers of the past were infallible and infallibly wise, while those of the present day are all men of ordinary value and poor calibre is an example of the adage "familiarity breeds contempt." Among various types of *barais* we should also include that of *foth* in the present and the future and unreasonable glorification of the past. The preceptors, *baris*, *gauts* and others who perform our rites and ceremonies are not always men of character or even learning but we have accepted their *Shastras* and often religiously-revered formulas, incantations etc., with religious, but refuse to do so with those of magistrates and registrars, and so hold the former to be sacramental ceremonies and the latter as secular ones. We must learn to respect the latter as we respect the former. Now for a person regarded as not to be servile and a glaze of honor depends upon the development of his

element. People holding it break the sacramental pledge as readily as they do the legal one. Let us always look at the substance and not the form.

Q. 4. Are you not aware that several eminent leaders, judges, lawyers and religious heads have opposed the Bill, and regard it as unwise for?

A. 5. Yes, and I am aware that equally eminent leaders, judges, lawyers and religious men have supported it. So, when equally great men are divided in opinion, it becomes the duty of the ordinary man to use his own discretion and form his own opinion.

17-3-39

K. C. WAREHWALA

THE WORLD TODAY

The world today has but one main problem: to give work, food, shelter, justice and freedom to all. This has not been solved by the West with its capitalism and state-socialism; and as democracies are not able to create a better world order for the unemployed and the hungry in despair will turn to radicalism and communism. This will lead them into more slavery, not into freedom, but they cannot see this in advance.

The key to solve the economic and social problems is money. Today and since long monetary management and construction have three main defects:

1. Inflation and deflation mean a change in the level of prices and by this a change in the purchasing power of money. This has always disastrous effects. For one year past all over the world the banks have been "loosing" money, try to "survive", as they say, into one-up schemes. In India we see as in the United States of America they try to bring down the level of prices. This is done in two ways as follows:

A car driver over a man and beats him. They say: "This is bad, this should not have been done. Let us make it good again by reviving him." The driver backward over the man once more, then we are where we have been before the accident—we have revived and everything is alright."

Deflation is bad. Deflation is worse. Communists admit this and they put themselves in selling this 'small deflation or readjustment' a 'rainbow'. The bad effects are already the same. They bring depression, underconsumption, less employment, unemployment, inflation, depression, war. Therefore, every country should try to stabilize the value of its money at the general level. Every price level in relation to India prices today are about 400 per cent of present level, wages but 200 per cent. If you try to reduce the prices the plan will be short-lived. Prices may go down to 50 per cent, but wages to 10 per cent, because unemployment will increase and prices from the wages equalize the prices as before. If on the other hand we reduce the level of prices and by this and other means stimulate and increase production, then wages will rise by and by and finally reach and overcome the level of prices. This is the only possible way to adjust wages to prices. Therefore Government and Reserve Bank should give an official declaration and obligation for stabilization for ever. This would secure the necessary monetary foundation of a social economic and social future.

2. The rate of exchange. The second great mistake of economists all over the world is this: They fix the rate of exchange by artificial bureaucratic means and try to keep it as long as possible. If

necessary they try to move the level of prices, to reduce prices to get again the balance with foreign trade. A very silly and disastrous attempt. Countries must wait and at once the reaction working or against to thinking.

Money is present in our own country and the rate of exchange to every other country. The rate of exchange has finally to fluctuate to get necessary adjustments, but the principle has to fluctuate. With every country of stable currency the rate of exchange will have the tendency to become stable itself, and the necessary small fluctuations will have to regulate the trend of import and export without intervention and interference of disastrous interference. With countries of unstable currency and fluctuating the free rate of exchange will adapt itself to the economic facts.

These two changes in the monetary policy of national currency banks can be made at once. They would be a great help in giving security to production and business and to savings and investments. For the start this might be enough but in countries real working money of stable value for currency we shall have to complete by a third improvement.

3. Money is a product, money of exchange needs a market for trade, money circulation. Money is the blood of economic life and if money is hoarded and refuses to work, to buy or invest, then the economic life cannot be saved. If money would be recalled from time to time, then by every year and exchange for the new issued money with some discount, this would force money business and the problems of bank market and currency speculation in their own interest to let the money circulate freely. This would be a somewhat revolutionary change in monetary management and construction. Money would come under full control. It would become a real servant of only point to mark production and resources. For the beginning the stable price level and free rate of exchange might bring the currency improvement to the management of money for the present days.

The political dangers of revolutionary changes and of war, the tensions between U.S.A. and Russia are a result of the unsolved economic and monetary problems. If a country will make new proposals of practical value, how ready to give work, food and freedom to all that would turn the political situation to a new goal and possibility. Russia as well as America would listen with great surprise.

Finally a new idea? To help both the capitalist as well as the communist countries! The plan explained above could become the synthesis of both extremes, the middle-way of communism seems! In many countries there are men working in this line. In Switzerland my friends are members of Parliament, and we have some great influence upon Government and National Bank of Switzerland. In Germany the movement for the same monetary improvements, having been supported by Hitler, is growing again. In Japan I had the privilege of speaking about such proposals to Commissioners of the House of Councillors of the Japanese Parliament on 19th December 1939. They put down the level of prices about 7 per cent and the result has been: more than 1 million unemployed Communists are getting the crop of it. In Germany the deflation from 1929 to 1933 put seven million out of work and by this Hitler was power. After that war could not be avoided any

more. Such are the results of monetary mismanagement. If any country would take the lead and put new proposals to discussion it would get help from many quarters around the world.

India is a new Tree. There are new men in Government, and they are not handicapped by old mental work or dangerous relations. This would be worthy of the life and teachings of the Great Father of the Nation. Mahatma Gandhi War and violence never can bring real solutions. It is only the spirit of truth, of understanding and kindness that can see the defects of our present system and can create a new and better order. It is my strong hope that the new and free India will be a strong power in bringing peace on earth.

Mixed is at the cross-roads. Today New India has its freedom. What will it do with it? If it does not solve its social problems in the spirit of justice and freedom then it will go the way of China to crash, dictatorship, communism, war. If it will solve its heavy problems and this only can be done in the line of truth, of Freedom, of Free Economy, then it will lead the world to peace. This is your great chance and responsibility.

WALTER THUNDERMAN

Chairman of the at the History Club in Calcutta on Tuesday the 15th February 1950.

THE SECOND SARVODAYA SAMAJ CONFERENCE

As was decided at the last Sarvodaya Conference at Ran the second Sarvodaya Samaj Conference will be held at Angul (Dist. Bhubaneswar, Utkal) from the 6th April to 15th April 1950 both inclusive. All registered members of the Sarvodaya Samaj are requested to attend it.

The present conference will be marked by a novel feature that this time there will be conferences of other all India constructive bodies also, in per following programme:-

6th --昌昌昌 Sangh or Khand Conference

7th -- Village Industries Conference

8th & 9th -- Taluk Sangh or Nai Taluk Conference

10th -- Session of Sarva Sam Sangh

11th to 15th -- Sarvodaya Conference, etc.

15th & 16th -- Conference of Govea Sangh and the Hindustani Procher Sabha

All the above Conferences are open to members of the Sarvodaya Samaj.

The Khand Conference will begin from the morning of the 6th April. All those intending to attend the Conference should reach Angul on the 6th April.

All candidates intending to participate in Khand competition are expected to reach Angul before 15th April.

(From Bhub)

YALLABHARAM
Secretary, Sarva Sam Sangh

SCHOOL BOARDS OPPOSE IT

School Boards in Orissa have not welcomed introduction of English in Standard VII and have expressed their view in the form of a resolution. The following is its English rendering.

"The Government of Bombay, Education Department, have issued G. S. No. 7000 dated 23-12-49 regarding the policy of introducing English in Secondary Schools. Thereon it is made incumbent upon Primary Education School Boards to open classes for teaching English in seventh standard of primary schools. If Khand students ask for it. As a result, this will mean that English will be introduced as a compulsory subject in Primary education where it was never before.

"Again it is a question whether it would be possible for School Boards to start such classes at all.

"Moreover, it will spend the whole expenditure of seven years of compulsory Primary (Basic) Education.

"The House Committee appointed by Government to consider this whole question had rightly put a note of warning against such retrograde step and had also rightly recommended to go ahead by strongly adhering to the word policy formulated in 1948 of introducing English in the first seven standards of Primary Schools, and Government was requested to adhere to it.

"Therefore it is resolved that,

"(1) Government should adhere to its own policy adopted in 1948 and it ought not to take the retrograde step of introducing English.

"(2) If more study of English is desired, it should be provided for in the eighth standard where secondary education begins, e.g. Coaching classes etc may be started there. However nothing in this regard should be begun in the seventh standard either voluntarily or in any other manner.

"(3) School Boards ought not to be asked to start classes for English in the seventh standard."

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HARIJAN

FOUNDED BY BHABHA GANDHI
EDITOR K. C. BHABHIVALLA



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First Volume

THE FEAR OF TRUTH

But for the fact that the Harijan Journal is well on your own personal file, one could have heard some by the opposite view would give would be mistaken for that of anti-Bhabhaism. It may be so, as pointed out in critical communications in both recent issues under the eye of the prevailing trouble. This would do the same otherwise another thesis of much of the present utility.

Then writes one of the correspondents. It is always possible for unscrupulous people to twist expressions out of their context and put a different meaning upon them. Even Gandhiji Pandit Jashwanth Mohra and Sander Vallabhbhai Patel have not been able to escape such misunderstanding at the hands of their opponents. Sander Vallabhbhai Patel had to make a statement only recently on the subject of his Calcutta speech, which was unscrupulously misquoted and misused in Pakistan.

While a writer must take every care to express himself so that no doubt when can be introduced, of course, he cannot always be sure of the abuse of what he says or writes by unscrupulous propagandists. Having taken sufficient care he must see that what he says is necessary to come to a right solution of the problem before the country and whether a solution is even possible without making and fully admitting the truths underlying the whole problem. I have often seen that so many of our troubles in domestic life become difficult to solve because though every one realises the existence of certain factors bravely no one wants to confess them or speak them out unreservedly and thrust them out in a straight manner. Truth alone saves us if quickly and unreservedly admitted and expressed. It causes a little irritation in the beginning, but it is bearable. But if it is suppressed, it has the tendency to burst out some day suddenly in a violent manner and the impact is such that the reaction becomes unbearable. Out of fear of the small initial irritation, we go on suppressing hard truths for years together. If what we say is truth and it is necessary to realise it to solve our problem, let not the likelihood of its unscrupulous interpretation alone prevent us from stating it. If there are any defects in stating it they must of course be rectified.

GANDHI AND HARM

VII

All the social and economic ideas and programmes of Gandhiji's "spring from his non-violence. His principles of non-violence and trusteeship are not an exception to this. Neither the individual, nor society, nor, for the matter of that, even non-human life was for him a mere material object like a piece of furniture or a machine which might be created, altered, destroyed or set to any use at will for a man-conceived purpose. The welfare of the individual himself must be regarded as the most important purpose of all, and if the sacrifice of one's legitimate material good was demanded for any idealistic end it must be voluntary. He did not subscribe to the theory that for the good of the many that of the few, and for the good which will accrue to the future generations, the present generations might be sacrificed by mere possession of power.

Now, as in 1947, I am aware Gandhiji ever spoke of a class war, so put forth the celebration of a "classless society" as his ideal. He did speak of the abolition of caste in the extent they obstructed inter-dining, inter-marriage and social intercourse, also of the abolition of hierarchy in the caste system. But the existence of classes is a permanent feature of any but the most primitive society. And Gandhiji opposed the abolition of their existing interests in the two principles of non-violence and trusteeship. The two together, if honestly followed, could maintain harmony in society and deter non-violent relations for resolving conflicts as soon as they arise. As long as man remains an imperfect being, one can never imagine a state of absence of conflict altogether. What is needed is a training and a technique, to resolve them in a manner which will be beneficial to the individuals, the classes, as well as the society concerned.

What is this principle of non-violence? Depicted of its scriptural and ethical drive, it would state it as follows:

Normally people follow the traditional callings of their forefathers handed down from father to son. This is good for the stability of social life, for the uniting of the child and for

the technical advance of the profession itself. If the earnings and prestige of every occupation were equal or even almost so, only in exceptional cases a person would be attracted to a profession other than the ancestral one. This would happen, for instance, if a person was brought up from a very early age in an environment of another occupation. Even if the popular belief in heredity in respect of professions is not accepted as scientifically established, one need not doubt that pathological changes developed during the practice of a profession for a whole life-time and from generation to generation have a tendency to become hereditary, and this, along with the occupational environment surrounding the child in the home, makes him more fitted for following the ancestral profession than a very different one. Hence the normal law of social life should be that a person must, as a matter of duty, practise for his livelihood the profession of his forefathers, or of one developed out of the ancestral one. A radical plunge into a different profession is not desirable. If the principle were applied that one has to be what his father was for the practice of a profession for living, we would not have the sorry spectacle of the present age, where a person even after becoming a double graduate does not know the profession which he might practise for earning his living. In the ancient scheme the training from the very childhood would be a purposeful one.

"The meaning of *varna*," says Gandhi, "is incredibly simple. It simply means the following on the part of us all, of the hereditary and traditional calling of our forefathers, in so far as the traditional calling is not inconsistent with fundamental ethics, and this only for the purpose of earning one's livelihood." (*Young India*, 28-12-37).

Gandhi lays down here one exception to the normal rule, namely, if the traditional calling is inconsistent with fundamental ethics, it is not to be followed. He also lays down a limitation of the normal rule by saying, that the purpose of the traditional profession is "only for the purpose of earning one's livelihood".

He was also prepared to admit another exception to the normal rule when he said in answer to the question, what a man who exhibited qualities opposed to his family character should do—

"If my father is a trader and I exhibit the qualities of a soldier, I may without reward serve my country as a soldier, but must be content to earn my bread by trading."

In another place, to the same questioner, he said—

"It would be quite right for any brainy carpenter to become a lawyer for service, not for money." (*Young India*, 24-12-37).

But such people are exceptions even to this day, though it must be admitted that they have become more frequent now than ever before and have already created a problem.

The causes for this are hierarchical gradations assigned to callings, and taking to one's profession not as a duty, but as an instrument for amassing wealth in a society based on competition and institution of private property.

Gandhi's position about the former is cleared by his definition of *varna* above.

"In this conception of *varna* there is absolutely no hint of superiority and inferiority." (*Young India*, 20-12-37). Again,

"In my opinion there is no such thing as inherited or acquired superiority. I believe instinctively that all men are born equal. All—whether born in India or in England or America or in any civilisation whatever—have the same soul as any other. And it is because I believe in this inherent equality of all men that I fight the doctrine of superiority which many of our rulers advocate to themselves. I have fought this doctrine of superiority in South Africa both by birth, and it is because of that inherent belief, that I delight in calling myself a sweeper, a spinner, a weaver, a farmer and a labourer. And I have fought against the Brahmins themselves wherever they have claimed any superiority for themselves either by reason of their birth, or by reason of their subsequently acquired knowledge. I consider that it is wrong for any person to claim superiority over a fellow-being. I am therefore through and through with every non-Brahmin who he fights this monster of superiority, whether it is claimed by a Brahmin or by anybody else. He who claims superiority at once forfeits his claim to be called a man. This is my opinion." (*Young India*, 20-9-37).

The other cause for the break-down of the principle of *varna* *dharma* is sought to be contrasted by Gandhi by the principle of trusteeship. This we shall deal with in the next article.

Let it be clearly understood, however, that *varna* is not a sectarian or theocratic principle with Gandhi, but the examination of a moral but secular duty of a citizen towards himself, his dependents and his society. It is the duty of a citizen to earn his living by practising a profession needed for the well-being of society, the profession must be consistent with fundamental ethics, it must be a profession of his forefathers. All notions about superiority and inferiority attached to professions are arbitrary and harmful and must be abolished, so also, restrictions about inter-casting and inter-marriage. Thus all professions are equal in rank.

ARBITRATION IN INDUSTRIES

Let us now turn to see how wonderfully satisfaction initiated by Gandhiji in the labour dispute at Ahmedabad as early as in 1918 is proving successful throughout the whole of India. During that year Gandhiji organised Ahmedabad labour on the basis of peace and co-operation and obliged the capitalists with the force of his moral personality and presence to agree to the principle of arbitration. While analysing the Indian labour position he says

"In the West an eternal conflict has set up between capital and labour. Each party considers the other its natural enemy. That spirit seems to have entered India also, and P. B. Mehta a prominent help-giver it would be the end of our industry and of our peace. If both the parties were to realise that each is dependent upon the other there will be little cause for quarrel." (Young India, 20-4-1920).

The realisation of this interdependence is a necessary requisite in the evolution of the parties to enable them to appreciate arbitration. In his later speeches, therefore, he has emphasised more than aspect of the question. At Jamshedpur he says,

"Today capital is afraid of labour and labour fearful of capital. I want to replace that relation ship by one of mutual trust and respect." (Young India, 16-4-1929).

At another place he addressed labour thus:

"The capitalist strength is their money, your strength is your capacity to work. Capital would be helpless without labour." (Ardra, 7-11-1934).

He rightly evaluates the constructive position and rather than dwelling at it, warns the non-violent workers:

"It must not be forgotten that those who are stirring up violence also do so in the hope of obtaining the force of progress. Violence is not violence here to be successful enough to demonstrate its actual practice that their method is the quickest. One of violence or how helps the non-violent?" (Ardra, 27-11-1937).

To capitalists and non-violence he points the way of arbitration. He says:

"Capitalists and Non-violence must be accepting in their power to employ non-violent means, e.g. the non-violent principle of arbitration for the settlement of all disputes. Success of non-violent action depends upon the progressive measures of order that it brings to the exploited and the oppressed." (Ardra, 27-11-1937).

He emphasises the same principle in another way when he says,

"The strongest combination of temperance must accept the principle of arbitration, if capital and labour are ever to live in peace." (Young India, 24-1-1938).

To both the parties he offers his theory of trustfulness for acceptance:

"Capital and labour will be mutual enemies and both will be the victims of non-cooperation. The trustful theory is not selfishness and does not in the least imply superiority of the trustee. It is perfectly a mutual affair and each believing that his own interest is best safeguarded by safeguarding the interest of the other." (Young India, 20-4-1920).

But labour too should be equally distrustful:

"If labour were to bid good bye to non-violence, they would be as bad as capitalists and their exploit-

ers themselves. The realisation of their strength combined with adherence to non-violence would enable them to conquer with capital and turn it to proper use." (Young India, 20-4-1920).

"Adherence to non-violence" means amongst other things, acceptance of arbitration:

"To seek justice without resorting to violence and by an appeal to the good sense of the capitalists by arbitration is lawful means." (Young India, 24-1-1920).

Labour should not allow itself to be caught up in the whirlpool of money complex created by the capitalists:

"The moment labour recognises its own dignity, money will find its rightful place. i.e. it will be held in trust for labour. For labour is more than money." (Young India, 24-1-1920).

Strikes, though an inherent right of labour, have obvious limitations:

"I know that strikes are an inherent right of the working man for the purpose of securing justice, but they must be considered a crime immediately the exploitation except the principle of non-violence." (Young India, 24-1-1920).

Also,

"It will be a great gain if strikes become necessary and the principle of arbitration is strictly adhered to by parties." (Young India, 16-4-1929).

In these days of post-independence active corporate work Gandhiji's sage counsel of arbitration assumes special importance. Differences of outlook, of temperament, of opinions and of emphasis create complexes which impede smooth work. These complexes soon begin to dominate and shift the emphasis from work to workers. The result is a miserable spectacle. Arbitration is the only courageous way out for lifting the issue above the mire of parties' pre-judices, which should be referred to an impartial tribunal.

R. J. SOMANI

LEST WE FORGET

XX

Non-violence in Various Aspects

(a)

My ethics not only permit me to claim but require me to own kinship with not merely the ape but the horse and the sheep, the lion and the leopard, the snake and the scorpion.

(b)

I do not want to live at the cost of the life even of a snake. I should let him bite me to death rather than kill him. . . (Jashna, Tigers etc are God's answer to the poisonous, wicked, evil thoughts we harbour. . . If I want to rid the earth of venomous hearts and reptiles, I must rid myself of all venomous thoughts).

(c)

Bliss is an inherent necessity for life in the body. That is why a variety of desires always prays for ultimate deliverance from the bondage of flesh.

(d)

I would not kill a human being for protecting a cow, as I will not kill a cow for saving a human life, be it ever so precious.

(1)

I cannot blame anyone here at all, a dog suddenly indicating the nature of a slow death. I do not kill a human being due circumstances because I have more hopeful remedies. I should kill a dog suddenly stricken because in its case I am without a remedy. Should my child be attacked by a snake and there was no hopeful remedy to relieve his agony, I should consider it my duty to take his life.

HARIJAN

April 9

1950

BROAD BASE STATES

"The second and the more important one of our propositions depicted by The Bombay Chronicle and my correspondents is

"That no State must be founded on the name of one particular class, creed, race or culture, and the main fact that the majority of the people in the one are Hindus and in the other Muslims cannot be allowed to prevail either of them to develop into a State based on or dedicated to the culture, religion or principles of any one of them."

If we examine matters deeply enough, it will be found that this is the basic creed on which several of our international problems rest. Orthodox Hindus would have Harijans outside the full citizenship circle. Hindu Mahasabaites would show all minorities their proper place in India's political set up. Pakistan wants to cast out its Hindus. Ceylon and Burma would drive even the Indians out including Pak-Indians) would there for generations or keep them as foreigners. In addition to Indians, South Africa wants to drive away all the Asiatics or segregate them as well as the original inhabitants from the Whites and have them permanently as something but full citizens. U.S.A. would keep its Negroes as Harijans more or less. On the other side, all Asiatics and Africans are united in their opposition to the colonialist policy of the Whites. All Asia (including Pakistan) is united in its opposition to the South African policy. India and Pakistan are united in their opposition to the policies of Burma and Ceylon. The Arab-Jew and the German-Jew problems are of the same character.

If we held that a State can be founded in the name of any particular class, creed, race or culture, then all different policies would be justifiable and no State could quarrel in the affairs of another, even if it totally exterminated those extraneous elements which it did not want. If the latter wished to escape extermination they must return to the country of their forefathers or find another asylum.

Indeed, two of my correspondents suggest that it is wrong on the part of India to interfere

with the colour policy of South Africa or the creed policy of Pakistan.

If we like we might adopt a similar policy against them. If we do not wish to do so, it is our look-out. If we cannot remove in India the Hindus of Pakistan or the Indians of South Africa, Ceylon, Burma etc., let those people fight out with their Governments or die there. But we are not justified in quarrelling with their policy. "We have to forget all affinities of blood, heredity, geography, culture etc. For when we accept partition on a people's life, it cannot be personal and the less we consider or emphasize those affinities the better for us both."

This is mechanical logic. It forgets that we as human beings and various races benefit of those quarrelled human sentiments and urges, which make man the noblest creation of God. That we cannot disregard natural affinities of blood, heredity, geography, culture etc., is a reality of that kind. Logic consists in according each accident its due place and not put up only one principle and pursue it to its mechanically logical end. Emphasis on a particular circumstance is proper subject to the condition that it does not lead to inhuman or sub-human acts, but promotes the welfare of every one. A State like any other association or club may have its particular rules and methods of work subject to the condition that it does not degenerate into barbarism and oblige any part to sub-human conditions of life or lead to its extinction. If it does so, the noble urges as we will and must revolt against it and exert all its power to prevent it.

It is impossible for a cultured man of any part of the world whatever to take indignantly the communal killings that have taken place in India and Pakistan during the last two years. The inhuman transfer of large populations from one place to another that has taken place and is taking place in several parts of the world for some years past, as if man were factory goods, is perpetration of barbarism which should never have been contemplated and tolerated. That it is looked upon really and even planned easily is not evidence of dispassionate logic but of under-development of the head the heart and the nerves in various ways, e.g. cowardice, selfishness, narrowness of vision want of will or strength to act, etc. It is the noble sentiments and urges in us which grow as they being reconciled to the orthodox Hindu doctrine of untouchability, the Mahasabaites doctrine of London for Hindus, the Muslim League doctrine of Pakistan for Muslims, the White-man doctrine of South Africa for Europeans and so on. The creed stated at the beginning of the article rests on these noble sentiments. That every State must be broad-based is a principle which has to be accepted as binding on all States.

NOTES

Mr. Cameron's Murder

The regrettable murder of Mr. A. T. Cameron in an attempt to protect his Muslim servant, must serve as an eye-opener to the propagandists of the cult of segregation and retaliation. Heart-rending as the lot of the refugees is, and quite understandable their mental state, giving vent to those feelings by murdering Indian Muslims cannot be excused, and in the interest of the refugees themselves and of India they should realize and be helped to realize that such acts would result only in creating public opinion against them throughout the world. Instead of being sympathized with, which their hardship and trials richly deserve, such righteousness will only make them look cowardly and contemptible in the eyes of the world.

Even one, who regards violence as futile in every case, would understand and even appreciate an attempt by the minorities to offer dogged opposition and refuse to move in the direction of India without giving a fight at every step to the forces seeking to drive them away from their homes and subject them to all sorts of atrocities. If a razor wounds the cat with its sharp teeth and claws even though the act may be futile, it is still heroic and praiseworthy. But after leaving the home-land almost without resistance and arriving in a safe place it is unusual to seek revenge against the co-refugees at their appearance in the old home. There is no knowing what without folly it might lead them to, as the murder of Mr. Cameron shows. It might easily involve the country in grave international complications, which it will be difficult to get out of.

Let those who urge war or "police-action" against Pakistan first strengthen the hands of their Government by not indulging in or encouraging acts, which crippled war or police-action against themselves.

Albion 24-3-'69

Dr. Hariprasad Desai

How could I have imagined that when Dr. Hariprasad Desai called upon me at Bombay towards the middle of the last month, it was to be our final meeting? He gave me a good report of his health. Though about seventy years old, he felt quite fit and energetic. He was taking his physical exercises regularly, could hike, and stood to all his activities as usual. We talked on various matters, serious and light. He was his usual self—jovial and full of aplomb. Further, he scolded me for showing signs of premature age and then: "Don't take present evils too seriously," he told me more than once that afternoon. He spent some time in examining my nephew's collection of natural objects and art and promised to pay me a second visit, as soon as possible. That possibility has vanished for

good. It seems that he got a heart attack not very long after this visit, resulting in his death on the thirteenth March last.

Ahmedabad is enormously indebted to him for the various services he rendered to this city. In character and conviction, one has to compare modern Ahmedabad to that of the early twenties to know the difference, and if one knows that the principal organizer and moving spirit of these changes was Dr. H. V. Desai, one would have an idea of the amount of work he must have done day after day to clean the city of its heaps of old mud and dirt of centuries and to change the entire appearance of Ahmedabad.

And sanitation and hygiene were not the only subjects he was interested in. He was a nationalist politician ever since the first partition of Bengal in 1905. He was, perhaps, the first Gujarati graduate of a National University, having taken his medical degree from the National Medical College of Calcutta. Hence his lifelong interest in the political activities of the country. It was quite natural for him to throw in his lot with Gandhiji and become one of his devoted followers for the emancipation of the country. He was also a scholar and a lover of literature, history, religion and art and was connected with many an institution in Ahmedabad and Gujarat specializing in any of these subjects. He was an effective and humorous speaker and writer, a good composer of songs, and was often surrounded by young writers, artists and others, who got all kind of encouragement from him. One could never tell dull in his company, and it was not a small club that you got round him.

Last but not the least, was his affectionate heart and freedom from malice. Once he had the misfortune of being the first bringer of news to the Bahamani Ashram of Gandhiji, having taken seriously ill somewhere, (was it when he took all of appendicitis at the Towards Central Prison?) For a few minutes he could not utter a word, tears rolled down his eyes in a senseless flow. Every one was in response not knowing what the nature of the evil news was and concerning whom, until he could speak.

Death will come to every one. Man's enemy is not death but disease, and Dr. Hariprasad Desai had successfully fought disease. He died while he was still fit and energetic. His death is inevitable. Though we all love him and will therefore mourn it, we must feel satisfied that he had always kept disease at bay and showed others also the way to do it.

Albion 2-4-'69

R. C. N.

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PRE-REQUISITES OF DIRECT ACTION

Directness would be nothing to the common man—the farmer, unless it is based on a real understanding of the problems.

Preparation for Satyagraha

Now we are at this dangerous juncture in our village, but we are not trained to face this problem. A student going to the Medical College for example is first given a dead body to dissect the various organs of the corpse. He handles the delicate instruments and performs delicate operations with these instruments. He gets used to using sharp knives. But this is not surgery. It is a training for surgery. Surgery is the delicate operations done on the patients and that on a dead body. Quackery still now has been training us in dissecting the dead body. Through the village industries. It was easy for us to dissect with a dead body and give medicine. Now we are in perfect delicate operations on living beings in the present social order. We are now handling the throbbing life of the agriculturalist.

These weeks have, I think have to understand your position. The agriculture process without having dissected the dead body wanted to perform surgical operations. But this is impossible. You have wanted to share the Government the right way. You have wanted to offer satyagraha against the Government. But you didn't do that which you have trained yourselves and the people. People can only be trained through constructive work. You have to do a lot of sensitive social work to get a right disposition out of people in other satyagraha. The first task for us is to prepare ourselves for this new satyagraha. There may be the greatest suffering to all this at the present moment and an emergency might have arisen. The Government may be absolutely in the wrong. Yet you cannot offer satyagraha unless you are trained to do that. A child may have developed an illness or there may be something wrong inside the eye. You cannot cut the eye with a knife unless you are qualified to do that. A child may be drowning in the water. If you want to help the child from drowning, you must plunge and take the child out. And you must plunge into the water because you know how to swim. If you do not know swimming and you get into the water both the child and you will be lost.

Now we are to study this new and open task. We are up against powerful forces. So we have to go ahead carefully. We cannot let ourselves go and be lost in our task and thereby to solve our immediate problems quickly. We should move cautiously. The signs of such failures among the agriculturalists are very evident. The agriculturalists are up against their present negative situation in industry. The intelligent farmers are showing signs of separating themselves. The problems among the agriculturalists are in the town not only in the fields but also in the other parts of the country. In the farmers becoming conscious about their own problems is a healthy sign. The Government officials and Ministers are not aware of these problems and the new consciousness among the agriculturalists. They are still over a fence in which water is boiling with a spark fire beneath. They looked at the steam inside the kettle. If they do so there will be a huge outbreak. When they notice a little steam coming out from and there they say that the Government are wrong and they are doing the mistake. They follow a very straightforward policy on such occasions. They send a few Communists here and there thinking that the trouble will end that way. But the water is still boiling inside the kettle and gathering power.

You will realize the tremendous force the agriculturalists are gathering. You have to regulate the steam. You have to harness the dangerous kettle into a useful engine. Neither the critical time that is ahead of us. We are now prepared to take control with our hands. We have to go with consciousness and intelligence. It is not our business to be attacking the Government. We have to harness the power of the masses. Let us not come into a clash with the Government unnecessarily.

Let us not allow the gas powder to burst out by putting a spark to it. We must study the situation carefully. Any harm can be done useful for two purposes—constructive and destructive. We have ignored the Government side with constructive purposes. We must see that it uses this power for constructive purposes.

I come back to the suggestion question which is before you. We can plunge into action immediately. But we shall be started every two different directions and we lose sight of the real problem. We must educate the people in moving their problems by the way of co-operation. We must get the people straightened.

Agriculture is a new field for our work. Agriculture has not come into the traditional field of action till now. We have to start a new programme of work among the farmers. As there is a close connection between the Government and the agriculturalists, our work can be started only when we have clearly understood what the Government is expected to do and what part the people should play.

Long Range and Short Range Programmes

In all our economic activities, we must have a long range programme as well as a short range programme. Overhead is good even in a long range programme. You have to plan the trees and water them and then wait to be useful perhaps after a hundred years. It is a very easy course to cut down the forest, this is short range work. There is a lot of difference in the qualities of a person who grows a forest, and who cuts down a forest.

Again, take the example of a millowner. He runs a mill for the mills and not for the cow. The time is of no use to him when the location period is over. He does not want to work till it rains again. He will seed the dry cow to a slaughter house and produce a new cow. This is wise in keeping in mind the Sunday. This millowner's work is a short range programme.

In agriculture, the Government is the long range person and the agriculturalists in the short range person. Our programme and policy must have a long and short range action. Otherwise, it will be faulty. At present, there is no connection but still separation between these two persons. The farmers do not understand the long range view. During the war, the farmers had been completely confused and we are experiencing the effects of this short-sighted policy of the Government. Prices have fallen and the lands and wells are dry. The Government now follows only a short range policy.

Role of Workers

This group of workers have much mind between the Government and the agriculturalists. We must understand the functions of the Government and we must understand the functions of the agriculturalists. Before the rains can materialize we have to perform our duties. Every agriculturalist is a social worker. He has got his duty to perform towards society. He has to produce goods to satisfy the needs of society. If he is not only to make money for himself in some way or other there is no difference between an agriculturalist and an industrialist or a capitalist. If the Government wants only to squeeze out money from the farmer it is failing in its duty.

Nature is kinder than in his co-operative effort. We have to provide the functions of the Government and the agriculturalists in nature. Nature has got the power of regeneration. We grow the harvest and expose the soil for some time during which period the soil goes back into the virginity and that have been used up. These periods of rest for the soil are absolutely necessary to maintain the fertility of the soil. Hence you have a duty towards the soil also. These duties are most undervalued property. We must realize that this is part of "Nature". Even a landless labourer should be regarded as a helper.

Our immediate work will be to prepare ourselves for this new work. This for millions even. For how many years do workers prepare themselves to wage a war? Twenty years and more! In fact we may say that there is a continuous war going on throughout the past three

and last year was in only the normal effort of this continuous war going on all the time. Now our duty is a new violent fight. This requires a greater training. It is not the training of the muscles. It is not the training of the eyes. It is a training to control our own selves. There is hardly any one who has conquered their own and completely self-control and self-discipline are the qualities we have to develop within ourselves.

Agricultural Problems

Now I shall point before you the different aspects of the agricultural problems we have to study. We shall understand the need for performing our duties. When we understand how to control ourselves, we can better the present state of the world. It brings forth. In agriculture if we do not perform our duties we are not enabled to make our rights. We cannot allow agriculturalists to get higher wages for a group, we cannot expect the people to give you your rights unless you do your duty voluntarily.

Taking the agricultural problems, you should have a clear understanding of these problems. The three persons are the agriculturalist, Nature and the Government. Let us see the functions each performs. The agriculturalist grows the crops and is always looking at the field. What the agriculturalist does is always to co-operate with Nature in the process of production of crops. He helps Nature to work his way. He puts manure from the soil, sows the seeds at the proper time and waters the plants in time to be reproducing the different features of nature to enable nature to produce. We can say that the agriculturalist's work is an artificially imitated reproduction of Nature's forces to provide food in a larger measure or to bring about a better crop in his farm. The work also functions in the normal way but only when imitated voluntarily by him. We are not creating but we help Nature to create in his own way. The duty of the Government is to look after the long term functions. It has to provide for a regulated supply of water for irrigating the land by the construction of canals, dams, tanks and wells.

The agriculturalist needs good materials for his work. The Government must supply fertilizers. It must maintain self-sufficient farms for stock rearing and for storage of seeds. The agriculturalist needs good seeds for a good harvest. The Government should supply selected and graded seeds. Crop pests are often a menace to the farmer and the Government must carry on research on the methods of prevention of crop pests for a whole group of people. The agriculturalist requires farm implements like the plough, cart, sowing, harrow etc. The Government must see that these materials are available to the farmer.

In agricultural work there is a partnership between society and the individual. So long as the Government functions in this way as the representative of society there is no difficulty at all. The farmer has great faith that his duties are towards society. If he is working for his own selfish ends and profit and if the Government is working for their both of them are on the wrong track. The farmer must produce to supply the needs of society. If the government prevents him from doing forward to fight for his rights to get more money for their expenditure. They are materialistic just like the capitalists. They are hence no closer to our sympathy. The real understanding that it is our duty to find society as members of society.

We can be partners only in a venture of which we approve. A deserving man asks for help. We should help the child out of the water. Suppose a person needs your help in eliminating the situation of the man. He is disappointed by which that he wants to do his job. You cannot help him. There is no difference between a desperate person who gives up and a man who has his own goal and the self-interest who runs the mill for his own profit. Neither of them can claim our help. You have to keep out of the struggle between these two. When two wolves are fighting with each other the best thing you can do is to keep out of it. If you get between

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY KENNETH GANDHI)
Editor: K. C. KISHOREWALLA



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TWO ANNAS

GANDHI AND TRUSTEESHIP

What is the theory of Trusteeship? First let us note what it is not, but is commonly supposed to be.

Some people think that it is just an euphemistic way of justifying one's possession and control of property, power etc., against other claimants, whether civil or rightful, on the ground that they could not part with it because none would be able to make a better use of that property or power than they in the interest of the public who were said not competent enough to manage their own affairs. This was the argument advanced by the British for several years for retaining their hold on India. None was better fitted to govern India, they claimed, than they in view of their inferiority and ignorance of the masses, their internal divisions etc. They said that they held India not in their own interest, but as trustees for the people. But as they did not govern India gratis, so in the opinion of the then Indian politicians, an reasonable remuneration for the services they rendered, or even honesty, so their plea of trusteeship was regarded by the people as nothing but a pretence for not withdrawing from India.

Even legally appointed trustees, such as a guardian over a minor's property, often evade handing over charge to the minor after he has attained majority on the ground that he has not the adequate capacity to manage it. Such trustees are looked upon as hypocrites and they lose the confidence of the beneficiaries. Owing to this past experience the very word trustee and the theory of trusteeship fell into disrepute and 'progressive' politicians suspected that Gandhiji had obliged the princes, the landlords, the capitalists and holders of power by subtly furnishing them with one more weapon to cling to their respective positions of advantage.

It is also supposed that the best trustee of Gandhiji's conception was no more than a man with some philanthropic spirit. For instance, if there was a raja or a millionaire who lived a simple personal life, now and then gave benevolent donations, founded good charitable institutions, or made a charitable trust of a part of his property, and if in addition to this, he was also kind to his servants, still in the general

behaviour towards the poor, a hospitable host, obliging to friends, free from gross vices and a 'church-going man' (as he would be called in England), nothing more was to be expected of him to fulfil the obligations of a trustee. His personal household budget, or the manner in which he acquired his wealth was not to be inquired into.

But none of these suppositions are sustainable. The word trustee is a legal term, and all the rights and duties that law chooses to assign to that term from time to time will apply to the trustee of Gandhiji's theory, after a good deal more on moral grounds not covered by law. In 1930 I contributed a series of articles under the caption *Gandhism as Trusteeship*, which were edited and corrected by Gandhiji himself. Therein I explained the theory of trusteeship as follows:

"The problem of stopping exploitation is related to, and is often held to be identical with, the institution of private property, and in Gandhian-socialism controversies on this question is perhaps discussed with greater warmth than any other. On this matter Gandhiji has perhaps more radical views than the most extreme Communist. He would like to dispense every person of all kinds of belongings. If he tolerates the institution of private property, it is not because he loves it, or holds it to be necessary for the progress of humanity, but because he has yet to discover a truthful and non-violent method of abolishing that institution. I think that all Socialists believe that possessions are absolutely essential for making mankind happy. Gandhiji does not accept that position in theory. But as a practical proposition, he feels, that mankind is not going to give up possessions, within a time which can be estimated. The only thing, therefore, to be considered is in what capacity should persons having actual control over and possession of property be deemed to have it or in what spirit should they be suffered to possess it? Gandhiji says that ... 'where persons possess property, whether that possession is vested in them in a manner deemed legal at the time or otherwise, they must be deemed to hold it in trust for society and not for themselves.

Much confusion arises from the fact that people do not take his statements as seriously as they should do. We have often heard British politicians declare that the British Government is a trustee for the welfare of the people of India, without in the least meaning it. We are now accustomed to regard such statements as professions, platitudes, if not indeed cant. In

the same way, he is not taken seriously when he says that all possessors of property are, according to him, trustees for society. It seems that his critics on this point sagaciously think that there is a difference between statutory trustees and constructive trustees in regard to the due fulfilment of their respective trusts. With Gandhi there is none. He never propounds any theory without providing means for giving practical effect to it. He holds that every possessor of property has that required for comfortable maintenance is possible only so long as the others possess it in either helplessness or through ignorance. When helplessness gives way to conscious strength and ignorance to wisdom, over-possession is possible only to the trustee. He says that the strength to be given to the people has to be non-violent. If the dispossessed are in their turn not to become as bad as the present possessors."

On one point I was not quite explicit then, as it was not clear to myself. It was this:

Who was the rightful owner and who were the beneficiaries of the property purported to be held in trust? What was the nature of property which fell under this category? And what was the nature and extent of property, which would be allowed by Gandhi, to be treated as private?

I shall try to explain this here. The theory of trusteeship makes no distinction between public and non-private property. All property is held in trust, no matter who possesses it, and what its nature or quantity is. Indeed, the theory of trusteeship does not apply only to tangible and transferable property, but also to places of power and position and to intangible and non-transferable property such as the muscular energy of a labourer or the talents of a Helen Keller. Even a cripple in an asylum for imbeciles is a trustee to the extent he is able to exercise his will. Every human being not mentally damaged is only a trustee of all that is within his control.

Who is then the owner? Gandhi will say, God. To God alone belongs the universe and all that is in it, animals or humans, tangible or intangible. To take an instance, neither the shareholders, directors, managing agents, technicians, and the labourers, jointly or severally, nor even the State is an industry's absolute owner. They are all contributors to the working of the industry; and the different kinds of contributors are invested with different functions for the efficient working of the industry. Every

one of them must use those powers honestly and diligently and take no more from it for personal consumption than what is just and proper under the conditions in which humanity reared about him lives.

The idea of God's ownership, or of absence of ownership of any human being or even of the whole of humanity, is anything whatever rejects all claims either by shareholders, managers, experts or workers to dividends, commissions, bonus etc., in proportion to profits. The claim that God created everything in the world for man is not acceptable. He must use everything sparingly for himself and regard himself accountable for all his acts. Every one who has contributed to the success of the industries to the best of his capacity may take a wage of his merit, but the wage should be in accordance with his needs and not in accordance with the value of his contribution. If the capacity of a crippled worker is no more than sit on a stool and check the articles that leave or enter the factory, and if he performs that duty honestly, he is entitled to the full ordinary wage plus what he needs more on account of his physically helpless condition. As against him the wage of the engineer or an able-bodied worker may be just full ordinary. The managing agent, if he is also getting a wage in another capacity or elsewhere, may not take any wage at all. The monetary wage would be no guide for evaluating a man's capacity or worth.

The idea also rejects the right of the State or directors or workers to destroy that property wickedly, on the ground that they might do anything with what belongs to them.

The idea of ownership being thus disposed of, the next question is who are the beneficiaries of a property? The answer is, the entire creation is the beneficiary. For instance, it is not only those who are actually engaged in working an industry that are entitled to its fruits. Not everything is to be shared with every one else, not forgetting even non-human life.

No doubt, man's limitations of vision will limit the application of the principle of contributing proportionately. It will be applied to the local region first, then, too, man will be served in priority to other life. But as the vision expands and resources allow the duty is to expand the field of service progressively to as great an extent as possible. Not even a self-sufficient village has the right to all its production, if it is wanted for life in distress in another part of the world. And if it does not need anything which the other can spare, or if the latter is too poor to give anything in exchange, it cannot demand any price for it.

The question as to the nature and extent of property Gandhi would allow to be used as private is now easily answered. That which is due to a worker and raised by him, he may use in a discreet manner for proper purposes. If,

however, for any reason, he does not need it, and may not require it in the near future, he should give over to one who needs it or to the common herd of his unit.

It is also not difficult to understand after the foregoing why Gandhiji was opposed both to expropriation on the one hand and to the payment of compensation on the other. Expropriation is unnecessary and unjust if the present holders consent to fulfil the obligations of trustees. An attempt should be made first to convert them to that position. Compensation is unnecessary because no trustee is ever compensated on removal. If he is unwilling to fulfil the obligations of a trustee, claiming the property as his own, he takes up a position which cannot be accepted. He has therefore to be removed and a new arrangement has to be made. So, there is no room for compensation.

Alakh, 1-4-50

R. C. MANDREKAR

BOLLOCK THE BULWARK OF AGRICULTURE

"In view of the fact that the financial and other systems of land income are being modified in the province (Madra) and the ryotwari system is being established under which the title of the soil is to get the right of ownership of his holding this Assembly recommends its Government to undertake suitable legislation which will make it obligatory on the title of the soil to raise fodder crops on a portion of his holding of farm lands on a percentage basis for providing adequate fodder for his cattle."

The above resolution sponsored by Shri C. S. Patel stands on the agenda of the Bombay State Assembly for its current session (February-April 1950) for discussion and decision. To realise the national objectives of intensive cultivation, growing more food, producing more milk and breeding healthy pedigree draught and milch breeds. They are mostly ignored for without organised supply of nourishing fodder and seeds and far west of them have been forsaking, emaciating and their non-descript buls has been razing the land, consuming and crushing the needy fidders which undertake meagre green for them.

Bullock the Bulwark

On September 13, 1949 the Livestock Expert of the Bombay Government opined, "The cow and the bull were the backbone of Indian agriculture and unless proper attention was paid to the improvement of cattle the 'Grow More Food' campaign will be jeopardised."

Emphasising this Shri M. P. Padi, Minister for Agriculture, said, "The majority of cultivators would have to depend on cattle for their agriculture and the improvement of livestock was, therefore, as important as the improvement of agriculture." The Minister stressed the importance of rotation grazing. These improvement is by grazing well.

On September 18, 1949, Sir Datasagar, Vice-Chairman of the Indian Council of Agricultural Research and at Madras, "The growth of India's agriculture depended on a large scale on the bullock power and the consequent develop-

ment of cattle-wealth land bullock power improves by nourishing fodder and seeds).

Sir Deter suggested that the average efficiency of Indian cattle was low. According to him, the reason for this were:-

(i) "partial ploughing of pasture lands" for cultivation of crops.

(ii) want of enough food for cattle.

(iii) low average position of cultivator and his consequent inability to maintain good stock. The Royal Commission on Agriculture has shown it as in 1930 (some 15,000) and had recommended for growing by private holder crops also on a percentage portion of cultivated area from 1930.

Again on December 23, 1949, Sir Datasagar in a written address at Poona reiterated that "the improvement of the country's livestock was no less a vital necessity than the increase of crop production. In fact the former was basic to the latter as long as agriculture continued to depend on animal power."

January 1, 1950, Dr Rajendraprasad, presiding over the All-India Agricultural Economics Conference, Madras, emphasised that "mechanisation of agriculture in India, at any rate, in present conditions, is impossible. The size of the holdings and the large-scale unemployment consequent on its adoption rule it out."

Mr. Norris David, Director General of Food and Agriculture Association of the U.N. also opined that India cannot launch on wholesale mechanised cultivation. Cattle-raising must receive a great deal of attention, both for nutritional reasons and for draught power. This programme would call for a suitable production of feeds (including fodder).

Unanimous Conclusion

Knowledgeable authorities are also unanimously of opinion, that

1. the bullock is the essential backbone of Indian agriculture, the cow accordingly takes the same place as the ox;

2. for intensive cultivation and lifting draught legislation the bullock must be vigorous;

3. for safeguarding the bullock regulated nourishing fodder power must be supplied in line to the same way as 25,00,000 gallons of diesel oil is supplied for power to engines of tractors and bulldozers (Shri M. P. Padi, September 13, 1949);

4. the improvement and improvement service has got to be as complete;

5. Indian hay and grass is too inferior to be adequately nourishing;

6. milk, the only positive animal protein and vitamin is supplying perfect food to Indians, who are by and large vegetarians, is consumed in India as an average of 2 or 3 per cent of population whereas at least 14 or 15 per cent (Dr J. E. Kellaway, January 12, 1950, Madras) is, when countries it is 50 %

Grow Fodder by Seeds

For "growing more food", providing more milk, for premium buls and premium cows and vigorous civilisation the State should by statute oblige the tiller-owner of the soil to grow nourishing fodder on a percentage portion of his farmstead. If the bullock cannot till well, "Grow More Food" will fail.

"Madhul",

PARANATHI PRATHALI

Bombay, 8-3-50

HARIJAN

April 10

1950

THE MEANING OF PARTITION

The *Swanby Chronicle* and other friends have one more argument against me.

"Now that partition has been brought about" certain things must be accepted as irrevocable, inevitable, implied etc., is the common burden of their arguments.

"We have accepted the partition finally and for good. Pandit Jawaharlal makes this clear when he says that there is no going back upon it, even if Pakistan were to ask for it," writes one friend. I accept this and do it honestly, except that all man-made arrangements are only relatively final and permanent. But it is because I accept this that I have laid down the several propositions of that article. Indeed, unless the propositions are accepted, the entire partition might become just a single event brought about and executed in an Indian manner. For, we must remember that there are powerful factions which refuse to accept the partition "finally and for good", and which, if they succeed in overthrowing Pandit Jawaharlal, make no secret of their violent intentions upon Pakistan even as Pakistan has not given up its ambition to reconquer India some day. Let it be recalled that the southisms both of Pan-Islam and Pan-Hinduan which were born together will grow together and feed upon each other until they end in destroying each other, except on one condition, namely that both forsake their imperialist motives and subsume themselves into *dharmas* working for the benefit of the whole of mankind ensuring peace and goodwill to every one without imposing any condition upon the recipient to accept any particular creed or external doctrine in order to be entitled to their service.* The various propositions put forth by me are meant to ensure the stability of the partition and the present sovereignty of both Bharat and Pakistan, until there is a genuine desire on the part of both the States to modify it.

The *Swanby Chronicle* was right enough in saying that "the shape of Pakistan was determined by the decision to have predominantly non-Muslim areas in India." It need hardly be said that "predominantly majority areas" does not mean "completely or only one community areas". Not only was that impossible, but was also never mentioned. Indeed, the boundary conclusion was even expressly interpreted not to stand giving over a district or part of a district

*Buddha and Jesus drew Christianity attention to a national way, to which the law expressed was, May our three-folded banner of ethics be universal and by highest in the world, and he asked Gandhi if that statement was proper. Gandhi said that he did not see anything objectionable to the statement, if the condition of ethics was intelligibly conceived. It meant that the message of non-violence was to be spread in the world and that was certainly a noble mission.

with a predominantly other community majority to Bharat or Pakistan, as the case may be. If other considerations made its inclusion in that State essential. The minorities in each were to be fully protected by their State with due constitutional safeguards. Each regarded the migration as having been thrust upon it by movements outside its control, even if responsible leaders and officers were involved in them.

Let us also remember that when Pakistan was agreed to stand at establishing a "Democratic" State, Mr. Jinnah stoutly denied it.

Therefore, the Muslim League ideal of making Pakistan an Islamic State must be understood and interpreted against the background of these facts. That is, it can only be such Islamic State as is consistent with a non-theocratic or secular State. Let us see what kind of Islamic State can that be in an honest manner.

There are various matters in life, which are partly secular and have nothing to do with religion directly, but religious doctrines, disciplines, rituals, mythologies, traditions, history, literature, art, sculpture etc., have cast their influence upon them in one way or another. These influences persist even when a particular religion is long forgotten and a new one is adopted. For instance, though Europe is wholly Christian now, the language, literature, art etc., of the Greek, Roman and other pre-Christian civilisations and religious continue to influence the Christian peoples to this day. Modern European civilisation is a compound of Judaism, Christianity, Roman, Greek and several other religious cultures. A modern European country might renounce Christianity altogether, but whatever institution or tradition it borrows will be most likely modelled on some similar institution of Christianity. This would be so not because it believes in Christianity, but because it is familiar with only these.

We have proclaimed India as a secular State. But a very large majority of us are born in Hinduism and are familiar only with the myths, traditions, ideas, art etc., of the Hindu religion only. Our languages are nourished by Sanskrit, the shapes of our buildings the customs and forms of our institutions, rules of social etiquette, manner of dress, dance, music etc., are necessarily based on those familiar to us in Hindu temples and religious lore. This predominance of Hindu ideas, institutions and forms in Indian life is almost unavoidable. The other day when Mr. Peter Koenig of East Africa visited Swaziland, the Indians honoured him by putting a cushion mark upon his forehead. He was pleased and rightly took it as a token of treatment on equal rank. The delegates of the World Pacific Meeting were also similarly honoured. Every one appreciated it. But I know Muslims who have resented this ceremonial, and have considered that in a national or non-communal institution such form of welcome should be abandoned. This is narrow thinking, because whatever form is adopted it will have been copied from some familiar model, Hindu,

Muslim, Christian, Parsi etc. Though originally taken from some religious practice, it is secular and social and not religious. Thus, a Hindu shows respects to his elder by almost falling upon or touching his feet, joining both his hands and bending himself down. It is also the way in which he prays to God. A Muslim takes the hand of the elder and touches it with his eyes. He respects the tomb of a saint also in a similar manner. It is difficult to say whether the social etiquette is taken from the religious way of worship or contra. But in social life it must be regarded as purely secular, and if a Hindu is excited in the Hindu fashion or a Hindu is the Muslim fashion, it is still a secular custom and not religious.

The late Qaid-i-Azam said several years ago to the effect that with a permanent Hindu majority in India, every institution will take a Hindu colour. There would be Ram-rai, Krishna-rai, Pandu Maharaj and so on. It was felt that even if there was no harassment or molestation of the Muslims, and even if they had their fair representation in all public bodies, services and trades, the colour of the State would be Hindu and not Muslim, and the latter would not have much chance of developing all those things in the Muslim way in public matters. Though even on these matters a composite culture has always evolved in course of time, it might be conceded that the predominant colour of India would have been Hindu. It is unavoidable with the facts of the situation.

But acquiescence to this unavoidable position did not satisfy the Muslim League leaders. They had their own partiality for Islamic institutions. They longed for some religion in India in which they would express themselves in Islamic ways and develop their language, literature, art, architecture etc., on Islamic models. It is a natural desire. This feature is independent of theocracy, which would involve submission to the authority of Muslims in Pakistan and of pundits in India.

But in order to thrive, one must survive. And neither Hinduism nor Islam (nor for the matter of that Christianity) can survive unless each renounces its arrogant claim that it possesses the whole truth and the final or the most perfect message of God and the best political, social or economic order of the world. It must also renounce its fanatic aim to promote its own culture, creed or civilisation. Each must try to adjust and accommodate itself with each other and other systems of the world, and also modify its life outlook, customs, institutions etc. to the changed conditions of the times. Each must purge itself of all those teachings which promote hatred for others and incite crusades against them.

If imperialism, fanatic and pseudo-uniformities and methods are renounced on both the sides, the existence of two secular States, one with a composite culture in which the Hindu

colour naturally predominates, and the other with a composite culture with the Islamic colour predominating is quite understandable. Each would necessarily be composite, for each has come under the influence of the other, and of the British civilisation as also of the modern scientific civilisation, which is the common property of all mankind, and so none can be purely Islamic or purely Hindu.

I therefore repeat that though the colour of Bharat's culture might be predominantly Hindu, and that of Pakistan predominantly Islamic as unavoidable results of its predominant populations, none of them need be founded in the name of or dedicated to the culture, religion or principles of any one of them. These may both thrive and be beneficial to all mankind as two sovereign States, until both will otherwise. But any violent intention upon each other or violence upon any minority in each must and ultimately is the destruction of both.

E. S. MAHESWARI

[P. 8 —] I notice that the *Rowing Chronicle* has again controverted my views in its editorial of the 15th April. I only wish it had waited till I had finished my comments. I do not see any reason to revise my views. What I have said is intended as a contribution to the cause of peace, cordiality and development of what is good in every culture and, what is more, is in accordance with Truth and Non-violence. The principles apply not only to India and Pakistan, but also to similar situations elsewhere.

5-4-53

K. S. K.

BENGALI HINDUS OF INDIA AND PAKISTAN

We must congratulate our Prime Minister on his determination to make the best of a bad situation by taking upon his Government to give relief and rehabilitation every one coming away from East Bengal, and to keep the door open for whosoever may like to come. Let us urge upon him that if he decides to make a joint declaration with the Prime Minister of Pakistan as one of its conditions should be that both countries will facilitate voluntary migration and ask for no change of properties in the respective countries.

The real hurdle is economic. We appreciate the moral breakdown but we do not admit of the treatment, because we do not see how we should rehabilitate the people after migration. The happiness of the wanderer troubles us because we are over-conscious of a standard of living which only few can afford. But if we take it in the proper spirit and method there is nothing to fear. Displacement it will mean and with it a great deal of hardship to begin with, but it will restore the spirit which is more important in life and therefore we cannot shrink it.

Not cities and factories but villages can take them and give them homes and work and a decent life, a decent life to all the people existing in India today and to all our brothers and sisters who may come and live with us.

For stabilisation the Government need do nothing but stabilise credit and enterprise for rural life by giving the required economic preference to agriculture and village industries and give and direct an overall pattern of decentralisation. Then we may turn a corner into a lower and by the foundation of a new order of life where peace and prosperity shall rule. If we failed to keep the unity of Hindus and Muslims as they were, let us not fail to keep the unity of Indians and Pakistanis and build up for the unity of humanity.

Not the two hundred thousand refugees from East Bengal that the Government have so far planned to receive in West Bengal and the neighbouring three or four states of Orissa, Bihar, Assam and Tripura, but there should be readiness to receive all the ten or twelve million Hindus who, according to our Prime Minister himself, would like to come away if they got the facilities to come. For their immediate relief however we need leadership, men and money. Proof of leadership we have got in Pandit when he promises to receive whosoever will come. But it will be a huge task requiring a huge effort if it is to be fulfilled efficiently. For this there should be a Service Corps calling upon men having equipment for all kinds of service not only as volunteers but also by conscription if necessary. And money should be collected by a graded taxation over incomes above Rs. 1,500 per annum as in a national emergency.

And last but not the least its importance is to settle the Bengalis in a Home Land of their own in West Bengal, if necessary by extending its borders by incorporating the Bengali-speaking areas of Orissa, Bihar and also part of Assam. I do not mention any part of East Bengal as it involves international politics, which I have kept out of this discussion. But the Bengalis must not be scattered in the different states as has been arranged for the present, as this will on one hand perpetuate racial bitterness and on the other prevent growth and solidarity of the Bengalis, which is essential not only for themselves but also for their relation with the body politic of India.

Solution of the problem of Hindu Bengalis seems to me a prerequisite to the solution of the problems of India and Pakistan.

P. K. SEN

Barrackpore,
West Bengal

India Professor of Agriculture,
Calcutta University

Note: I publish Prof. P. K. Sen's article with hesitation. I am doubtful about the soundness of some of his suggestions.

It is not fully realised that the principle that every regional unit should be homogeneous in inhabited only by people having a particular common feature, or its counterpart that all areas with the majority of the people possessing a common feature must be grouped together in

the same State, amounts to the substantial acceptance of the two-nation theory. If it were a sound theory, it should be accepted wholeheartedly with all its implications. If it is not so, we should not propose solutions based on that theory or its extension. Thus the suggestion "to settle the Bengalis in a Home Land of their own in West Bengal, if necessary, by extending her borders", and that "the Bengalis must not be scattered in different States", is of the same type as that which led to the partition of the country and of Bengal and the Punjab, along with their migrations and killings. It is a theory which leads to religious, linguistic, caste and other jealousies and feuds, and might involve the country in perpetual internal disturbances. People having a common feature will naturally mix together. It is one thing to recognise and roughly maintain their regional units in administration; it is quite another thing to make it a principle of State formation.

The emphasis on the regional principle appears to me of doubtful benefit to the Bengalis themselves. Bengal is a thickly populated province. It needs spreading its population wherever facilities are available. Since they are already uprooted from their homes in East Bengal, it is all the more desirable that they should be encouraged to move even to distant parts, if that will give them better opportunities of settling down well. It would not be wrong even to colonise them outside India, if conditions are favourable. It is only thus that nations prosper. Then the Bengalis of Bihar, Orissa, Assam or any other province should rather give a dogged fight to the Governments of these States if they are not treated by them on an equal rank with the so-called original inhabitants of these provinces than ask for a revision of boundaries with every alteration in the linguistic or religious structure of the people of a particular area. They must refuse to regard themselves or treated as a separate minority in any part of the country. The slogans like "Bihar for Biharis", and "Bengal for Bengalis" are un-national and must be re-stated with determination. One should not be put forth in answer to another of the same type. We must here mix and combine and not to break and divide.

April, 29-3-50

K. O. M.

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A LETTER FROM Dacca

(The following has been received from Mr. Noran Alexander.)

We, who sign this letter, have been resident in Dacca throughout the recent disturbances. We do not for a moment belittle their enormities; we believe that the great majority of people in East Pakistan are ashamed that it was possible for such things to happen and are anxious to prevent them from ever happening again. We also think that the atmosphere of mutual distrust which has been deepening ever since has obscured some points which peace-loving people over the border would be glad to see clearly stated.

The most important one is that the East Pakistan Government took very thorough and effective measures to quell the riots and restore order. It is true that Dacca was taken completely by surprise when the disturbances began, and that for the first two days the police were unable to stop them. On the second day, when this was clear, the city was put under military control; by the third day, casualties were reduced to back-street incidents, and we believe that it is correct that the last military one in the city occurred on the 5th day. If, at the beginning, there were any misguided people in Dacca who believed that the Government had some hidden sympathy with the rioters, they were soon disillusioned.

It was also soon evident that the Government had the respectable citizens wholeheartedly behind it. On the first day and night of the riots, when the streets were dangerous, many Muslim men and also women were out in them doing their best to save Hindu victims and rendering First Aid. Students and teachers took an active part in this work and continued to make themselves useful at the Relief Camps after the first excitement had died down. We have a strong impression that these and similar activities had full public sympathy behind them.

We had mentioned only what happened in Dacca itself because it is best, in making such general statements, to stick to firsthand observation. But we have good reason for believing that it was the same in the rest of the country. To give one instance, a prominent Minister of Harari lost his life in a successful effort to save a number of Hindus who had taken shelter with him.

We have no doubt that similar things could be reported from West Bengal and we wish that they could be given as much publicity as the threatening and militant voices. Inequality is highly infectious, and on both sides of the border there are plenty of people engaged in spreading it in speech and writing. Judging from the Press, there seems to be a wide-spread belief in West Bengal that the majority of people here, for some unknown reason, want communal strife to continue and will not try to put an end to it unless they are forced by pressure

from outside. We are convinced that this is very far from the truth.

A. S. STONE

(Dacca University)

SPYD PRASAD BOSE CHAKRABARTY
(Ret. Colonel)

ABDUL RAHMAN KHAN

(Principal, Dacca Medical College)

MR. SHAMSHULLAH

(Dacca University)

ALTY KUNAR GUHA

(Bengal's College)

HOW NOT TO DO IT

To raise funds for a group of institutions working for social welfare a careful watch-posted at Madras ten months before highly placed constructive workers drew my attention to the carnival and stated that it was functioning as a gambling den. Not being prepared to take this verdict without further examination I walked into the carnival and found that their description was only partly right. No doubt the "gambling den" part of it was not an adequate enough description but there was more to it than caught the eye.

Anti-social Hoaxes

The sign-boards over the booths were all familiar public social bodies bearing well-known names throughout that Presidency, such as All India Women's Conference, Women's Welfare Department, Children's Aid Society, Save Samaj and a host of others. On visiting the booths, one caught sight of some leading society ladies, stately supported by a horde of young ladies, fashionably dressed, such as the ones usually to be met with in a Government Motor Party! It aroused my curiosity as to what these ladies were doing. To my dismay, I discovered that booth after booth consisted of lucky dips, shooting galleries, "ringing the duck" and various other similar devices and games of chance, misnamed games of skill. Some of the booths appeared empty and on enquiry, I was told the Police seized them the previous night and closed down about a score of them as being "gambling dens". It is deplorable that these anti-social activities, that trade on the gambling instinct in man and on the greed to get something for nothing, should be harnessed for the purpose of collecting money though they may be for laudable ends. We have been constantly urging the public to create sufficient public opinion to do away with horse-racing and other fashionable methods of gambling. But here was an attempt to raise funds by amusements which were bound to give a wrong direction to public education and that too by bodies avowedly working for the good of the people.

There were one or two worthwhile booths which were aimed at public welfare. The "gravel check-up" conducted by the T. B. Association, the Blood Bank by the Red Cross and the working model of the Kolar Gold Fields were perhaps the exceptions to the general catering to the lower nature of man.

HARIJAN

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TWO ANNAS

DIFFERENT CULTURES

Extracts from the speech of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at the Indian Council of Cultural Relations, New Delhi on 19th April, 1950 taken from the P. T. I. report.

Made of Approach

It is essential that we must try to understand each other in the right way. A Hindu racialist rule of human life is that if the approach is friendly, the response is good. If the approach is bad the response is likely to be bad too. We must approach our fellow human beings of other countries not in any sense of considering anything that we consider of essential value in truth or to our own growth but, nevertheless, in a friendly way, with our minds and hearts open and prepared to accept whatever good comes to us."

That was, he supposed, no culture in the world which was absolutely private and pure and unaffected by another culture, just as there is no pure race.

Confusion of Cultures

"Culture, if it has any value, must have a certain depth, but it must have a certain dynamic character. The culture of a country is affected by geography, by climate and all kinds of events that have happened. The culture of Arabia is intensely governed by the geography and deserts of Arabia. Obviously, the culture of India, in the old days, was affected greatly by the Himalaya mountains, the forests and the great rivers and other things in India. The two may mix together and produce a happy combination, as they often did in various domains of culture, art, architecture, music, literature, and so on. But when there is an attempt to impose something on the other, then it leads to conflict and something else comes which is the solution of the mind, the deliberate shutting up of the mind to other influences."

Influence of Religion

"If I may say so with all respect and without offending any ill to any person, we have had great religions, and they have had an enormous effect upon humanity. Yet these big religions, in the measure that they have made the mind of man static, dogmatic and bigoted have had an evil effect. The change they seek may be good, but the effect of saying anything and adding on to it that there you stop and that the last word has been said makes society static and, therefore, it stops the growth of culture."

"The scientific approach to life's problems is one of examining everything and trying to isolate the truth whereas one finds a lot that in culture, how far is it represented in the nations of today?"

"Almost every country in the world thinks that it has some special contribution from its own, that it is of the chosen people or race and others are secondary or inferior human beings. At a certain stage in a country's history, nationalism gives life, growth, strength and unity. At the same time, it has a tendency of making one think of one's country as something rather out of proportion with the rest of the world, with the result that it stops the growth or spreads in an aggressive way and becomes an international danger."

Unless a balance was struck in these things, said Pandit Nehru, something that was good mixed into evil. Culture that was essentially good, looked at from a wrong point of view, became not only essentially static but aggressive and something breeding conflict and hatred.

Problem of Today

How to find that balance was perhaps the problem of today. Apart from the great political and economic problems of the age, there seemed to be a tremendous conflict in the spirit of man, some search for something which he could not find. Of course, one must deal with the economic and other problems. It was just folly to talk of culture, religion or even of God when human beings starved and died. The first thing one had to do was to provide the normal essentials of life to a human being before one could talk of anything else.

"Human beings today are not in a mood to put up with the suffering and starvation and inequality, when they see that the burden is not equally shared—that others profit while they only have to bear the burden. Inevitably, we have to deal with these economic and other problems, but I do think that, behind it all, there is this tremendous psychological problem. May be some people who did not have all the advantages of a modern life and modern science were wiser in the essentials than most of us are. Whether we shall be able in later times to combine all this knowledge and scientific growth and betterment of the human species with truth and wisdom or not I do not know. It is a race between various forces."

MINORITIES FACT

The following is the A.S. text of the India-Pakistan Agreement jointly signed on April 8 by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan.

(A) The Governments of India and Pakistan solemnly agree that each shall ensure to the minorities throughout its territory, complete equality of citizenship, irrespective of religion, a full sense of security in respect of life, culture, property and personal honour, freedom of movement within each country and freedom of occupation, speech and worship subject to law and morality. Members of the minorities shall have equal opportunity with members of the majority community to participate in the public life of their country, to hold political or other office, and to serve in their country's civil and armed forces.

Both Governments wish to emphasize that the fundamental and undertake to enforce them effectively. The Prime Minister of India has drawn attention to the fact that these rights are guaranteed to all minorities in India by its constitution. The Prime Minister of Pakistan has pointed out that similar provision exists in the objectives resolution adopted by the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. It is the policy of both Governments that the enjoyment of these democratic rights shall be assured to all their nationals without distinction.

Both Governments wish to emphasize that the allegiance and loyalty of the minorities is to the state of which they are citizens, and that it is to the Government of their own State that they should look for the redress of their grievances.

(B) In respect of migrants from East Bengal, West Bengal, Assam and Tripura, where communal disturbances have recently occurred, it is agreed between the two Governments:

(I) That there shall be freedom of movement and protection in transit.

(II) That there shall be freedom to remove as much of his movable personal effects and household goods as a migrant may wish to take with him. Movable property shall include personal jewellery. The maximum cash allowed to each adult migrant will be Rs. 100 and to each migrant child Rs. 75.

(III) That a migrant may deposit such of his personal jewellery or cash as he does not wish to take with him with a bank. A proper receipt shall be furnished to him by the bank for cash or jewellery thus deposited and facilities shall be provided, as and when required, for their transfer to him, subject to the regulations of the Government concerned.

(IV) That there shall be no harassment by the customs authorities. At each customs post agreed upon by the Governments concerned, liaison officers of the other Government shall be posted to ensure this is achieved.

(V) Rights of ownership in, or co-ownership of, the immovable property of a migrant shall not be disturbed. If, during his absence, such property is occupied by another person, it shall be returned to him, provided that he comes back by December 31, 1958. Where the migrant was a cultivating owner or tenant, the land shall be returned to him, provided that he returns not later than December 31, 1958. In exceptional cases, if a Government considers that a migrant's immovable property cannot be returned to him, the matter shall be referred to the appropriate Minority Commission for advice.

Where restoration of immovable property to the migrant who returns within the specified period is found not possible, the Government concerned shall take steps to compensate him.

(VI) That in the case of a migrant who decides not to return, ownership of all his immovable property shall continue to vest in him and he shall have unrestricted right to dispose of it by sale or exchange with an owner in the other country, or otherwise. A Committee consisting of three representatives of the minority community and presided over by a representative of Government shall act as trustee of the owner. The Committee shall be empowered to remove rent for such immovable property according to law.

The Governments of East Bengal, West Bengal, Assam and Tripura shall enact the necessary legislation to set up these Committees.

The Provincial or State Government, as the case may be, will instruct the district or other appropriate authority to give all possible assistance for the discharge of the Committee's functions.

The provisions of this sub-paragraph shall also apply to migrants who may have left East Bengal for any part of India or West Bengal, Assam or Tripura for any part of Pakistan, prior to the recent disturbances but after August 13, 1947. The arrangement in this sub-paragraph will apply also to migrants who have left Bihar for East Bengal owing to communal disturbances or fear thereof.

(C) As regards the provinces of East Bengal and each of the States of West Bengal, Assam and Tripura respectively the two Governments further agree that they shall:

(1) Continue their efforts to restore normal conditions and shall take suitable measures to prevent recurrence of disorder.

(2) Punish all those who are found guilty of offences against persons and property and of other criminal offences in view of their detrimental effect, collective fines shall be imposed where necessary. Special courts will, where necessary, be appointed to

measures that wrong-doers are promptly punished.

(3) Make every possible effort to recover looted property.

(4) Set up immediately an agency, with which representatives of the minority shall be associated, to assist in the recovery of abducted women.

(5) Not recognize forced conversions. Any conversion effected during a period of communal disturbance shall be deemed to be a forced conversion. Those found guilty of converting people forcibly shall be punished.

(6) Set up a Commission of Inquiry at once to inquire into and report on the cause and extent of the recent disturbances and to make recommendations with a view to preventing recurrence of similar trouble in future. The personnel of the Commission which shall be provided over by a Judge of the High Court, shall be such as to inspire confidence among the minority.

(7) Take prompt and effective steps to prevent the dissemination of news and mischievous opinion calculated to raise communal passion by Press or radio or by any individual or organization. Those guilty of such activity shall be rigorously dealt with.

(8) Not permit propaganda in either country directed against the territorial integrity of the other or perpetrating to incite war between them and shall take prompt and effective action against any individual or organization guilty of such propaganda.

(9) Sub-paragraphs (1), (2), (3), (4), (5), (7) and (8) of (C) of the Agreement are of general scope and applicable according to exigency to any part of India or Pakistan.

(10) In order to help restore confidence, so that refugees may return to their homes, the two Governments have decided (i) to depute two Ministers, one from each Government to remain in the affected areas for such period as may be necessary, (ii) to include in the Cabinets of East Bengal, West Bengal and Assam a representative of the minority community. In Assam the minority community is already represented in the Cabinet. Appointments to the Cabinets of East Bengal and West Bengal shall be made immediately.

(11) In order to assist in the implementation of this Agreement the two Governments have decided, apart from the deputation of their Ministers referred to in (10) to set up Minority Commissions, one for East Bengal, one for West Bengal and one for Assam. These Commissions will be constituted and will have the functions described below.

(i) Each Commission will consist of one Minister of the Provincial or State Governments concerned who will be the Chairman, and one representative each of the majority and minority communities from East Bengal, West Bengal and Assam, chosen by and from among their respective representatives in the provincial or State Legislatures, as the case may be.

(ii) The two Ministers of the Governments of India and Pakistan may attend and participate in any meeting of any Commission. A Minority Commission or any two Minority Commissions jointly shall meet when as required by either Central Minister for the satisfactory implementation of this Agreement.

(iii) Each Commission shall appoint such staff as it deems necessary for the proper discharge of its functions and shall determine its own procedure.

(iv) Each Commission shall maintain contact with the minorities in districts and small administrative headquarters through Minority Boards formed in accordance with the Inter-Dominion Agreement of December 1945.

(v) The Minority Commissions in East Bengal and West Bengal shall replace the provincial Minorities Boards set up under the Inter-Dominion Agreement of December 1945.

(vi) The two Ministers of the Central Governments will from time to time consult each other on applications as they may consider necessary.

(vii) The functions of the Minority Commissions shall be: (a) To observe and to report on the implementation of this Agreement and, for this purpose, to take cognizance of breaches or neglect, and (b) to advise on action to be taken on their recommendations.

(viii) Each Commission shall submit reports, as and when necessary, to the provincial and State Governments concerned. Copies of such reports will be submitted simultaneously to the two Central Ministers during the period referred to in E.

(ix) The Governments of India and Pakistan, and the State and provincial Governments, will normally give effect to recommendations that concern them when such recommendations are supported by both the Central Ministers. In the event of disagreement between the two Central Ministers the matter shall be referred to the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan who shall either resolve it themselves or determine the agency and procedure by which it will be resolved.

(x) In respect of Tripura, the two Central Ministers shall constitute a Commission and shall discharge the functions that are assigned under the Agreement to the Minority Commissions for East Bengal, West Bengal and Assam. Before the expiration of the period referred to in E the two Central Ministers shall make recommendations for the establishment in Tripura of appropriate machinery to discharge the functions of the Minority Commissions envisaged in respect of East Bengal, West Bengal and Assam.

(xi) Except where modified by this Agreement, the Inter-Dominion Agreement of December, 1945 shall remain in force.

HARIJAN

April 23

1950

A HAPPY START

The texts of the Indo-Pakistan agreements and the speeches of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru are published elsewhere in this issue. The Pakistan Prime Minister's speeches also show a distinct change for the better. It is always easy to doubt the sincerity of the opposite party. But it must be remembered that the opposite party in that case will also feel justified in suspecting our sincerity. Suspicion and counter-suspicion are equal and opposite, and confidence begets confidence.

Apart from the terms of the Agreement, the very fact that the Prime Ministers of the two States gave up all other engagements and met, for a week to discuss directly the affairs here to face without the intervention of a third party and succeeded in producing an agreement, which each of them feels to be satisfactory, is a happy and welcome start by itself. It indicates that the disease, which had almost become chronic and threatened to be fatal to the life of the two States, is still curable by being created and it gracefully treated and nursed, rooted out radically.

Goodship was eager to see the day when India and Pakistan should settle all their differences and problems by direct talks and without the intervention of other political powers. Speaking about Kashmir, he was reported to have said on 15th December 1947:

"He had seen in the newspapers some reference to an arbitration over the case of Kashmir. Were the Union and Pakistan always to depend on a third party to settle their disputes? How long would they go on quarrelling?"

"If Pakistan was to become a worthy State let them and the Union representatives sit down and thrash out the Kashmir affair as they had already done in the case of many other things. If they could not do so, why could they not choose from among themselves good, true persons who would direct their steps? The first step was an open and sincere confession of past lapses. Heavy repentance broke the edge of a guilt and led the way to deeper understanding."

Let us be thankful to God that a beginning has been made in this spirit and the first attempt has been successful enough to produce hopes for a better future.

Let us examine some of the principles to which both the Governments have pledged their acceptance. For instance, both accept that none of the Governments was to be theocratic; as character or to make any distinction among its citizens on the ground of their religion. The meaning of

Pakistan being an Islamic State is made clear by its Prime Minister.

"Some have been badly impressed from time to time, thinking that there is no deeper understanding of the concept of an Islamic State that only, 'Muhammad' then exists, and that it may not be guided in its policy by principles of equal status, rights and citizenship in respect of the minorities who reside in it."

"Such fears are entirely baseless. Their frequent repetition cannot but do considerable harm to the peace of mind of the minority community."

"To anybody who has made a study of the Objective Resolution passed by the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan—the reader will find it elementary in these columns—it must be clear that the concept of an Islamic State rests essentially on the acceptance of the principles of freedom, equality and social justice applying to all citizens without distinction of religion, at the same time safeguarding the culture and way of life of the majority and minority communities."

I hope that all talk of Pakistan being a theocratic State where discrimination is made will now cease. (Speech in the Pakistan Parliament on 16th April)

Along with the clear explanation should be read Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's answer to the following question put by the Press representatives:

"How was the Pakistan Prime Minister a statement that his State was based on modern democratic ideals to be reconciled with the reference on Islamic principles in their Objective Resolution?"

The Prime Minister declared that Mr Liaqat Ali Khan strongly repudiated the charge that his State was a theocratic State. His argument was that the word Islamic was used in the Objective Resolution in the same way as 'Hinduism' is in our country. It was not theocratic, according to Mr Liaqat Ali Khan.

I think that this fully supports my interpretation of the Meaning of Pakistan as explained in the Harijan last week. I should take the words "Hinduism" Islamic State" and "the Kingdom of God upon earth" as respectively the Hindu, Muslim and Christian ways of merely expressing the ideal of a spiritual, political, social and economic world order of perfect justice, happiness, and prosperity for all creatures living upon earth.

Mr Liaqat Ali Khan is also happy, that

At the same time a most important principle has been re-emphasised, that the "freedom and loyalty of the minorities is to the State of which they are citizens and it is to the Government of their own State that they should look for the redress of their grievances. The retention of this concept has been found to be necessary because

much political and communal mischief in both countries in the name of a failure to recognize these basic principles."

This is quite fair. But at the same time it lays upon both the Governments the responsibility to see that their political and administrative machinery is as impartial and honest as to inspire confidence among the minorities that they would realize justice when appealed to. If that confidence is lacking, the wishes of the members of the minority community as well as the success and security of their co-religionists on the other side leading either or later to intervention by the State cannot be prevented. The agreement has recognized that responsibility and sought to create a proper machinery to see to it.

Both the Governments also accept the principle that those who have migrated might return to their homelands and promise to return their property to them or in case where that is not possible to rehabilitate them.

The principle is at present manifest primarily in the migrations of the two parts of Bengal and Assam but it may be hoped that the same would be done in the case of the two parts of the Punjab and N.W.F.P. It is not just that people should not be uprooted from their ancestral homes.

Even if there are honest misgivings on both sides regarding the success of the agreement in action, it is a valuable document inasmuch as it clearly places certain principles about which doubts were entertained and about which both India and Pakistan were very anxious and insistent. Until the agreement is honestly repudiated none of the two Governments can defend a speech or action of a responsible leader or official, or a Government servant inconsistent with its terms and both the Governments would be bound to rectify anything done in contravention of them.

Honest implementation requires honest officers and honest unofficial public or private agencies working in the field. If they are men who are bent upon mischief and if the minorities in general are too weak of spirit, the best of agreements could be made a worthless writing. In this respect both India and Pakistan have to be on their guard and frank. None should make the vain boast that the people of the majority community on its side are always good and honest and that breaches are made only by the people of the majority community on the other side. These are good people on both the sides or else mischief-makers. Even as far back as 2nd November 1947 Gandhi was able to tell his audience:

A Hindu friend from Karachi saw him and another from Lahore. Both informed him that things were better than a few days ago and that they were getting still better. He was told, too, that at least one Muslim family was seen by the friend to have given shelter to a Sikh friend and set apart one

room for keeping the Sikh friend's daughter. Such was the respect. He was informed that such instances of the Hindus and Sikhs having sheltered Muslims and vice versa could be multiplied. He had too some Muslim friends coming to him who deplored with him the vast and cruel exodus of populations was going on. These friends told him that the Muslim refugees in Pakistan suffered no less than the Sikhs and Hindus in the Union. No government could cope with such a large mass of human beings uprooted from their homes and thrown on the shoulders. It was like an overwhelming crush of waters. Could not this mad rush be stopped? The friends asked. He had no doubt that it could be if the agitation and the flogging of charges (the thought business) was altogether and sincerely stopped. He looked the audience so gay with him that God would bring sanity in the unhappily land.

Amrit."

Wardha 15-4-49

K. S. KAKHARWALA

THE PRIME MINISTER ON THE AGREEMENT

(The following is the text of the Prime Minister's Statement in the nation on 16th April, 1949.)

We have passed through trying times which test man's soul. Hundreds of thousands of people have been uprooted from their homes in Bengal and suffered intolerable agony. Millions have lived under the dark shadow of fear and uncertainty. Not apart from these people in East Bengal, in West Bengal or Assam; apart from the vast armies of the refugees who have gone through these ordeals, all of us, wherever we might be, have shared in this suffering and torment of soul and out of this torment has come passion and the heroic action that passion brings forth. We seemed to have lost our bearings and struggled blindly for a blind future.

As you know, for a full week the Prime Minister of Pakistan and I discussed with our readiness of spirit these terrible problems that faced us. I had the advantage of conferring with my colleagues from day to day for they shared the burden equally with me. As a result of these long talks an agreement was signed on behalf of the two Governments on Saturday afternoon and I placed this before our Parliament this morning.

Value of the Agreement

What is the value of this agreement? How far will it be implemented? To what extent will it succeed in producing hope and security in these affected areas of Bengal and Assam and elsewhere? Will it solve the problems that confront us? These questions are asked, and rightly asked, for an agreement may remain on paper only as we have seen other agreements remain.

My answer to these questions is firstly, that the mere fact of an agreement is good and to be welcomed because it came people's minds to the ways of reconstruction and away from the ways of destruction. Secondly I can tell you with all confidence and in all honesty that both of us who held these long talks were animated by an

humanity's great desire to find a peaceful and equitable solution. We were impelled to do so by the very gravity of the situation and by the likelihood of events. I have no doubt that Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, will exercise his great influence in the fullest degree to help in implementing this agreement and in producing those conditions of peace and security and good living for the minorities in Pakistan. Need I assure you that my Government will do their utmost to fulfil the letter and the spirit of this agreement?

Hardies in the Way

We have crossed a very big hurdle, but other hurdles remain. I do not wish to minimize the difficulties confronting us for they are many. But whatever difficulties remain, if you and I and all of us are determined to surmount them, we shall inevitably succeed. I venture, therefore, to speak to you with faith and confidence. During these 30 years and more that lie behind us it has been my high privilege to come in personal contact with millions of my people and they have honoured me with their love and confidence beyond measure. I can never repay that debt. Because of that intimate relationship both on occasions of triumph and failure, of joy and sorrow, we have grown to know each other. Even when our great master, the father of the nation, was with us, we slipped occasionally and failed him, but we pulled ourselves up again because of his teaching.

Reasons for Optimism

So I speak with some confidence of the future though that confidence is tempered with realism. This is no time for an easy optimism, as it certainly is no time for pessimism. We shall go ahead with strength of mind and purpose and with faith in the task we have undertaken. We shall go ahead in the confidence that we are united and that in the past we have overcome more obstacles and so also we shall do in the present and in the future.

You may examine this agreement closely and you may perhaps criticise some part of it here and there. But the real thing that counts is the spirit underlying it. If that spirit is absent, then the agreement is a mere scrap of paper. If the spirit gives it life, then it may well be the beginning of a new and vital approach to our problems, an approach that is based on respect.

Our Duty

What will Pakistan do? Will they implement the agreement? That is often asked. I am sure that the leaders of Pakistan will strive to their utmost capacity to implement it. But why ask what others will do? It is far as to determine what we do and duty rightly done inevitably produces right results. That is the lesson not only of Gandhiji but of all the sages who have gone before him and left their imperishable imprint on the minds of our ancient race.

No Radical Change Expected

I do not expect some radical change suddenly because of this agreement. I do not expect the great masses to stop because large numbers of people have been uprooted and are on the move. I do not expect petty incidents to stop suddenly. Let us not be frightened because there is no sudden change of this kind. Let us not lose our balance of mind. But I do expect a new and purer atmosphere to prevail which will gradually affect people's minds and hearts and remove those poisonous tendencies that have betrayed them. I do expect this process to go on slowly at first and then with greater force, till it produces a sea-change of great magnitude.

But changes do not happen of themselves and even fate, if there is such a thing, takes effect through men's minds and actions. This change will come and must come, if you and I are determined to bring it about. We have played about too long with these problems and realities. It is time that we face them in the way we used to face our problems of old, firm in our anchor and in our ideals and refusing to admit that any power could stop us from our own march.

This agreement has already been welcomed by large sections of our people and by the world abroad. A few friends are critical and are doubtful about the results that may come from it. I can understand that criticism and that doubt.

We have taken a turn and although the way is hard and difficult, it points in the right direction and we have to pursue it to get out of the forest which was crawling in into the sunlight outside.

Special Appeal to Bengal

To my friends and colleagues of Bengal, I would make special appeal for, while all are concerned with these problems, their concern is obviously far greater, as their burden has been far greater also. Bengal has shown us so many warnings in the past that she can rise at a moment of crisis and take it with strength and calm vigour. The young men and young women of Bengal are the most passionate material in India to build up our nation. Unhappily circumstances have denied these opportunities and there is a spirit of frustration among them and the unhappiness that comes from it. We have to rid ourselves of this frustration and lack of purpose and divert the bright intelligence and vitality of Bengal in the direction of constructive effort. The first effort is to face this problem of today with faith and confidence and not to allow oneself to succumb to the doubt that corrodes and weakens.

Also to Assam and U.P.

I have spoken of Bengal because East and West Bengal are the crux of the problem. I would like to speak of Assam also in the same way and I would also like to refer in my own province where called Uttar Pradesh. All my younger days were spent in the towns and villages of this province and I have been privileged that

trouble should occur there as even whilst fighting for freedom were united. I earnestly trust that we have seen the end of the unity formula there and elsewhere.

And in the Press

A great responsibility rests on the Press. Governments may act rightly or wrongly but ultimately a great deal depends on how the Press functions and what lead it gives to our people. I trust that that lead will be in favour of the complete success of this great enterprise in which we have launched.

Our Test

The test of a people and a nation comes when they are up against difficult and intricate problems. Any person can live an easy life. It is only in times of trial that people prove themselves worthy or unworthy. On past occasions our people have shown their worthiness and have not failed to do great deeds. Let us again get back something of that old spirit, that old idealism, that old courage and faith and accept ourselves like men.

ATHISSA WEEK

Both Year

[Fairs and other athletic organisations should feel interested in the following appeal of Principal Premadasa.]

—K. C. M.

We have great pleasure in bring to you all this message of Peace and Kindness which we hope will prove to be a source of happiness to all beings. Life is the most precious gift of all and we have no right to any ground to cut short the life of any being large or small. It is our duty to alleviate the sufferings of both man and animal. If we wish World Peace we must try our best to make all beings happy.

We wish to state that the Ahimsa Movement organized by us on a national scale in 1935 has made gradual progress during the last twenty-five years. Our main objects are to get legislation introduced to prohibit the slaughtering of cattle in Ceylon and to propagate the Ahimsa Week all over the world within two years.

At the request of Miss Margaret E. Ford, Hon. Secretary, World League against Violence, London, we celebrated for the first time the World Animal Day on October 6th, 1938. At our request meat-stalls were closed at eight places in Ceylon on that day. We are happy to mention that on that day last year meat-stalls were closed at fifteen places.

As this movement is universal and it is neither political nor sectarian we request all kindly to co-operate with us in observing the Ahimsa Week, which falls in the first week of May every year. The following three precepts have to be observed during the week:

1. To abstain from killing.
2. To take only vegetarian diet.
3. To give rest to animals from 11.00 a.m. to 1 p.m. and to abstain from travelling to villages driven by animals during that time.

Further, in order to increase food products in the country and to keep our fellow-men gradually away from eating flesh food we request all kindly to plant as many food-producing plants

as possible commencing on May 1st at 6.30 a.m. and continuing through May and June. We request the authorities of all the churches and temples to announce the time by ringing bells twenty-six times at 6.30 a.m. The co-operation of priests and teachers of all religions and associations is earnestly wanted to make this movement a success. We have pleasure to state that this movement has spread to India, Burma, England, France, Switzerland, Canada, United States of America, Australia, South Africa and New Zealand.

W. S. PERMADASA

Principal, Talavel College

Panadura, Ceylon, 20-1-38

Living Conditions of Sweepers

Under the chairmanship of Shri V. M. Sarve, President, Maharashtra Provincial Harijan Sevak Sangh, the Government of Bombay has appointed a Committee "to study and enquire into the living conditions of the sweepers in that Province and to suggest ways and means to improve their present conditions of work and to fix their minimum wages."

The word *sweeper* employed in the terms of reference, is understood by the Committee, in its broad sense, so as to mean both the 'sweeping' proper, i.e. a person doing the work of cleaning latrines, urinals or cesspools and 'sweeper', i.e. a person doing the work of sweeping streets, open spaces or cleaning drains. Thus it includes all conservancy workmen.

The objectives set by the Committee before itself, in carrying out the work entrusted to it, may be defined as follows:

'Improvement in the living conditions and conditions of work and of service of the conservancy workmen, to enable an effort to be given the work and the wages, on equal terms of five parts, a higher value in salary, so that the degrading menial work of particular cases doing the conservancy or sweeping work will be made and in the same time the need for employing professionals for doing the conservancy work will be reduced to a minimum.'

The Committee has devised a detailed questionnaire for the purpose. Copies may be obtained on writing to the Secretary of the Committee, Shri P. H. Naravati, Assistant District Collector, Northern Circle, Ahmedabad.

The conditions under which sweepers and sweepers live and work are, to say the least, so sub-human even in some of the most advanced cities that it is difficult to advise them to continue to follow this occupation. And yet it is an indispensable service, which knows neither Sundays, nor Girid or other holidays. Not even mechanisation can dispense with them altogether.

The duty, therefore, is all the greater to improve the sweeper's conditions of living and work, and give him a place of honour in the social order.

This is a problem which concerns all municipal bodies, and hence a uniform policy is needed for all.

I hope the Committee will give valuable and practical suggestions in their report.

Varaha, 22-4-38

K. C. M.

PAKISTANI OBJECTIVES RESOLUTION

The Objectives Resolution as passed by the Pakistan Constituent Assembly on March 7, 1949, says:

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful:

Whereas sovereignty over the entire Universe belongs to God Almighty alone, and the authority which He has delegated to the State of Pakistan through its people, so that it should be exercised within the limits prescribed by Him, is a sacred trust;

This Constituent Assembly, representing the people of Pakistan, resolves to frame a constitution for the sovereign independent State of Pakistan.

Whereas the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice as enunciated by Islam shall be fully observed;

Whereas Muslims shall be enabled to order their lives in individual and collective spheres in accord with the teachings and requirements of Islam as set out in the Koran;

Whereas adequate provision shall be made for the minorities freely to profess and practise their religions and develop their cultures;

Whereas territories now included in, or in accession with, Pakistan, and such other territories as may hereafter be included in or accede to Pakistan, shall form a federation, wherein each will be autonomous, with such boundaries and limitations on their powers and authority as may be prescribed;

Whereas shall be guaranteed fundamental rights including equality of status, of opportunity and before the law, social economic, and political justice and freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship and association, subject to the law and public morality;

Whereas the independence of the judiciary shall be fully secured;

Whereas the integrity of territories of the federation, its independence and all its rights, including its sovereign rights on land, sea, and in the air, shall be safeguarded;

So that the people of Pakistan may prosper and attain their rightful and honored place amongst the nations of the world, and make their full contribution towards international peace and progress and the happiness of humanity.

(Reprinted from the *Strand Magazine*)

"Gandhi and More"

Owing to pressure of space and time, the tenth article in this series has had to be postponed.

Wardha, 15-4-50

E. C. M.

SHRI RAMANA MAHARSHI

The world will learn with deep sorrow that the celebrated saint of Tiruvannamalai, Shri Ramana Maharshi breathed his last at his ashram on the evening of the 14th April after a prolonged illness. The Maharshi was a rare jewel of the present age, left his home while still a boy of 14 years and settled down in a temple near Tiruvannamalai and there commenced his work for the realisation of the Self. On being convinced that he had achieved it, having no other anxiety left, he stuck on to the same place till his expiry at 71. Though he knew several languages, and wrote verses, he made no travels and no public speeches but generally observed silence speaking only when a question was put to him. By and by he became known to the public and an ashram grew around him. Some of his disciples among whom Europeans could also be reckoned, made him known to the outside world, and for some years his name has been widely known among teachers of Truth. He was more easily accessible to the ordinary man than other celebrated persons of his ashram. The world has become poorer by this bereavement.

There are several disciples who worship him as God in human form and these is a danger that they might establish a regular religious sect in his name. This is an unhappy development of the Hindu religious movement. We the believers of the doctrine of "One Life is All" have more incarnations of God than one existing at the same time in different parts of India. Moreover one final-incarnation generally does not need or contact another incarnation even though they live within a few miles of each other, and the disciples of one despise the role in perfection of the other. Gandhi resisted such difference of himself till the end of his life, and was content to be—rather inclined on being regarded—just a mortal. But Shri Aravinda, Shri Ramana Maharshi, and many others have not been able to put a stop to that tradition.

Now after Shri Maharshi's attainment in the infinite life, I hope his disciples will study him and try to attain the same realisation which he had, rather than spend their energies in deifying him. Let us remember that to deify a person is to deify none.

My humble salutations to the departed Maharshi.

Wardha, 15-4-50	E. C. MANGRUVALLA
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TWO ANNAS

Change Over to Saturday

Sunday having been made a closed day for postal deliveries, the *Harjan* will henceforth be published on Saturdays instead of on Sundays. The next issue will therefore, appear on 6th May, 1939.

Ahmedabad 20-4-39

J. B. BHALL,
Managing Editor

GANDHI & MARK

X

Gandhi's emphasis on manual productive labour, small self-sufficient units, decentralised political and economic order and a simple way of life follows from the principles hitherto discussed.

Modern life has become so complicated and interwoven, that with all one's love and respect for life, and desire for peace, non-violence and justice, it has become almost impossible to avoid destruction and depredation of life. Wasteful waste of nature's materials and human labour and over-preparedness for war, with all its technical, scientific and political implications. Besides, one does not even know how and where the things one consumes are produced, how they are transported and distributed, and how they affect world economy. Much of this waste could be easily avoided if life were arranged on a simpler pattern. Even some of the undischarged waste of life like say dental powder, are such as could be easily produced in every village, where life, say, writing paper or ordinary ink is a delicate totem, where still life, say, standardised parts of machines, tools, household furniture, fixtures etc. a district can produce for its own use. No village need confidently depend upon others for food, clothing and simple house-building materials. In decentralised production the producer and the consumer know one another and their living and working conditions. With a decentralised government, which is fully representative and enjoys as much autonomy as possible, an awakened democracy would have greater opportunities for drawing plans and programmes which they could be sure of implementing. They would also be able to remove drawbacks and evils as soon as they appear. If violence is unavoidable in a particular occupation, say, in the preparation of soft-leather

shippers or of a medicine like for a cancer, the people would know that it would have to be done and so could decide whether they should do it or go without it. In centralized industries, very few consumers know how things are done. A victory of non-violence thinks that dogmatism is a harmful drag and may be taken without the infringement of his principles, little suspecting that before the stock from which his small pile of tidbits was picked was put into the market, it had been tested upon dozens of principles or other measures to determine its fatal and sale doses for human life. He is innocent about it, because he has never seen the loath itself or the factory in which it is converted into various medicinal forms. Similarly, in the centralized scheme monkeys are exported to America by people who will not shoot them even though they destroyed all their crops. They never stop to think that the monkeys are purchased for subjecting them to vicious and tortures. If the people saw these experiments with their own eyes, they would know that if monkeys were a resource there was less violence in killing them straightaway than in exporting them alive to a foreign country. Similarly, warlike and heartless violence upon much cattle and also slaughtering on a gigantic scale is perpetrated for the supply of milk to cities.

Thus, simplicity of life and of economic and political order provides a more suitable environment for the establishment of a non-violent society than an order based on economic centralization, mechanization and production on gigantic scales. The latter renders indispensable expensive political and administrative machinery, such heavy centralization as to exhaust the greater part of the national resource and such intricately complicated financial entanglements as to make even the best of experts mere prisoners in the dark. Besides, it is not only wires, gas and electricity that are harnessed, and wheels and levers represented to create definite movements, but man himself is mechanized and regimented, and every catastrophe becomes a reason for further depriving him of his freedom of action and choice of occupation, food, clothes, house etc. He has to accept what the powers that be determine for him.

Not that a simpler civilization could guarantee total absence of violence, injustice and

hardship and ensure perfect freedom, justice and peace. After all, violence and non-violence are results of culture and spiritual and moral growth and not of an external mode of life as such. Non-violence cannot develop without the simultaneous development of other spiritual and moral qualities and by simply observing certain external rules of life and conduct and maintaining strict comforts and wants within particular limits. The violence of a village landowner or a trader might qualitatively be as intense and high as that of a gun-chamber entrepreneur or of modern business syndicates, scholars and black-marketeers. But the extent and quantity of violence will always be less and easier to spot and control in the simple way of life than in the complicated one.

An equal standard of life for all may be the best ideal, but, it will be contended, it is impossible to ever see it put into practice. Even in a village there are bound to be people with varying standards of life. It will be particularly so when one lays stress upon greater individual freedom and minimum regulation and State control.

There is some truth in this. But here too the degree of difference between the highest and the lowest will be far too small than what prevails at present. Even if capitalism prevails in practice a village millionaire's mansion cannot be of the same dimensions and furnished with the same comforts as that of his cousin in Bombay, and he will be known to the members of his family would not be quite ignorant of or unknown to the people of the village. In Bombay even the neighbours never know or care to know one another. The village millionaire might use brass utensils while the ordinary peasant has only earthen ones. But the difference is much smaller than that between the city millionaire's dining-hall furnished with glass-top tables, expensive crockery, silver spoons and forks, and beautiful pictures, flowers, vases and other adornments, and his servants' low-roofed one or two-room cottages in another part of the same compound. And the difference, again between the killer and the living conditions of a city hawker, not to speak of the *blacks*, is also much greater than that in a simpler way of life.

The difference between the daily life of the village millionaire's family and that of his village people will also be both qualitatively and quantitatively much less than that between the city millionaire's and his poor neighbours. The village millionaire's wife and children might have polished charkhas and cleaner clothes, also more ornaments and better dress for use on an occasion of festivity than his neighbours. But still the wife would spin and take part in domestic duties and be familiar with domestic economy

and problems in the same way as the poor of the village. They would have their songs and sports with the ordinary people, and when people run for sports and songs, consciousness of a difference in the status diminishes. In cities, the millionaires take a taste of their own and the middle classes and the ordinary folk have also their own respective socialites. They never know and understand the problems of the people living on a plane below their own.

When people at various stations of life are engaged in various occupations come into constant contact with one another and their life is under the daily observation of their neighbours, a sense of self-restraint is unconsciously generated. In a small community one cannot be too lavish, selfish and regardless of the comforts and lives of others. This itself is helpful for the development of the idea of trusteeship.

Thus, even if the principle of trusteeship remains only a counsel of perfection and the institution of private property continues to exist, a simple life and a decentralised order as by itself a more favourable condition for the reduction of violence, inequalities and economic conflicts.

Wardha 23-4-50

K. C. MATHURVALLA

EVER NEW EDUCATION

Education is a meretricious activity. It has gone on in dogmatism for many years. It has been called *New Education* (New Education), but I prefer to call it *Shya-New Education* (Ever-new Education), one which never gets stale and stereotyped or is alike for every place. It will change and adapt itself to every situation. It will not be today what it was yesterday and it will not be tomorrow what it is today, but will take new and varied forms with our ever changing and ever growing experience and circumstances, even as the current of a river, which goes on flowing so that its water is fresh at every moment.

Systems try to cast education into a fixed mould. But to stereotype education is to debase it. I have always resisted acceptance of a fixed form. We get new experiences every day, we must have the vitality to direct our life intelligently in the light of these experiences. Then only will our life be integrated.

We begin with Basic Education; now we have entered on the pre-basic period. Here too we must keep our eye on the village, so the orthodox ideas of education will not help us. Conditions vary from village to village, and so should the training of the child bring these.

For instance, there would be one type of education for children living in a village on the banks of a river, another type where there are hills, and a third type for a village surrounded by farms. A fixed manuscript programme or set books would not be suitable for every village. At present we use the same set of books throughout a province. They do not take into account the peculiar features of every village. They are mechanical packages. Therefore pupils do not feel interested in them and the village is not guided thereby in any way.

We also need books for our schools. But we should prepare a different book for every village in accordance with its peculiar environment. The atmosphere of that village will lend its own colour to its books. The text-book of history at Devagiri will give the history of all the institutions there. It will relate how Devagiri came into being. It will give the reminiscences of the old men of that village. This will be *live history*. Our geography book too will start from Devagiri. The village we live in is as far as the centre of the earth for the obvious reason that we live in the middle with the earth lying around us.

Then we shall gain fresh experience every day and make new experiments. With every new experience we shall consider what was made on an older experience and remake it in the light of the new one. This process of destruction of the old and construction of the new will go on the ever.

If you ask me, "What is the basic principle in the education of children?" I shall answer it briefly thus, "The teachers have to grow young, and the young have to grow mature. If the teacher cannot convert himself into a child, he cannot teach, and if the child does not mature into wisdom every day, there has been no training."

The teacher and the children will work together. Our tools will also be made locally. Both the teacher and the children should feel that they are at work as joint labourers doing something important for life. Where the teacher feels that he gives lessons and the boys that they take them, there can be neither teaching nor learning. The very mention of the word 'lesson' makes an end of it.

The work that we choose to do with the pupils must be closely related to our every day life. So the prayer must be in the pupils' own language. One should not think that the Form could be recited only in Arabic — in Muzhidi its merit would be lost. The same principle applies to *Pañc* mantras. These too should be taught in the mother tongue of the boys. Only then

would they get at their meaning. Where there is no understanding of the meaning, prayer loses its object. Prayer, therefore, should be in the language of the boys. Even so it must be about other activities.

Teachers from different provinces come here for training, and a syllabus is prescribed for them. They listen to lectures on different aspects of *Neo Tolst*. If I were here, I would speak only once to them in the course of the year and only so much as I have done today, and say, "How get to work?" I would like to discuss with them every evening the difficulties which they might come across during the day. They have listened to lectures already in their B.A. and M.A. classes. If they do the same here, they would be as far away from true education as they were before. I would say to them, "It is well that you receive scholarships and stipends; you may send these home. Here at least for a month show if you can earn your bread by your labour. I would ask them, can you weave ten or twelve yards of cloth per day?" They would reply, "We do not know actual weaving, but we know the principles." To that I would say, "If it is sufficient to know the principles, why should you not actually?" If you know the principles and science of weaving, it should be sufficient. Well, what I mean to say is that learning does not consist in words; it must be vital.

The pity, however, is that our minds are still cluttered with old ideas. The teacher here teaches cooking and spinning and weaving to the boys, but he still tends to ask himself if his boys have attained the standard of knowledge of the boys of other schools. How can there be any comparison between our boys and those others? Our boys can swim, they can even rescue others. Could the other ones swim as well? No, they can only drown themselves. I do not suggest that learning interpreted as the ability to read and write has no value at all. But there must be some sense of proportion, it is only one of the many gifts and in no way more precious than others. Why give it more importance than what is due to it?

To test whether education has borne any fruit, let us see if the boys have developed honesty and the spirit of service and fearlessness and how far they have acquired the qualities necessary for efficient living and the service of society. That is what we should look for and that is the touchstone to test a successful system of education.

This is short is my idea of the *Ever-New Education* — *Maya-Neo Tolst*.

VIJAY

(Translated from the *Samadhis* for March 1950)

HARIJAN

April 10

1939

CHEAPNESS OF FACTORY GOODS

Out of a letter

"I am a railway employee belonging to a poor family. I have been spinning yarn and weaving khadd for the last 35 years in spite of all its abundant difficulties knowing that it was necessary to do so in the interest of the country. But now our leaders are planning to convert India into an industrial country. However when the effectiveness of freedom, khadd-clothes are considered to be indispensable and savings and savings of thousands and fortunes among spinning classes. Having regard to all these factors I feel that I am shamelessly wasting money in weaving khadd. I can make a better use of my hard-earned pay in educating a poor boy than spending it on khadd in three days of economic crisis and inflation.

Please advise me how it is still necessary for a poor worker like me to wear khadd."

I may confess that if the State policy in regard to khadd remains adverse to the universalisation of khadd, the prospects of wearing khadd as the normal article of clothing are not very bright. Although even then those who remain loyal to it will be rendering the country valuable economic service. It will be difficult for ordinary men to understand how it is so. Men are apt to believe that what is profitable to their household economy is profitable also to the economy of the country. Buying from the cheapest market is regarded as soundest economy in the management of domestic affairs and proprietary business. Therefore, it is argued, if every one acts on that principle, all combined save a good deal of money and so add to the nation's wealth.

But personal economies and the nation's welfare do not always run parallel. There is often a conflict between the two, so that what seems to be unprofitable for the private purse is profitable to the nation and vice versa. This can be shown by an example. A and B are two brothers. A manages the family agriculture in a village and B is a flourishing advocate in a city nearby. A produces food, oil seeds, cotton, fodder, vegetables, ghee, sugar, meat, etc. He and the members of the family staying with him have to work hard. Yet agriculture is not paying and cattle-keeping unprofitable, expensive. On the other hand B's practice is so large that even the income-tax on his profits is in excess of the net agricultural income. The standard of living in the city house is much higher than their village establishment. Not only so, B's calculations show that it is cheaper to buy imported rice and wheat, mill-produced oil, hydrogenated oil, milk-made fabrics, foreign condensed milk, etc. than to consume the yield of his own lands and cows, and to have kharif oil etc. made at home or in his own village. Alternatively, he thinks that if the land is so so, kept, it would be more pro-

fitable to grow tobacco or cotton or sugarcane than food and fodder. A's village establishment is thus a burden upon B and though A is not absolutely needed for the advocate's business, it would be cheaper to maintain A and his family without work than maintain the village establishment.

It would be difficult to meet B's arguments on mere account-book calculations of the family. To understand the true situation, we must go deeper than mere personal, domestic and short-time economy and examine the economy on a national scale. We must enquire how it is possible for B to build up a very lucrative practice on the mere occupation of writing documents and making arguments, which, however ingenious they might be, do not produce anything which men might eat, drink or wear for their physical well-being, or read or hear for their moral elevation. Law is medicine or diamond and gold business may have a place in life, but it is clear that these professions flourish because under a social order mainly built upon narrow self-interest, they are able to demand a price for the excess of their intrinsic worth. And when do they take their heavy charges from? Why does B find that it would be cheaper to maintain A and his establishment as drones than work like bees to produce no more than a few pounds of honey at the end of the year? It is so, because there are hundreds of other A's whose maintenance is not regarded by him as his concern, but who are looked upon as his legitimate objects of exploitation. Like his brother A, they are simple village agriculturists or petty traders in consumable articles. They have no flourishing brother like B, and whether their occupations pay well or badly, they are the only ones they can follow. If these too go away from their hands they would be mere labourers without regular employment. So there is a keen competition among them to preserve what property they have and, if possible, to grab more on the same selfish considerations as those which move B to demand excessive fees for his legal services. This creates conflicts and gives rise to civil and criminal litigations, which B is able to take advantage of.

Thus explains B's handsome income. The same argument would apply if instead of a flourishing advocate, B were a doctor or other expert, or a diamond or gold merchant, or a speculator, a banker or insurance agent, or a dealer in any luxury article.

Let us now examine how B is able to obtain his necessities of life more cheaply, if he buys foreign or factory-made articles instead of home-made or hand-made ones. Factory-made goods are cheap not solely because they are produced by mechanical and better processes, but because a factory is a very great employer of workers. Even if all the processes were done by the same methods, a large-scale industry swells us around of its greater resources and resulting power, and beat down its competition similar

small-scale industries. Besides, by mechanised processes a mill spinner employs about two hundred or more clothweavers a mill weaver about 20 or more hand looms. An oil-mill employing a handful of workers several hundred stone turn a sugar factory several small-scale distilleries and gird makers. A tractor employs several pairs of bullocks and their attendants, as also a large number of ploughmen. The tannery-spinner, weaver, oil-presser and oil-millmaker, the tractor cultivator and the like no doubt get a better wage than his manual co-professional. But it is only a small fraction of the total wage of the men who wholly or partially go out of employment because of the factory. Thus the factory takes a very great amount in wages, enabling it to sell its wares more cheaply than those produced by hand process. On whom does the burden of maintaining the great mass of those unemployed or underemployed men and their dependents fall? Not on the organisers and workers of the factory. It is possible that a handful of them have like I in the example given above, brothers, who are able and willing to maintain them as drudges. A few might be able to obtain an alternative employment. But the majority of them become occupational and have to beg, borrow, steal, gamble, fill jails, hospitals and asylums and in spite of all these efforts, ultimately to die of slow starvation and disease. Government maintains a few while they are in jails, public hospitals and Government's asylums. It is the wrong mistake even if they be as poor as themselves, as public alone that have to keep the majority and then finally going anywhere. The apparatus, cheapness of machine-made goods is thus quite slavery. It would disappear if a factory producer was asked to maintain even half of the people it employs (assuming that the other half would be able to find other suitable employment).

This is not imagination. The Ghaddi State did not permit the introduction of motor transport on some of its roads during its existence. It was a deliberate act in the interest of the people and in response to their demand. But with the establishment of the popular government, the new ministers did not wish to go slow in 'developing' it. So motor service was introduced on some of its principal roads. The result was the sudden unemployment of cart-drivers and mule-drivers whose number along with their dependents ran to 500. Fortunately the service, I understand, is now again withdrawn in response to public agitation. The people have to travel and send their articles a little slowly perhaps at a little higher cost, but it provides honest work to feed 500 mouths. The runner, of his cart and mule service—even if they are State-owned—have millions in their fate. Thus what appears cheap to the private purse as a short-sighted view is really heavily expensive to the nation.

A people's government will have one day to consider this point seriously. Mechanisation and large-scale production will have to be adjusted to the problem of providing employment to every one. Large-scale that is, moderately large-scale as distinguished from post-war production can be beneficial only in a non-competitive co-operative economy, mechanisation only on the condition that services are opened for the immediate absorption of those who would be unemployed thereby.

Amazing *Akshat* has fallen in public esteem as a symbol of upright character, still it is not a sound reason for giving it up. *Akshat* as a cloth cannot testify character or even non-violence any more than any other cloth. If *Akshat* is unweaved, it will be worn by every one including murderers, fascists, thieves, drunkards and profligate people. It will also be worn by Congressmen, socialist communists, communists. Even the army and the navy would be dressed in *Akshat*. We must not associate the Ghaddi cap on the Ghaddi dress with character, even as we do not associate a sari but as a dress in the European style with it. They are just India's standard cloth and style of covering the body.

The correspondent thinks that he can make a better use of his hard-earned money in educating a poor boy than in spending it on *Akshat*. Helping another to receive education is a good charitable act, but let us also think of what we propose to equip the poor boy with in the name of education. Shall we make him a more efficient labourer, a skilled artisan and producer of wealth or just one of our own type, a manipulate or a graduate who has lost the ability of making use of his limbs and can only with a clerk's pen in some office? Let us also think whether we are not making our service only at the expense of those whose wages are even more hard-earned than our own. When we give to the charities, we voluntarily, identify ourselves with the poor weavers and weavers, and give expression to our sentiment of charity a more personal character than what we do through a small donation in money.

8-4-58

E. C. MANNATHALA

Navajivan Sangh, Bombay

This institution, which has signed more than once recently in the Bombay Press is altogether independent of the Navajivan Trust and Press. Though the Bombay Office of the Navajivan Branch is situated just opposite to the above institution. The two institutions are not connected in any way. It has become necessary for us to publish this as confusion have been made of us about the reported affairs of the above institution presumably on the suggestion that both are interconnected.

Ahmedabad 26-4-58

J. P. BHAGAT,
Managing Trustee
Navajivan Trust

RATIONAL UTILIZATION OF LAND THROUGH PALMS

The need of utilizing palms for getting the proper requirement of sucrose in our diet has not been fully realized. The reason seems to be that the cost of manufacture of gum or sugar from the juice of the palms does not compare well with that from cane in our country. Why is it then that the Government is trying to promote the palm-gum industry?

Individuals are prone to be short-sighted in their estimate of things but a government has got to take the long-range view. The increasing pricing of the sugar-industrialists, the economic prosperity of sugarcane growers, the apparent cheapness of sugarcane products, cannot blind the Government to the long-range effect. The increase of sugarcane production is going to have an effect on the country.

The predatory aspect of industrial short-sightedness is well manifest on all fronts of human endeavour and confidence. In the field of food and agriculture it is all the more a painful sight. Mr. Hugh H. Bennett, Chief of U. S. Conservation Service, pointed out that the productive capacity of good land, which was slashed to 400 acres was being reduced by the reckless use made of it in many countries. Sir Herbert Broadley, Deputy Director General, F & C, emphasizes the importance of the layer of top soil enveloping our planet which he takes in a lesser paper "on which depends the fertility of the land and which took from 10 to 1,000 years to form", being carefully preserved and husbanded.

With this picture of the exhausting resources of our soil on the one side and the threatening increase of population on the other we have to be very careful in planning to get the food from the soil at our disposal. If for a cheap sustenance of food like the 'sweet' carbohydrates a people utilizes the very best of their land, while others starve because they cannot get enough cereals there is some short-range thinking somewhere. Polymacharides obtained from cereals are a more important constituent of human diet than glucose or mono-saccharides of the sugar, gum or honey variety. The modern man in pondering to his palate has much increased the consumption of these sweet carbohydrates. So much so that the quantity of sugar consumed per capita by a country is sometimes taken to gauge its progress in civilization! This is a perverted notion of evolution and though the essential nature of sucrose foods in our diet cannot be denied, the cereals are by far more essential.

Sugar by itself, being composed in a state of purity of carbon, hydrogen and oxygen, does not take away anything from the soil, for, the chlorophyll of the plant manufactures these from the sun, air and water. But the plant for its own growth, has to depend upon the nutrients from the soil. The best a plant takes from the

soil the lesser is the stream of its culture on the soil. The plants now mainly cultivated for extracting sugar, viz. sugarcane, require for their development a great amount of substance from the soil and thus their culture exhausts the soil in which they grow. To obtain simple carbohydrates we allow our lands to produce full-grown plants which are destroyed to obtain only their juice. It is sad to note that these plants cannot be used even as a cattle food and so are a practical waste as far as food production is concerned. The minerals and other nutrients of the soil that go to make the whole sugarcane plant are made no use of and thus are such a tremendous waste of the resources of the top soil that it cannot be overlooked. The arachis layer of top-soil has been put to much abuse even by our government as has been made clear at the recent U. M. Scientists Conference at Lake Success.

The only use the sugarcane plant is put to in most places is to burn it in the furnace. Therefore for all practical purposes we are substituting fuel stuff in rich irrigated soil when we use such lands for cane production for white-sugar mills. Is this not wasteful in a land short of food materials?

Here it is that a long-range view of Agricultural planning brings palms into the picture. (a) The palms are trees which live for many years. (b) In getting sugar from the palms we do not destroy the palms but only collect the sap and thus waste nothing in nature. The collection of sap does not harm the tree to any extent and whatever is taken from the soil is fully utilized in being converted into food; (c) while sugarcane requires soil its far cereals, the palms prosper on soil entirely unfit for cereals. The soil now under sugarcane can very well be used for the production of the best cereal crops of rice and wheat, whereas the soil under the palms is so unfit for the culture of these cereals that one might try in vain to grow on them rice or other cereal crops.

There are facts which cannot be hidden by the jugglery of financial figures and false money economy. If man wants to till his soil in his best interest and that of the coming generations, some country will have to take the lead in putting to practice the long-range plans of sugar production from palms. This may look unreasonable to those who do not take the whole picture in view. Considering the increase in population and other urgent factors stated above it will ultimately become absolutely necessary for each to release all lands that can produce cereals for their production alone. Our Government has taken the right step to work in this long-range plan from now on and thus has given a lead in scientific planning in agriculture to the rest of the world in the production of sucrose products. Palm-gum production is of the least burden on nature and fits in with the natural cycle of resources. Decades ago Dr. I. H. D. Vayl, a scientist who had studied palm-gum

industry in Java, in a report placed before the World Science Congress at Garmisch (Germany), had rightly warned, "Considering the increase in population the time is not distant when it will be absolutely necessary to devote to the culture of wheat and rice the lands now employed for livestock or cane."

D. E. CUFFA

A WISE AGREEMENT

"I take it as the grace of God that India and Pakistan could arrive at a wise agreement on the minorities problem. It required uncommon patience and dispassionateness, and in the present disturbed atmosphere, it is difficult to have these virtues, but by the grace of God."

It is a happy beginning and if the people of both the countries accept it in the proper spirit, it will do good in all its every way. It is important to understand that when a pact is made, none should harp on things of the past, and be suspicious about the sincerity of the other party about its observance. A self-confident and alert person always hopes for the best while he is always prepared to meet the emergency. To be always alert is one thing, to be always suspicious another. One way of being alert is to discharge our own obligations faithfully.

But the sceptic asks: "We might fulfil our obligations but what shall we do if the other party does not?" My answer is that the consequence of that will be that we shall add to our strength and the cause of the other party will weaken.

We often assume that we shall never lack on our part in the fulfilment of our obligations, the doubt is entertained about the other party's intentions and motives. This is a gratuitous assumption, and tends to create a show of having fulfilled our obligations without actually doing so. It is very dangerous, whether it is an individual or a nation that does so. It can only weaken the particular. The surging of fulfilment of duties does not create any impression upon the mind of the other party, while the first assumes that he has only discharged his obligations; and as he expects that mutual fulfilment of obligations is durable. He does not stop to ask, what next even if it were as he says. Shall he, then, begin to give an objection of breaking the agreement from his side? Will he doing so, require in the other party a sense of duty, when its fulfilment does not?

V. K.

We all know that the military strength of India far exceeds that of Pakistan. In this context, if we but fulfil our obligations, it will multiply our strength a hundred-fold. We should understand this simple thing: At present, we have neither the strength of non-violence, nor the want of worldly wisdom to abandon the military strength. Hence, we maintain our military expenditure. If moral strength is added to it, surely it is not an injury we do to ourselves. If the Pandavas with less military strength could

gain a victory over the Kauravas because of their superior moral strength, we take no risk in strengthening both. The supreme strength consists in developing the moral strength to its highest summit, so that we may dispense with the military strength in the interest of the poor. But as yet, we have not the supreme moral strength, we have only superior military strength. Hence if we add the moral strength to the military one, it will be to our advantage.

So even on the assumption that Pakistan may not discharge her obligations arising out of the Agreement we may not fail in our duty. And, let us develop the love of the five Pandavas and thus experience the strength of the real values as it will help Pakistan also to take the right path for the good of all.

Devagiri, 15-4-58

VINODAS

(Translated from the Marathi, April, 1958)

NOTES

Vinaji Bhagat

The Marjans of Ahmedabad were plunged in sorrow on Rama Navami last (27th March) by the death of their venerable leader Shri Vinaji Bhagat at the age of 78 from heart-failure.

Vinaji Bhagat was a self-styler for the greater part of his life. He and his wife were a devoted couple, altogether free from mass common among factory workers. He was held in high esteem by both the employers and the employees, by the former for his honesty, punctuality and hard work, by the latter for never taking any illegal gratification or harassing the workers under him as a headman.

He worked honestly until he became too old to be able to do factory work. But he seemed to live an idle life and set up a small shop near his house to earn his livelihood.

He took keen interest in the cause of Harjians again, and was always in the forefront of activities conducted for their benefit. He was severely beleaguered by numerous Harjians once for having participated in the outpourings for securing the rights of Harjians to travel by the public bus. He had sustained heavy injuries, but his followers should get either dignified or unaccountably angry, he did not show any one to know what injuries he had sustained. The fact came to be known several years later when a doctor uncovered his back for medical examination and saw marks of severe beating.

On the night previous to his death after giving a few words of advice to his son and getting a couple of chapters of the Bhagavadgita read to him, he slept, saying that God willing, he would hear the whole of the Gita next morning as it was Rama Navami. But he expired at 4 a.m. His wife had predeceased him last year on the Gokul Ashvini day. Surely, he had rested in Peace.

Varaha, 29-4-58

"Tribes of India"

The Bharatya Adhyatma Samithi, which has just brought out this small handbook, "being a collection of 48 articles contributed by experienced social workers with a foreword" by Sri Thakkarbapa.

"The number of tribes described in this book is 35, while the total number of selected tribes as per the Census of 1931 is 132." In that sense the book is not exhaustive and complete, but there is as yet no other which is handy, cheap and easily procurable. Different anthropologists have published interesting accounts of some of these tribes, but they are generally very costly.

The following paragraph from Sri Thakkarbapa's foreword describes the aim of the book concisely:

"The problem of the welfare of these tribes, some of whom live in the plains and are assimilated with the rest of the people of the country has come to the public eye very recently. But the problem of some of the tribes that live on the hills and in forests is even less known to a very few. For instance, the tribes of Assam, in Eastern State and Punjab and Arunachal in the Western province of the Indian Empire, are approached by very few of our social workers or by Government Welfare Departments. It is the aim of this book to draw public attention to the welfare of all these tribes whose total population is not less than 25 millions or a little over 7 per cent of total population of the Union of India, which can be said to be 25 times of the present size. This section of the Indian people is the most backward group not only socially and educationally but also economically since tribes living upon game and forest produce find special trouble in the past and are going to find more, it should be the aim of the various Governments constituting the Union to eradicate these backward groups with the population is growing in an short a time as possible till they are fully assimilated as possible. In that respect and given more and more things, it is unnecessary to note here that the self-constitution of India gives special of work in India and Union. Little known to these groups are population books for the year 1931. It has also made provision for the tribes living within each as so to fit them up to the general level. Four maps of this work can be substantially accomplished in 20 pages. It is up to 1935 to be the next."

At the end of the book detailed statistical information about the various tribes is given both province-wise as well as tribe wise. This will enable the general reader to gauge the magnitude of the tribal problem.

A few of the articles are in Hindi, others are in English. It is desirable that the whole book should be available in Indian languages, beginning with Hindi. The book will be felt equally interesting by the worker as well as the general reader.

Wardha, 19-4-36

E. S. M.

*Published by the Bharatya Adhyatma Samithi, Sangli, Kargway, Dehra, price Rs. 2-0-0

A Good Beginning

In instructing content to the ruling by the Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University on the use of Hindi in the schools, or reintroduction of English in Standard VII by the Government of Bombay, the approach of the S.S.C.E. Board, Poona, to the question of the place of English and Hindi in our national life and education is most encouraging and deserves wider notice.

The Board has just published its calendar describing courses of study, subjects and papers etc., which it has prescribed for the S.S.C.E. for 1935. There are to be two compulsory subjects viz.

1. General English (without text),
or

Hindi (without text)

2. One of the following languages

Marathi	Gujarati
Kannada	Bengali
Telugu	Urdu
Sinhala	Tamil

Additional English (with text)

or
Additional Hindi (with text)

Thus, in the first paper English is no more a compulsory subject and a student can very well have Hindi instead. It is a helpful preliminary step for reconstructing secondary education.

While this is a good beginning for which the S.S.C.E. Board deserves congratulations, the grouping of the second paper is not commendable as it stands. I suggest that it should be thus:—

2. One of the following 12 languages:

Marathi, Gujarati, Kannada, Tamil, Telugu, Urdu, Sinhala, Bengali, English (with text), Hindi (with text) provided that a student may not take the same language for both the papers.

It must be remembered that the knowledge of Hindi will be indispensable for those who know English. Hence this suggestion.

20-3-36

M. P. Desai

A PILGRIMAGE FOR PEACE

Gandhi & Friends Go along N. W. F. Pathways

By P. P. Desai

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDERS BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor, K. C. BHATTACHARYA



3-74

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TWO ANNAS

GANDHI AND MARX

23

I believe I have dealt with most of the important aspects of the Gandhian and Marxian doctrines. I have tried to show that the Gandhian way of looking at life and life's problems is basically different from the Marxian one, and the difference cannot be stated by such simple equations as "Communism means violence", or "Communism plus God" is equal to Gandhism. It is also not correct to equate the aim of "establishing a classless socialist State" with Gandhism. Even to say that Gandhism stands for "philosophical anarchy", or absence of a regular government without the disorder created by its absence, or "dissolution of large-scale political, social, industrial and cultural institutions" appears to me as hardly apposite.

In positive terms I would say that Gandhism is the method of progressing towards an ideal. The ideal itself, to give Gandhiji's favourite simile, is like Euclid's point, capable of being (rather imperfectly) conceived by the mind, but incapable of being fully realised within a foreseeable future. What we think to be the final goal is found, as we move near it, to be but a stage in the way, and a new far away point appears before the vision as the final one, and this process might take place endlessly. It is a long-range everlasting programme, and yet amply implementable by even single individuals. Truthfulness, non-violence, equality of status, of opportunities, of distribution of wealth and of necessities and comforts of life; absence of state control, decentralisation, non-mechanisation, peace, unity, harmony, freedom from war, regimentation and competition, and the largest measure of freedom consistent with orderly society are several desiderata. None of them can be realised absolutely and singly, and an attempt to select one or two of them for being fully put into practice, apart from others, may lead even to absurdities and disastrous developments. They are not matters of mere mechanical application and enforcement by law. Gandhiji once said in praise of a worker, who, to his knowledge,

had always lived a middle-class city life, that "he had caught rural-mindedness". By this he meant that the worker's mind sought to derive simple and rural ways and means of manufacturing things, so that one may create in a village the essential comforts of life with self-help, local materials and simple tools. Kishinkaranth Tagore had also a vision and a message for Rural India. But the Party's emphasis lay more on the revival of beauty, art and joy in rural life, that of Gandhiji on that of industry, cleanliness, health and morals thereof. He had the greatest regard and full appreciation of the Party's mission because his rural-mindedness did not consist in shabbiness, coarseness, irregular and dirty habits, the habit of being irritated with hard not to any sub-human, conditions of life, tolerance of injustice and evil, putting up with insults, humiliations or injury to self-respect, and absence of beauty, art, fancy or joy of life, expressed through its prayers, songs, dances, bathes, picnics, cottages, house-hold and occupational furniture and other details of life.

Gandhiji's way of life has, on the one hand, been mistaken for the traditional Hindu way of retrograde and sadhu life, his non-violence for the traditional Jain and Vaishnava practices of maintenance and preservation of animal and insect life, even if in a most strict condition and in a way detrimental to the security of the lives of others, his humility, for putting up with insults, and his self-immolation, for non-resistance and submission to evil. On the other hand, his doctrine of active non-violence and the dictum that "violence is better than cowardice" have been frequently quoted so as to almost give a sanction to war and violent rebellion.

In my humble opinion, these are, perhaps, unconscious travesties of Gandhiji's way of life.

Life, expressed whether in individual or collective form, and whether consistently and harmoniously or otherwise, is an eternal struggle for finding an ideal condition of existence. None knows what that ideal condition, if it is ever realised, will look like in the physical universe! How exactly it can be attained, what unavoidable intervening stages it must pass through to reach it, what exactly should be done to rectify the breaches, wrongs and mistakes committed from time to time, is what extent

and in what manner the consequences of unjust deeds, which have been perpetrated, can be rectified. None can make exact predictions about the future course of individual or social evolution. No man may over or say of a social order that "This is in accordance with Truth—the whole Truth and nothing but Truth, and every other order of life is false." The limitation of man's talents has to be confessed. The wisest is just a seer and much of his seering is in the midst of a thick and trackless forest on a dark and cloudy night. A flash of lightning now and then, might show him a step and vanish. The next earnest seeker has to rely only on that momentary flash to take the next step. Gandhiji humbly confessed this limitation and was never tired of repeating Cardinal Newman's line "One step enough for me." The new and clear light which he gave, consisted in this: however certain a person might feel about the truth of his words, actions and ideas, he must have the humility to recognize that he may be in error somewhere. The fact that he does not perceive any such error, justifies him, may as a seer and valuer of Truth, lay an obligation upon him to pursue it actively and relentlessly, so far as he is personally concerned, and to preach it to others also. But the possibility of an error lays upon him also the further obligation to see that his pursuit does not inflict harm on others, or compel one, who does not agree with him, to submit to it through fear. The existence of opposite views is bound to create a situation of conflict. The only safeguard against this is the insistence on the adoption of truthful and non-violent means. The principle of 'pure means for pure ends' secures equal rights and safeguards to every one, and makes true democracy possible. He may neither use deceitful and violent methods to bring about an adoption of his view of life, nor abandon his duty to practice and preach his own path, since he is convinced of its correctness. This will expose him to the danger of being derided and violently dealt with by others, who do not accept the rule of purity of means. The risk has to be faced. If the other side also accepts the same rules of restraint, it would always be possible to find a way round for an amicable solution of the conflict. If the other does not accept them, a satyagrahi conflict would arise. The conflict might result, after it has progressed for a while, in bringing about in the other side a change—if not positively of the heart,—at least of attitude. This will also open an explicable way to peace. It would be a stage in the process of the change of heart by total conversion. But the conflict might also result in the self-annihilation and the martyrdom of the satyagrahi, when the forces opposed to him are too stubborn. He might also have to suffer, if he is, in the opinion of his opponent, so hopelessly wrong in his perception of Truth, that to relent would be regarded by the opponent as a

surrender to untruth on his part. The last would be a case of one satyagrahi pitted against another. Though a tragic end is not very likely in such cases, it may be conceived as a possibility in an extreme case.

A violent revolution goes on appearance of radical changes rapidly brought about in society. But ultimately society returns to the level of the order, which it is fitted for in the process of its evolution. Fundamental change can be brought about only by non-violence. They may involve terrible stages and steps, and appear as a compromise of principles. But there is a difference between the two. It is a compromise of principles when the satyagrahi accepts the truth of principles, on which the opponent insists his claim. It is a middle stage when in order to avoid the hardships that might accrue to the opponent by a sudden change in the course of his life a ladder is built up for a graded progress.

Wardha: 25-4-58

K. G. SHANKREDDY

PRAYER *

Thou hast given us to live

Let us uphold this honour with all our strength and will,

For Thy glory rests upon the glory that we are

Therefore to Thy name we oppose the power that would plant its banner upon our soil.

Let us know that Thy light grows dim in the heart that bears its load of bondage

That the life, when it becomes feeble, timidly seeks Thy throne to untruth,

For weakness in the traitor who betrays our soul.

Let this be our prayer to Thee—

Give us power to stand firm where it enslaves us,

To lift our sorrow up to Thee as the summer holds its midday Sun,

Make us strong that our worship may flower in love, and bear fruit in work

Make us strong that we may not mock the weak and the fallen,

That we may hold our love high where all things around us are wroth for dust.

Thy light and kill for self-love, giving it Thy name,

Thy light for hunger that thrives on 'heaven's' flesh,

Thy light against Thine anger and sin.

Not let us stand firm and suffer with speech

For the True, for the Good for the Eternal in man,

For Thy Kingdom which is in the unseen of hearts,

For the Freedom which is of the Soul

* From Poems by Rukhsar-un-Nissa Tappa, Presented by Yashwanth Shetty, 2 College Square, Calcutta.

SHANTI SENA, WARDHA

About seventy-five constructive workers of different national institutions of Wardha and Sevagram met in the local Mahila Ashram on the 19th and 20th March under the presidency of Acharya Vinoba Bhave to discuss the nature and organization of a Shanti Sena (Peace Army) which could be started in Wardha on the lines suggested by Gandhiji in his articles in *Morning* published several years ago. Among those who attended the meetings were Acharya Kameshbhai Kalkar, Prof. J. C. Karmappa, Shri Shrinivasadas Jaji, Shri Anantashah Desai, Shri G. Narasimachandran and Shri Karu Gadhia.

As a result of these two meetings, it was decided to start three Shanti Sena units, one in Sevagram and two in Wardha. Conveners for these units were also selected. A Joint Committee was appointed to coordinate the activities of the three units and to prepare a suitable Constitution for the Shanti Sena. It is gratifying to know that Acharya Kameshbhai Kalkar, Prof. Karmappa and Shri Jaji gladly related their names to the Shanti Sena.

The Constitution of the Shanti Sena, as approved by the Joint Committee is as under—

Aim

To organize collective non-violence in order to check violence in different spheres of life.

Membership

A person who believes in truth and non-violence and who is prepared to make the supreme sacrifice without asking for better wages can be a member of the Shanti Sena (Peace Army). The membership of the Army is open to men and women, young and old. In the beginning only persons above 18 will be admitted.

Uniform

The members of the Army will be habited in khaki. They shall also have a badge for easy recognition.

Training

1. Physical: Exercise, drill, and organic productive labour.

2. Intellectual: Serious study, according to age, of Mahatma Gandhi's ideology, brief history of the non-violent movement in India, study of modern economic and political ideologies etc. This training will be given through study circles, books and lectures.

3. Field Service: The study and practice of first-aid methods in times of communal riots, fire, floods and epidemics.

4. The study and practice of peaceful arrangements at the time of meetings, conferences and fairs.

5. Other services in emergencies.

Programme

1. The members of the Army will do at least once a week reflecting service of the community such as assistance to the displaced persons, service of the depressed class, every kind of sanitation, village service etc.

2. To organize collective spinning and prayers in order to create an atmosphere of peace and brotherhood.

3. To try to remove economic inequality.

4. To erect and set in tones of fire, floods, labour strikes, communal riots etc.

5. To try to check corruption, black-marketing and drinking habit in order to raise the moral standard of the public.

6. Other activities relating to the constructive programme.

Organization

1. The Peace Army will keep aloof from all political parties.

2. There will be no place for democracy in the organization of the Peace Army.

3. In the organization of the Peace Army quality and not quantity will be emphasized. Importance will be given to character and spirit of service among the members.

In this connection, the eleven vows of the Ashram will have a special place.

4. The members of the Army will keep maximum contact with the people of their village or locality.

5. The organization of the Army shall be decentralized. Peace Army units can be established in each village or locality of a town, but a Joint Committee could be established for mutual cooperation.

6. It will be essential to observe perfect discipline in the Peace Army.

Wardha, 9-4-50

S. M. SHARMA.

Shri Nandabehn Kanaga

Shri Nandabehn Kanaga breathed her last on the twenty-third of the last month and joined her husband who had preceded her about six months earlier. Wife of a prominent medical practitioner of Ahmedabad who was one of the earliest to associate himself with Gandhiji along with Sardar Patel she was devoted to her family and domestic duties. She had, however, acquired her place in the public life of the city in her own right by quiet work in the field of women's service and by taking her due share in the fights that brought India her freedom.

K. G. M.

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HARIJAN

May 6

1950

WAR MANIA

I felt that after the recent Agreement overhauled of war-maniacality would abate, — if not for all time, at least for a time sufficient enough to observe the results of its working on both the sides. Unfortunately such signs are not forthcoming in a sufficient measure. A craving for war in one place or another seems to have infected a part of our people like that itch which produces an irresistible desire to scratch the skin in the vain hope that scratching will soothe. In particular, Bengal appears to be extremely afflicted by it. She even seems to talk concerning of madhouses and beds that such talk by people outside Bengal betrays lack of sympathy in the sufferings of her people. This is very unfortunate, alas, with her; larger paralysis (movement) says the *Diagonoscope*. A right remedy cannot be discovered in that condition of the mind.

It will be seen that we generally assume that in these communal tyrannies, it is the Hindus who have suffered in every conceivable manner and that their own conduct has been altogether blameless. We always like to believe that if there has been killing, looting, raping, abducting, official mistreatment, high-handedness etc., it is all done on the Pakistan side, or by the Muslims in India; that if Hindus have gone astray, it is the result of provocation from the other side. This assumption is not only gratuitous, but also untrue. It has been particularly untrue in the recent events that have taken place in the two provinces of Bengal and in UP. It will be of no use to insist telling this Hindus have been and are capable of being as wicked as the Muslims are held out to be, and in some of the States Muslims are as much law-breakers as the Hindus of East Bengal are reported to be.

Are we sure that we are undoubtedly more God-minded than our Muslim countrymen? Rather I feel that it is our people of different make and parts of the country Hindus and Muslims are poked out to equal measure, the number of good, kind-hearted, generous and trustworthy Muslims will not be less than that of Hindus. Not only that but, because of the absence of a high-low caste idea in the Muslim, he will often give a more concrete expression to his large-heartedness than what a good Hindu can do. Let us frankly realize and confess that it will do us good. The moment we change our attitude towards Muslims, and begin to perceive the good traits of their character also, as we do their weaknesses, it seems to me that the Muslims will

respond with far greater generosity of spirit revealed in actual action than Hindus even with honest effort, are capable of. Partition, sedition, segregation, division and sub-division of religion is essentially the Hindu way of life. The smallest differential characteristics, such as derogation, language, style of dress, or food (even of vegetables), is sufficient for us to insist upon separation. The moment Hindus really become unity-minded, they will find that others were already prepared for it. It is also wrong to think that Hindus must unite among themselves before they think of their union with others, or that they will make if the Muslims are away. The spirit of unity does not work that way. It acts upon all spheres of life simultaneously in the proportion in which it is actively awakened.

Wardha, 23-4-50

K. K. KARNATAWALA

RETURN TOWARDS FRIENDSHIP

(Extracts from letter Vaidishankar Pandey broadcast to the people of West Bengal from Calcutta, on Sat. April 1950.)

Never Irretrievable

I know that the people in the light of the past history of agreements, which have fallen in disuse, or pledges which have been broken, approach the latest with sceptical cynicism and even coloured dislike. Nevertheless in such past made by others have yielded no new discoveries or facts which were not known to those who undertook upon themselves the burden of implementing the agreement. Human nature, as far as I am aware, places no limit of time on its capacity to change, even death-bed repentance or remorse acquires a religious merit of its own. Therefore, on the basis of past wrongs, to script future bad faith as an unbreakable bar denotes a lack of faith in the basic goodness of human nature, which constitutes the very elements of our philosophy.

After all, I have yielded to none in past doubts and human fears of the successful implementation of such agreements but belief and trust have also a place in one's mental equipment and these have helped me to make up my mind to give the agreement a fair trial. We ask nothing more of the sons and daughters of West Bengal. Even those who express dissatisfaction with the agreement recognize that having been duly concluded, there is no option but to implement it. In that event, does it not believe there is made an unreserved and sincere attempt to do so rather than express creeping fears or denounce living doubts?

The Prime Minister of Pakistan

I also know that my West Bengal friends are gradually worried about the concept of an Islamic State and the consequences which, in the light of history, such a concept is taken to entail in the face of a clear acceptance of the fundamental principle of democracy by the Prime Minister of

Pakistan, we have no alternative but to mark time and put it to the test. The one thing that made a profound impression upon me in accepting the Pakistan Prime Minister's assurance at their last value was the earnestness and visible sincerity with which he laid stress on the need for bringing the two countries closer in our lifetime. We have at least the background of previous associations and past friendships and goodwill, the new generation will grow under the full belief and faith in absolute separation.

I would, therefore, ask you to approach the Pakistan Prime Minister's assurance on this matter in the spirit and desire of coming closer together than drifting apart. If we drift apart, the task of keeping the minorities within the geographical limits of our respective frontiers would become immeasurably difficult, whereas if we make a genuine attempt at closer understanding with trust and confidence in each other, there is some chance for minorities on either side living a life of peace and security in which they are entitled under any civilized Government.

Important Principles of the Pact

Let me now briefly explain why I feel that the Indo-Pakistan Agreement gives a reasonable chance, if worked in the proper spirit, for retrieving the ground that has been lost during the last two years. For the first time we have provided for supervision and control over the day-to-day implementation of the agreement. The Central Minister of the Government of India and a representative of minorities in the Provincial Cabinet of Pakistan will be there to ensure that the agreement is implemented in Pakistan in letter and in spirit.

The Central Minister would be associated with the functioning of the Minority Commission which would, in its turn, be the watchdog of the minority's interests in East Pakistan. Thus, for the first time, a readily available avenue of redress has been provided to a minority community and it should not be difficult for us to find out any margin between pretensions and practice. In these circumstances, it seems to me essential that we, on our part, should give no excuse or justification for any failure of the Agreement in East Pakistan. Similarly, any refusal to avail ourselves of the facilities and machinery available for safeguarding the interests of the minorities in East Pakistan could only be construed as a ploy against us.

Therefore, those who withhold their hand of co-operation will neither help those who have come away from Pakistan, nor those who have been left behind. Similarly, the Agreement, while providing for full facilities to those who wish to come away makes full arrangements for those who wish to remain in Pakistan. I can quite realize the reluctance and hesitation of those who have recently come to India after undergoing or withholding, or out of a sense of

fear at the horrors that have been perpetrated, to return to their homes. But I would ask them as well as those who have come earlier, to consider the face and spirit of magnanimity or helplessness of those who are remaining behind.

Appeal to the People

It is in this spirit, and for these reasons, that I would like to appeal to my brothers and sisters who have come away to India, or are thinking of making their departure from East Pakistan, to reflect on what I have said above in the best of the moment, they should not make up their minds once for all against any possibility of hope of return to the paternal acres which housed their wish and care or to their inhibitions which contributed for generations their hopes and aspirations. Let them also consider whether, while there is still some hope lingering they need necessarily undergo that sadness of heart, those unhappy afflictions and the torments and afflictions which are the necessary consequences of uprooting oneself from one's established life and home.

Government Policy

In the meantime, the policy of Government is clear and unequivocal. They will strive their utmost to implement this agreement, and at the same time, to make the lot of those who have come away as happy as possible. In the current task of extending relief to them, we shall not recognize any State boundaries nor shall any resources that we can command.

We shall also undertake the task of rehabilitating those who might eventually decide to make India their permanent abode. I would, however, appeal to them to lend a helping hand in this two-fold task by complying with such directions and arrangements which the Government of West Bengal might make for their relief or rehabilitation, whether inside or outside West Bengal. It has placed me considerably that interested persons should exploit this opportunity for dislodging refugees from leaving for their allotted places outside West Bengal and for pressing upon them the need for asking for relief or rehabilitation within the area of West Bengal itself.

Appeal to West Bengal

I should also like to make an appeal to my friends in West Bengal fully to comprehend the delicate and difficult situation in which they are placed. The agreement has been concluded and its implementation is a point of honour both for the Government and the people of India. Public opinion throughout India, outside West Bengal, and the State Governments have almost unanimously and wholeheartedly accepted the concluded agreement, and are determined to work the agreement to the best of their ability and competence. Would it then pay the people of West Bengal to have a different or contrary line even partially? Let not West Bengal isolate itself and alienate the rest of India.

GOVERNMENT AND KHADI

I

What shall be the extent and manner of help, which we expect Government to give to khadi?

Let us first understand clearly how khadi could make further progress today. Government's help must depend on our answer to this question. If we proceed energetically and happily, we might find after years of labour and enormous expenditure of money that it has all been a waste.

Mill-cloth Competition

We should know first that as long as mill-cloth and mill-yarn are unswervingly available, neither for commercial nor for "self-sufficiency" purposes can khadi be organised on an extensive scale. Attempts were made to move Governments to put some check on mill-cloth. The Indian Government took a step in that direction, but eventually it could not do anything and there is no hope for it in the near future. So we have to proceed on the supposition that Indian mill-cloth and to some extent even foreign cloth will continue to come into the market. Clearly, under these circumstances, khadi has only a limited scope.

Limits of Commercial Khadi

2. There are two ways of organising khadi: (i) to get yarn spun and woven for sale as wage-labour and (ii) to ask the people to produce khadi for their personal use. The first or commercial khadi has a limit beyond which it cannot easily expand. In areas where the charkha tradition had not broken down it has almost reached its peak point. In areas which are new or where the tradition has altogether broken down, it is not easy to train the people to spin and to induce them to take to it. The ways for spreading that we can offer are not sufficiently attractive to draw new women spinners in view of the high prices prevailing everywhere. Consequently the increase in the output will be very slow. Another factor which restricts the production is the amount of stock we can sell. Khadi has its customers in a particular section of the people. Can their number be increased? Congress has made it obligatory for its office workers to wear khadi. Their number may be large enough. But will they observe the rule honestly? Many might content themselves with unreticulated khadi. Nevertheless, we shall have to watch to what extent the sale of genuine khadi is advanced by the Congress rule. Secondly, what increase in the consumption of commercial khadi shall we regard as satisfactory? Surely it should bear some proportional relation to our population of 33 crores. Should we be satisfied if we can sell twice as much as we do at present? And what time should we take to reach this stage? There are some of the questions which we have to consider. As it is, we receive reports that khadi stocks have accumulated and it has become difficult to dispose of them. My own feeling is that we cannot promote commercial khadi in any appreciable mea-

sure in the near future. If this view is correct, it is pertinent to enquire into the amount of energy we should put into it.

Help from the Government

3. I should not be misunderstood, I am neither advocating the reduction nor discouraging the enhancement of commercial khadi. The Charkha Sangh is trying to do that by means of certified agencies, though for itself it aims at concentrating its efforts on more fruitful and deep-rooted work. Nevertheless, the expansion of commercial khadi is welcome. The question, however, is to what extent should Governments support it and spend on it. I take the view that this work should be done at minimum expense. The Charkha Sangh has produced khadi worth costs of rupees and laid down the right policy for the propagation of this work by proving that khadi business can be self-supporting. Therefore, if we spend a lot of money and succeed in doing relatively only a little work, Government money would not be said to have been spent well. Government funds ultimately come from taxes on the poor. Every rupee thereof is, therefore, valuable and must be spent very carefully. Particularly at present, when Governments are experiencing financial stringency, we must tread them only with advice as it likely to achieve the maximum of result with the minimum expense. I am discussing the question here with reference to the immediate future only, but it will not do either for us or Governments to lose sight of its long-term aspect. Khadi must not be regarded as a mere stop-gap short-term affair; we must keep in view its permanent character.

Limits of Self-sufficient Khadi

4. The other way of propagating khadi is that of organising it on the self-sufficient basis. It can be done in two ways: *extensive* and *individual*. In the first we choose an area and try to make most of its inhabitants accept and adopt the principle of self-sufficiency in cloth. In this field too mill-cloth stands as a formidable rival and often we find it beyond our capacity to convince many people of the correctness of our economic and of the principle of khadi-self-sufficiency. We work there actively for long and there is an appearance of success but as sooner the effort is removed than many slide off into the old ways. They shirked self-sufficiency spinning because they had never understood its meaning or had not been sincerely converted to it. They look at the question only from the monetary point of view. If one has to pay for the cotton and the weaving of his self-spun yarn, the saving, in comparison with mill-cloth is only nominal. Therefore the seed of the primary man for self-sufficient spinning does not endure. Moreover, the organisation of this campaign is very expensive. Then there are many difficulties in organising area-wise self-sufficient programme. So far as the labourers are concerned, the Charkha Sangh evolved a way

to train them in the use of funds for a considerable time, it gave wages partly in the form of *khadi*. But this too did not succeed, being a thing imposed from outside and not of men's own choice. It is evident from the foregoing that any extensive working out of the self-sufficient *khadi* plan has to wait longer.

Individual Self-sufficiency

3. We can put our hope in individual self-sufficiency because here the spinner understands the significance of spinning. So it may take root. It also brings out other qualities associated with *khadi* and which others are integral parts of its intrinsic message—namely the establishment of a non-violent society. This kind of work would grow gradually and may endure. Ghandi has shown good progress in this direction. The Charika Sangh is now concentrating on it.

Let us see what help Government can give in this respect. It may in some places—it is already doing so—help us in partly meeting the weaving expenses. Here too we have to consider, how far this help should take the form of money. One of the Provincial Governments has been giving seven paise eight per yard as its help towards weaving expenses which means that one can get the weaving done at no cost to oneself. The fear here is that those who lack conviction will give up their spinning when the help is stopped. A man who has taken to self-sufficient *khadi* must know that either he must do his own weaving or be ready to pay for it at a fair rate.

Policy vs. Patronage

4. Though *khadi* normally falls within the sphere of Provincial Governments, the Central Government is also concerned with it in certain matters, e.g. in regard to textile mills, no Provincial Government can independently adopt a line of policy which goes counter to that of the Central Government. Besides not all the ministers in the provincial cabinets have faith in *khadi*. Generally the various cabinets—having some individual ministers in some of them—are not very keen about it. Therefore, only if the Central Government could settle a definite policy on *khadi* and make recommendations to the Provincial Governments, would the latter pursue a uniform policy. The Central Government, however, does not seem to have given much attention to this question.

Those who run the Governments and those who are wedded to *khadi* do not belong to two separate groups having different ideologies. Congress is in office in every State and it is still attached to *khadi*. Many of the present ministers have previously served *khadi* for years. There is no reason to believe that they are not as zealous about *khadi* as many of us. But they do not seem to give any practical indication of it. It may be that they have their own difficulties. However, from what we see it appears that they are not prepared to fulfil certain fundamental

conditions which are essential to give a fillip to *khadi* work. *Khadi* workers contend that if *khadi* has to be promoted the obstacle in its way ought to be removed. Governments do not seem to have any such intention. They like *khadi*, are even kind to it. But mere kindness cannot achieve the end in view.

Reason for Not Submitting a Plan

When Congress ministers were formed in eight provinces in 1937, the Charika Sangh had submitted plans to the promotion of *khadi*. About five or six provinces accepted these plans with some alterations and helped their execution with money. In 1945 also, when Congress ministers were installed in power *khadi* workers expected help from them and they too then expressed their readiness to do so. They were willing to give money that *khadi* could not march forward to its goal merely with the aid of money. Something more was needed. But that, as explained above, Governments were not ready to do. And so the Charika Sangh was convinced that until these conditions were carried out all the money and labour would be lost to no purpose, it did not submit any scheme. This gave rise to some misunderstanding. Some Governments mistake the decision of the Charika Sangh for an unwillingness on its part to co-operate with Government. It was nothing of the kind. The position was that the Charika Sangh could not give advice which it knew would lead to mere waste of public money without any substantial gain.

UNIVERSITARIAN PATH

(Continued from page 86)

B. C. G. Plan for Britain Gets a Set-back

The following 'note of the search' appears in *The Panchsatan Inquirer* for March-April 1960.

The Department of Health (that issued a statement concerning the "political difficulties in promoting the vaccine had held up the campaign against tuberculosis in India")

The problems involved were under consideration and it was hoped that difficulties would be overcome.

What are these difficulties? And what are the problems involved? Did not the Department for Health get full information on every point before they launched this scheme? It is all very strange and superficial. After launching the scheme with the greatest possible publicity, the Department of Health... must have discovered something really serious, in order that they have been obliged to stop the distribution of B.C.G.

Up to the present two things have troubled me about B.C.G.—it may be too strong or it may be too weak, it too often it causes abscesses in India, if too weak it is useless for the purpose of creating immunity.

Will the Department of Health tell the public in Britain exactly what happened to compel them to stop it? I believe they launched it only recently only five months ago.

We hope that as the Government of India too has launched a similar scheme, our Health Ministry will find out what are the circumstances in Britain which have led them to suspend its operation, and will profit by Britain's experience.

T. S. D.

DANGEROUSLY FALSE PROPAGANDA

The reader will see elsewhere Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's statement to the Press in condemnation of false propaganda. I am glad he has taken note of an article in the *Jansat* of Bombay, dated 19th April, in his statement and definitely assured the public that "the whole story is completely false and without foundation," because ever since my attention was drawn to that article by a correspondent, I have had an uneasy feeling in the matter. I had not the least doubt about the attitude and the part of the Sarkar in arriving at the agreement. Indeed, in his Calcutta broadcast, he has given a full picture of the working of his mind. Some of the instructions made in the *Jansat* are so incredible that no serious person would rely upon them. But when the atmosphere is charged with suspicion, rumours and scandal people put reliance even on absurd stories.

I felt uneasy about this matter not because the Sarkar's reputation was concerned. He is quite capable of looking to his own reputation. But the spread of stories, like the one in the *Jansat*, is dangerous to the Lives of Hindus and Muslims, and to the honest implementation of the Agreement. There were not people working in India, who always maintained and spread the belief that Gandhi's confidence on non-violence was only a naive-believe, and that he was not inwardly averse to terrorism and violence; they also spread the belief that Gandhi was in conspiracy with foreign Muslim powers, and wanted them to reconquer India. On stories like this, thousands of young men were fed for a quarter of a century. In the same strain is the story that Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel wanted a war with Pakistan and did not approve of the Prime Minister's policy of finding a peaceful solution. Such stories undermine discipline in the lower ranks of Government Officers, and also give rise to feelings of uncertainty, suspicion and anger in the minds of the general public, and particularly of the refugees.

I hope Pandit Jawaharlal's statement will dispel the doubts. Sociologists generally have the reputation of belonging to the class of 'politurgists'. Generally they are eminent professors and double graduates of Universities, several of them are professors and lecturers. College and high-school students are attracted to them as future leaders and champions of the cause of the Adivasis. In the simplicity of youthfulness they accept their version at face value. The responsibility of not resorting to falsehood and of not preaching anything which might enlarge relations between communities at this critical juncture is, therefore, very great upon them. They may have their grievances or disagreements with the Government, or the Sarkar in particular. They are free to criticize the policies as strongly as they deem fit. But spreading false stories is no substitute for making strong criticism.

Warrha, 28-4-50 K. G. MANGRUVALLA

MALICIOUS DISTORTION OF FACTS

[The following statement has been issued by Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru.]

I suppose it is a legitimate game to try to run down political opponents. None of us can object to that, though we may regret the malice and ill-will that sometimes accompany this criticism. But it is quite another matter when facts are twisted and something that never happened is given out as a fact.

It has been my misfortune to see this presentation of falsehood and distortion of truth frequently in a number of periodicals. I have retained them taking much notice of this kind of thing though I have regretted deeply the lowering of tone and the vulgarity of some of these publications. But this is not a personal matter and has to be judged from the public point of view. Foreign references are made to Sardar Patel and me, sometimes to my sister who is Ambassador in Washington, sometimes to other colleagues of mine serving the State in various capacities. I have been attributed as the forger of rumours and malicious misrepresentations that have appeared.

Recently, in an issue of the weekly *Jansat* of Bombay, dated April 18, an article appeared on the front page, which purports to give an account of various happenings in Delhi in connection with Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan's visit here. In this article, particular mention is made of Sardar Patel and what he is reported to have said and done. The whole story is completely false and without foundation and I am assured that such baseless and irresponsible stuff should be published anywhere.

I should like to say here that every step that was taken in regard to my conversations with the Prime Minister of Pakistan was done after full and constant consultation with the Cabinet and with their approval. In particular, Sardar Patel was in frequent consultation with me and we acted in full union in this matter. I am deeply grateful to him for all he has done at a moment of crisis and difficulty. No person has worked harder for the full implementation of the Agreement than Sardar Patel.

It is with some reluctance that I am issuing this statement to the Press, because I dislike entering into such controversies. But I feel that it would be grossly unfair to my colleagues and to the country if I remained silent on this occasion.

28-4-50

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY BHABHA GANDHI)
EDITOR: K. C. MATHURWALA

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THE ANNAR

GANDHI AND MARX

XII

Before concluding let me say a word about the purpose of writing this series. The kind of propaganda, which is carried on at present against Communism reminds me of the hue and cry which watchful villagers raise at midnight, when they perceive a pack of wolves approaching towards their village. On hearing the cry women and children hurriedly shut themselves up in a room, cattle are hid, a few youths run out with their hatchets, sticks, etc., and the elderly men light fire all around. The purpose of the first hue and cry is to create a scare in the sleeping population, that of the second one to scare away and beat off the wolves. The way, in which Communism is sought to be fought by democracy and Fascist countries and their propagandists, is similar to this.

The United States of America and other countries of the West, hope to defeat Communism with their destructive armaments and political and economic manœuvres. In India, we advocate the "Gandhian Way" more for exploiting the public sentiment than for implementing it in our life. We also try to attract the people towards us by interpreting Gandhism in terms of Marxism. Along with this, the State machinery works energetically to suppress the Communist activities.

But I doubt the efficacy of all these methods. I am afraid, it makes the opponents of Communism look ridiculous, and in accordance with the general experience of life, the very attempt to suppress it makes it grow strong. You cannot suppress Communism whether by atom and hydrogen bombs, by military aids provided with a motive, by appealing to Gandhian slogans or by imprisonment or shootings. The last may be inevitable as an immediate step against such lawlessness, but it will not help the Government long, even if it is totally successful. Communism is bound to come, unless the Gandhian way of life is actually and actively adopted. It is bound to come, because it is the only way left for the leaderless, half-educated masses to protest against the chaos and anarchy ruling in the name of democracy and orderly progress.

The difference between Gandhism and Marxism is great, but greater still is the difference between Gandhism and unbridled capitalism, feudal and caste orders. Unless those, who enjoy privileged positions in the present system of life in the shape of abundant wealth and superior caste, relinquish them and consider themselves true trustees of the wealth to their possession and make themselves equal in rank with the masses, reduce their standard of life in harmony with the poverty of the country, and pledge to work for the well-being of every one, Communism with all its violent force is inevitable. And in that case those, who say that Communism is a stage preceding to Gandhism, is a non-violent order, will be regarded as nearer to truth. The way to avoid this violent struggle is to voluntarily make graded changes in the current way of life. Race, caste, unemployment, etc. must go, unemployment and hunger must be abolished; prostitution and commercialism must stop, nationalism must shed its selfishness, aggressiveness and imperialistic propensities, the difference between the highest and the lowest standards of life must diminish to an enormous extent; judicial and executive administration must show considerable and rapid moral improvement; the selfishness of democracy must give way to real democracy and sense of responsibility. Even all these will not lead to Gandhism as such, but will be satisfactory steps towards it. If we are not content about these steps, the tide of Communism cannot be stemmed, and as the present state of affairs is not one, for the continuance of which a device might offer prayers to God, the tide would come with all its force to wash away all that stands in the way.

There is still time for the custodians of capital and holders of social rank to bring about needed changes in their lives. May it please God to grant that vision to every one of us.

(Continued)

Wardha, 29-4-50

K. C. MATHURWALA

Note: It is contemplated to publish this series in a book-form. If those, who have followed it carefully till now, have any suggestions to make or desire any points to be further clarified, may please forward them to me in as concise a manner as possible at an early date.

K. C. M.

THE VALUE OF HUMAN URINE

Our average unarrigated average per head of population comes to 0.945, or slightly over half an acre, for which in terms of manure, 10 lb. of nitrogen would be necessary. In the following note, I have shown that if we are able to return the nitrogen passing through human urine, the requirements of our soil would be fulfilled. If this can be achieved we shall be theoretically fulfilling nature's nitrogen cycle, inasmuch as 90 to 95 per cent of the nitrogen we take through our food is passed through urine.

On 13th October last, I had an opportunity of accompanying our Food Commissioner to attend a function near Rajghat, Delhi. The Commissioner referred in his speech to the use of urine going waste. The same day we went to a neighbouring village to give a practical demonstration of showing how the urine could be preserved for being used as manure in villages. This gave me the stimulus to go deep into the matter.

I took an opportunity to discuss the matter with Mr. Ignaz of the Pusa Institute, who had studied and prepared a small apparatus for collecting urine. The following is the chart that was prepared by him:

Data collected	90 grams per day per man
From 800,000 people	1,26,000 tons ammonia
Equivalent to	1,260,000 .. nitrogen, and
in addition	314,000 .. P ₂ O ₅ (phosphoric acid)
	31,400 .. K ₂ O (potash)

in the case of animals, whose diet is wholly vegetable, a greater part of the nitrogen is excreted in the so-called hippuric acid.

We have to consider how these two main-end products of nitrogen metabolism, viz. urea and hippuric acid are re-absorbed in the cycle of nature. They are not in themselves directly available for plant food and the first stage in their re-absorption by plants where nitrogen may serve again as food for animals consists in their conversion to ammonia. The conversion of urea into ammonia is a process of fermentation which according to recent investigation is carried out by micro-organisms. Most active of these are micro-coccus ureae and also bacillus ureae. These organisms are very widely distributed and, consequently, urine exposed to the air very rapidly becomes ammoniacal. The strong smell of an ill-kept urinal or of ground which has become saturated with urine is thus accounted for. In natural health it has been found that the organisms causing urea fermentation are not present in freshly excreted urine.

It has been shown that ammoniacal fermentation of urea takes place both under aerobic and anaerobic conditions. This circumstance is of considerable importance in connection with the purification of the sewage. It is rare that urea would appear in appreciable quantity in sewage after it has passed through some dis-

charge, since it is very rapidly converted into ammonia.

Contrary to the common notion, the daily nitrogen availability from urine is more than ten times that from faeces as can be seen from the following table:

	Total in grams per head per day				
	Total Water	Ash	Organic	Nitrogen	
Faeces	160	75	5	20	1
Urine	2100	3045	35	33	15
	1200	1120	36	42	12

Urine of an average individual per day is on an average 14 litres. It is equal to the amount of food taken in by the mouth less the amount leaving the body by the sweat glands, the faeces and the expired air. Thus in cold weather, the volume of urea with other factors being equal, is larger than in hot weather.

Under average conditions, the total solids in 24 hours weigh about 60 grams.

From different tables, given by various authorities, we may easily accept 15 gms. to be the quantity of pure nitrogen in one day's urine of an average individual. Calculating at this rate, we get $\frac{8800 \times 24}{450} = 4613.3$ lb., per year. Besides

this, we get about 2 lb. of P₂O₅. The market value at which Government is purchasing the nitrogen and phosphoric manures, comes to about 12 to 14 per lb. of pure nitrogen and P₂O₅. At this rate, we may get about Rs. 15 from the urine of every individual per year.

If it can be made possible to conserve and make available to the soil the material ingredients derived from this source as stated above, Mr. Ignaz of Pusa Institute, calculates the following amounts as derivable:

Pure nitrogen	18,80,000 tons
P ₂ O ₅	3,14,000 tons

The Government has ordered this year 4 lakh tons of ammoniac sulphate, yielding 60,000 tons of pure nitrogen. From the calculation shown above, it is clear that even if we can conserve 5 per cent of the human urine alone, we can have the nitrogen which we are importing from outside at a very high cost. Besides this, we can get a fairly large amount of nitrogen from the urine of domestic animals.

How to conserve the nitrogen: If we go in the right direction, it is not very difficult to conserve the nitrogen from this source. Mr. Ignaz has prepared a small and simple apparatus for this purpose. A small tub is filled up with some absorbent, such as soil, saw-dust, charcoal or other. A pipe, over which the urinal is fixed, goes from above to the bottom of the tub. The urine goes from above to the bottom of the tub. The urine goes straight down and the absorbent material absorbs it from down upwards. As already said, if the urine is left exposed to the air, it very rapidly becomes ammoniacal and the nitrogen is lost. But when

It goes down as suggested in the apparatus, it does not come into contact with direct air. I would like to suggest that if a layer of some absorbent soil, such as calcareous phosphate or bone-meal, is put at the top of the tub, there is no danger of any nitrogen going away from the ammonia as coming up as this may help to fix it there. The following are the absorbents suggested by Sir Ignaz with their absorbing capacities:

100 parts of	will absorb parts of urine
Soil	45
Sand	170
Dry farm-yard manure	225
Dry dung	125
Subsolan	500
Charcoal	550
Paddy husk	300
Dry leaves	350
Cotton	2000

There are also other methods, chemical as well as biological, of a more technical type for the conservation.

Coming up to the practical side, if some social workers come forward to do this job, they can begin the work which may be copied by others. As stated above, one person's urine gives about Rs 10/- worth of manure so a family of five may yield Rs. 50/- If a worker, staying in a city, decides to collect urine from 100 to 150 families, he will have a gross income of about Rs. 5,000 to Rs 7,500. Allowing for the expense of one or two labourers and the cost of absorbents, it may be possible that a worker may earn from 4 to 5 thousand rupees per year, —quite an attractive proposition for a middle-class worker. The thing that the Government will have to do is to guarantee the purchase of the material and give a status to the work. Social workers are not after money, though it is necessary for the supply of their daily needs. They want an appreciation of the services rendered to society. If they get that appreciation they will be ready to do any work for the country. So the success of the proposal may depend upon the status the Government and our leaders give to the work, which is at present considered unrespectable.

Secondly, if all the congregational places such as jails, schools, colleges, offices—Government as well as private, factories, etc take into their mind to preserve the value of their wastes it will be a big source of income and an easy problem to handle.

It is easy to supply drums fitted with proper urinals and filled with available absorbents. I had proposed at Lucknow about 5 such drums with the urinals from galvanised zinc sheet which can conserve 2 or 3 days' urine of an average family. Each such apparatus cost me Rs 5/- If these are manufactured on a large scale, say about 50 to 100 in a district, the cost may not go over Rs 5/- As a container any old,

barrel or tin can also be used instead of new drums.

G. K. WALSHKAR.

Note. In terms of money and material utility the human body is not as valuable as the body of, say, a pig or a goat,—not to mention animals of bigger size. Nevertheless, the value of his excretions is not so negligible as is supposed. The value of a man's annual urine is about Rs 10/- which means that the city of Delhi, with a population of 1 lakh, can make a gross income of 10 lakh rupees per annum from urine alone. Even if it costs as much as 1 lakh rupees to manage this, it would have a net income of Rs 7 lakhs. The staff for doing this is already on the pay-sheet. The way in which this staff has to do this work at present is filthy and degrading. If, however the urine is collected in the way suggested in the article, it would become a clean work which even Brahmins might consider or apply for.

For the basic education of sweepers and cleaners the training in the collection and treatment of urine, night soil, refuse etc., would provide a very suitable medium. There are possibilities of turning the present ignorant sweeper and scavenger into a bacterium master and doctor of insecting and sweeping. A trained Moslem can through it rise up to the position of even a clericus.

Wardha 20-4-35

E. D. SHARDAWALA.

TWO REMINISCENCES

I think I should share the following notions with the readers of *Hindia*. The first is from a Hindu in a responsible position and ends as follows:

"I was greatly shocked by the 'Letter from Dacca' which appeared in the *Star* of the 18th April. What was most disturbing in it was the statement that the physical form of people in Dacca completely disappeared at the time."

"The correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, weekly (25th April) writes, on the basis of the knowledge acquired in his personal tours in India and East Pakistan, that in East Bengal about 5,000 persons were killed. The number of persons killed in West Bengal was on the other hand 500, in addition to another one thousand killed as a result of the riots by bands on the Muslim of Chaugura in India (Jama).

"These estimates are no doubt pertinent and may be wrong to detail, but surely they dispense the theory that East Pakistan was the aggressor as that West Bengalis or Indians are altogether innocent."

"It is a pity that Sir B. P. Chakravarty of all people should lend his support to this theory. I read his statement in the *Parliament* clearly and I still fail to see what his solution is. Assuming that there was 'aggression' on the part of Pakistan in the sense understood in international law, does Sir Chakravarty wish us to continue with armed force? Can he mean that there is no aggression in the sense of most nations? And in the face of the facts as they are now standing and does he think that any Indians are altogether innocent?"

"In the above, my reading of papers gave *Hindia* in the early Indian paper which has taken a critical and objective view of the happenings in Bengal. But, unfortunately *Hindia* has a very small print. In there no way by which every District Officer

and even Supremacy? of India could get a copy of this issue? He may not read it, but then the book will still be free.

—A READER.

I believe there are other papers also which support the views expressed in *Harpoon*. It would be a misfortune if it were the only paper of its type. As to its wider publicity in Governmental offices, it is for the various Governments to consider the value of the suggestion.

The second letter is from Shri A. M. Alipichai, a prominent nationalist Muslim of Madras. It is as follows:

Harpoon is almost following Mayya's principles. I hardly believe that Mayya will be content of those bring peace and unity. There are lots of thousands of men both in Pakistan and in India who believe in what Mayya taught. But they are dead and they are put in a position to influence their countrymen. What Mayya did as a parable and as India's hope, an other person in the near future can hope to do. If it is those that I mean believe in peace and harmony and together such can be done. I request you to organize a group of men, who sincerely believe in Mayya's teachings, with several hundred all over the country. The Congress has almost become a political party and as such we cannot expect it not to be influenced by principles of expediency and power politics. I shall be thankful to you if you kindly send me your reaction to this suggestion.

I acknowledge the value of Shri A. M. Alipichai's suggestion and the necessity for organizing this kind of work. But if it is I, who am looked to for bringing about such organization, it is beyond my physical strength and organizing capacity. I publish the suggestion and hope that some able man will appear on the stage to do it. I believe this kind of work falls within the scope of the Shanti-Sena movement set on foot by Shri S. N. Agarwal and other workers of *Harpoon* under the guidance of Shri Yashu.

Wardha, 1-5-50

K. G. HAREKRISHNA

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NOW AFTER STADIUM

The news of the laying of the foundation-stone by Jawaharlal for a sports stadium at New Delhi has already been in the limelight very recently. The other day, the spectators at the Commonwealth Cricket Match at Eden Gardens in Calcutta were hardly cheered up by the powers that be with the announcement of the petroleum given by the West Bengal Government for the erection of a stadium in the Eden Gardens. It has also been made public that coaches and instructors are to be brought from abroad for training up athletes in cricket, football and the like.

The network of stalls to be built in our metropolitan appears to surge ahead and for that matter the job of securing upland sites from the non-legal corporations and the Government concerned seems to be quite easy. A preliminary survey of the site facing the sea on Hareby Walk and almost behind Bombay's metropole has already been looked as carried out by some of the officials of the National Sports Club of India and leading engineers and architects from England, aided by a special engineer of the Bombay Municipality, with a prominent picture on page 16 of the *Illustrated Weekly of India*, March 2, 1950.

From all this, we seem to be on a headlong speed to leave nothing undone in fulfilling the dream of Marquise. What he wanted was to create a class of persons Indian in blood and colour but English in taste, opinion and intellect. So we must become Marquise's hybrid product.

New things are different. We have our own Governments. There is no reason our own society to spring and budding customs of those who kept us enslaved to such an extent as to deprive us of even our own culture and traditions by introducing many of their ways which we have taken for granted as the norms of civilisation and internationalism.

Nowadays it appears to be a fashion with a certain section of people to justify the ways and means to us by a cry of internationalism. No doubt they lose sight of the fact that every country has characteristics of its own and the more the characteristics, the richer and more variegated the world. So internationalism is meaningless to a country if it has to become dependent on other countries by losing its own distinctive individualism—strength of self-reliance, and as a result, the world to become poorer. India is India, not England nor America nor even Russia!

The country has had to perform the Herculean task of displacing age-long slavish habits and ideas ways and establish our own simple and salutary activities for the revival of national things and thereby national prestige and moral culture without which no nation can stand as independent. Instead, foreign pastimes such as cricket, racing, chess, cocktail parties,

cigarette smoking, etc.) are becoming increasingly popular every day so much so that we have started diluting our own customs in speech, dress and mode of living to look more English than Indian. "In short," Gandhi has said, "if everything native is bad and everything foreign pleasing to us, I should not know what Swaraj can mean for us." If one keeps on undervaluing one's own things how can one have regard for one's own country? "Swaraj can only be built upon the assumption that most of what is national is on the whole good," said Gandhi.

Cricket, obviously one of the chief factors for the creation of a stadium, is not and not an English sport not known elsewhere but in Great Britain and its colonies only. Certain people of course take pride in calling it a "Lords' game." How thousands it has also become to the thinking English public will be revealed from the statement of Lord Wavel, the ex-Viceroy of India who as the Chancellor of Aberdeen University, said regarding cricket:

It is a game involving profundity of time and effort and of proportion to its importance and it secures the rights of absorbing that English boy and man should spend several days at a stretch on it and go on doing this for months together.

In quoting the above statement under the caption "Sport" in the *Worker* of February 3, 1948 Earl J. C. Kuttappa has aptly remarked,

"We profess Lord Wavel knows what he is talking about. If these sports are essential of society and thus in Great Britain, one of the richest countries of the world, what shall we say of poor India seeking substitutes to show their superiority to other parts of the world?"

As a result of prodigious expenditure given to foreign games in India, our youth has centred its emotional expression upon them and its heart has developed the idea of status with consequential craves of expenditure. Scarcely threatening to overshadow the intellectual phase of effort and university education, not to speak of other creative ones, badly needed for promoting the glory of our poor land.

Association football, very popular as college sports in America where there are innumerable roads for that matter, Ralph Cooper Hunsbama, as the President of Washington and Jefferson College remarks in his article, "Let's Make Football Respectable", contained in the *Worker's Digest* of December, 1949 from the *Worker*:

"The art of sublimation and compensation are common. Players are rewarded by high-pressure methods which tend to impart a wrong educational ideal. Artificial jobs with big salaries and titles as the work are common. Men have been led to leave one religion and play it another, *Pharisees* and *monks* pursuing of players has contributed to their moral deterioration. Many good boys, subjected to this process, have become wicked. Indeed the world owes them a living. *Pharisees* have killed under the pressure. *Pharisees* hesitate to tell athletes the fear of the Bible and the warning influence of the football game."

It is to be noted that the *Worker* is published by the under-graduate of the institution mentioned above, if it is in a serious phase of the

motion to them in the richest country of the world what are we—not free from the contamination of the evils referred to above—doing?

What do the finishing millions know of such sports? It may be verily said of us that our wealthy men are gay whilst those from whom they make money furnish. The idea of fostering these foreign vices in us is not only not compatible with the stark poverty of our land lacking fundamental things—food, clothes and education (evident from the recent education budget cut),—as at present, but also a serious impediment to our progress and stalling our self-growth materials in order to revive our sports, entertainments and all things national that are in decline.

So the country stands in moral danger. Unless we now cultivate the spirit of giving up things which we were thought essential out of sheer necessity, it will not be possible for us to establish a whole new set of values and build up more our requirements in amusements and other things for the sake of our national being in this respect. Gandhi has said, "That which is wanting in our civilization can be supplied by proper effort on our part." Let us also say with Thoreau, "A man is rich in proportion to what he is able to do without."

LEONITH-THANISHAN NAD

SHANTI SENA *

Its Nature and Organization

We have met here today to deliberate upon a very important subject. It is neither possible nor necessary to have a full discussion on it in one meeting. If we are able to grasp the exact nature of the work we are to do, we have done.

The Name

First, about the name. I think that Shanti Sena is quite an apt name. The word *sena* is apt, because we want all the merits of a *sena* (army) in the proposed organization, and to ward against its demerits, we keep the word *shanti* (peace). The two words *shanti* and *sena* present a clear concept of the organization before society. We should, however, bear in mind, that words have their own limitations in respect of their capacity to express meaning. Therefore, any name that may be selected with full short of fully conveying the exact idea.

Members

A speaker suggested that if fifty workers came forward, the work of Shanti Sena could be started. I would say that it could be started even with a smaller number, or for the matter of that even with one individual. This is the virtue of *shanti*. Nonetheless, at least fifty workers must come forward from this place. A good number can be available from the various constructive organizations, though they are engaged in social service. The workers of these bodies have lost contact with the people. They are holed in the four walls of their institutions.

* Speech delivered by Shri Shanti, at the Shiksha Yatra, Thiruvalla, on March 25, 1949.

This is not, by itself, a drawback, because the efficient management of an institution demands that some persons should bury themselves in it. At the same, the fact remains that their contact with the masses is broken, and this is not good. Having regard to this, the workers of the institutions may well join the Shanti Sena. Thereby, they will be able to develop their contact with the masses, and render better service to them.

Nature of Responsibility

But those who join the Shanti Sena should do so not on behalf of their institutions, but in their individual capacity, at their own accord, and on their own responsibility. The members of the Sena are expected to be ready, when occasion arises, to make the supreme sacrifice of laying down their life. Hence it is a spiritual and personal responsibility. Even a member of the military force has to be always ready to die, but it is associated and by side with the readiness to kill his opponents. In the Shanti Sena, there can be no idea of killing. The Peace-Armyman has to be ready not merely to die, but to die without harbouring any ill-will or hatred for the opponent in his mind. Hence joining the Shanti Sena is an act of personal responsibility. The constructive bodies should permit such persons, so are willing to join this army, for the work of the Shanti Sena is conducive to their development and progress. But any one, desirous of joining the Shanti Sena should first search his heart and ascertain for himself whether he has the requisite strength to fulfil the condition of making the supreme sacrifice, when called for. None should join it half-heartedly.

Qualification

Anger—A person may not be free from anger altogether, he is not debarred from joining the Peace Army for that reason, provided he can control his temper. There can be non-violent anger also. But it should not be uncontrolled display of temper. Moreover, anger is to be distinguished from hatred. This latter should not be harboured in any form.

When we expect of the volunteer such a great virtue, we need not insist on other virtues, though they will necessarily follow it.

Discipline

Joining the Army being a voluntary act, a member must implicitly observe its discipline. The individual ego must be merged in that of the Sena. He will fully apply his skill in the work entrusted to him, but it will be strictly in conformity with the rules of discipline.

Habitual Service

The soldiers of the Shanti Sena will, of course, answer the call of duty, when a disturbance breaks out, but there is little wisdom in being ready only for an emergency. There is to be the duty to nip the trouble in the bud. For us, they must straightforwardly engage themselves

in some service of the people. The service of the afflicted, the Harijans and the leprose already awaits us.

Joint Action

Workers should be trained to act in unison in large numbers. For this purpose, physical training, such as drill etc., can be a part of the training. In the absence of such training, the meeting together of several persons would rather be a hindrance than a help in executing a work.

Relation with Sena Dal

What will be the relation of the Shanti Sena with institutions, such as the Congress Sena Dal and others?

Those who are pledged to manifesting their life *as* with us, and we are with them. All such persons should harmonise their activities and work in co-operation. Those who are likely to go the way of violence, will naturally keep aloof from us.

I do not know exactly the attitude of political parties like the Congress, on this subject. They have various tasks to perform, since they are political parties; apart as to rise above all parties and do the service.

Intervention in Violent Fight

Q. Can we intervene in a violent fight between two persons?

A.—Ahimsa has a limitation within which it succeeds. May be, intervention between two persons, engaged in fighting, may not bring any fruit. Even then, it is the duty of those connected with them and those who witness the fight, to do their best to stop it. When a fire breaks out, water does not stop to think whether it has sufficient capacity as itself to extinguish the conflagration. It only knows that its work is to plunge into the fire in an attempt to extinguish it. If water overpowers fire, it will be extinguished, if the fire is too powerful for that amount of water, it will be an act of self-immolation in the performance of its natural duty. A more pertinent question would be, suppose there is a danger to the whole country and the Government is organising a defence on violent lines to face the danger, is it the duty of the man of non-violence to continue the application of the non-violent technique? This is a matter that deserves serious consideration. It is clear that violence and non-violence cannot well go together. It does require some favourable environment for the application of non-violence.

The Vow of Non-Possession

There is a suggestion that the volunteers of the Shanti Sena should observe vows, such as non-possession etc. in their individual life. The point to be borne in mind here is that it will not be proper to test a man from his external behaviour as to whether he observes these vows

or not. In an organisation pledged to change the economic order of society, we are right in putting a limit to private property. But the work of the *Shanti Sena* is, in a sense, wholly spiritual. It asks its members to die without harbouring a feeling of ill will against the opponent. When one is prepared to lay down one's life like this, whether one has given up one's external possessions of wealth or not, is a matter of secondary importance. For, unless one has mentally freed himself from the grip of possessions, one cannot sacrifice one's life. If a wealthy merchant accepts all our conditions and desires to join the *Shanti Sena*, we should certainly admit him, for when he has prepared himself to die when the necessity arises, he has for our purposes given up the greed for wealth. I therefore suggest that we should not insist on external non-possession.

Resort to Police and Law

Shri Ramachandran: People who in their personal matters, do not resort to the Police and the Law Courts, which are representative of the brute force of the State, do not hesitate to make use of them, when the affairs of their institutions are concerned. Should it not be imperative upon the members of the *Shanti Sena* that they must not resort to such institutions under any circumstances?

No; for, in a Government responsible to the people there is not that ideological conflict between resorting to ordinary constitutional channels in small matters and offering non-violent resistance at the time of serious riots and other disturbances and war. To relinquish altogether the help of even a democratic State based on violence is good, but this is possible only when we free ourselves from the bondage to money. I have been furiously thinking about this of late. Not until we are able to run organisations without the help of money, shall we be able to free ourselves completely from violence. In case of a threat in the air, we do not generally go to the Police. Undoubtedly, when we ask for the help of the Police, we weaken our mission, which is to give the right training to the people. But the case of institutions, such as the Charles Sangh, is different. Even these institutions might follow the airforce rule. But, as it is, for the members of the *Shanti Sena*, I would not make that a condition of admission.

Uniform

A word about the uniform of the members of the *Shanti Sena*. I have no doubt that it should be made of khadi. It might be asked, 'If a person fulfils all other conditions of the *sena*, will it not do if he does not put on khadi?' My answer is, when you organise an army, there should be an external sign of identification. We select khadi for this purpose, as it is a symbol of truth, abstinence, self-dependence and identification with the poor. What I wish to impress upon you is that a principal condition having

been satisfied, other rules of discipline should be as few as possible. What these should be, you may meet together and decide. But once you make these, there should be no slackness in their observance, for the very slackness in their observance will be an end of the *sena*. He, who feels his inability to fulfil the conditions of the *sena*, should not join it. If through misapprehension, he has done so, he should leave it of his own accord. Here there is no question of shooting a recruitant.

Age Bar

There need be no bar of age in the *Shanti Sena*. Having children, I think, all persons—young and old—should be competent to join the *Shanti Sena*. The old, indeed, have a right of priority in the transit beyond.

THORP.

(from the Harvege of April, 1950)

Sugar Distribution

While we are assured on the one hand, that the various States have now sufficient stocks at their disposal, the distribution of sugar in small towns and villages still remains a matter of great dissatisfaction. There does not appear to be a uniform policy even within the same State. At Bombay, I found that it was fairly well supplied, but I receive complaints from smaller towns, that they do not get it either regularly or sufficiently. Similar conditions prevail in this province (Madhya Pradesh). At the same time, in some manner not generally known to the public, some institutions and conferences are able to get as much as they want. So also influential people, who want to celebrate marriages or similar functions. In this province there appears to be also a system of giving more sugar on "wedding grounds". A man like me can take advantage of it without much difficulty. But most of such certificate-holders would have to pass through a number of gates before they can reach the permitting authority, and would have to pay a fee to every gate-keeper. At the same time, sugar is abundantly available in the black-market. This means that the method of distribution is mechanical. Those who need it are unable to get it in sufficient quantity in an honest manner. Those who do not need it take advantage of the rationing system in order to make a profit out of it. They take their share and re-sell it to a black-marketeer.

It is obvious that if there are sufficient stocks, the distribution on the ration cards should be more regular, liberal and not mechanically equal. Instead of creating a system which encourages resort to bribery and purchase in the black market for getting a needed commodity, it would be better for the Government itself to sell up to a limited quantity "extra" sugar at a higher price, and also release sugar to ordinary merchants at stipulated rates.

Wadia, 4-5-50

E. S. M.

HARIJAN

May 13

1950

RECTIFICATION OF ERROR

In the course of his statement before the Parliament, Dr. Bhanuprasad Malhotra said:

"There is an important difference in the approach to the problem of minorities in India and Pakistan. The vast majority of Muslims in India wanted the partition of the country as a communal basis, although I gladly recognise there has been a small number of patriotic Muslims who have consistently identified themselves with national interests and not loved for it. The Hindus on the other hand were almost to a man definitely opposed to the partition. When the partition of India became inevitable I played a very large part in creating public opinion in favour of the partition of Bengal. For I felt that if it was not done, the whole of Bengal and also perhaps Assam would fall into Pakistan."

I do not want to rush to parties. Nevertheless, I take the occasion of this statement to declare what I have always felt about the Partition. It will be remembered that the Cabinet Mission's original proposals sought to create a Federated India with three independent social sections as federating units: Bengal and Assam (Section C) would have formed one of these autonomous groups having no direct relation with the Punjab-Delhi-Frontier group (Section B). According to these proposals the Bengal-Assam Section would have claimed between them more than 48 per cent Hindus (more accurately "General" population) and less than 52 per cent Muslims, — in fact both the communities in an almost equal proportion, with the additional advantage of the Hindus being more prosperous and better educated than their Muslim brethren. But Assam took alarm from the very commencement, and there commenced those legal interpretative disputes, which ultimately ended in the Muslim League decision to revoke its acceptance of the Cabinet Mission's Plan and return to the demand for Partition.

Now suppose, instead of regarding themselves in legalistic disputes the Hindus and Muslims of Bengal had made such posture of friendship towards Assam as to chapel all suspicion from her mind and assure her that Bengal and Assam with so many things in common, could work together for mutual benefit, what a difference it would have made! But it did not strike any one to do so.

Then, even with Assam going out (either from the beginning or at the time agreed upon for opting out), Bengal would have been an autonomous unit by itself with as many as 45 per cent Hindus and 55 per cent Muslims. But the Hindu leaders of Bengal were driven to face even a small majority of 10 per cent Muslims, in spite of their superiority in education and riches. I am told that the general belief is that East Bengalis are afraid of the West Ben-

galis in possession of talents, so certainly they are in the possession of jobs upon which Calcutta depends. Instead of regarding that as an advantage, there was a feeling of jealousy for the Bengalis on the eastern side of Calcutta. As a consequence the Hindu political leaders of Bengal thought in terms of East and West and of particular areas in the various districts and talukas. There was hardly a voice to be heard which said that the people of Bengal shall not be divided even if India was, but they all raised a strong agitation that, since there was to be a partition, this provision should also be considered. And thus they asked to do the very thing, namely, the partition of their Bengal—Bengal, to make which they had laid down their lives from 1905 to 1947. The great slogan "Bhai Bhai ek hoi, Bhai nai, Bhai nai" (Let brothers—Hindus and Muslims—unite, there is no difference, indeed, no difference, which need to go up to the skies during these crucial years was altogether forgotten, and the once humiliated Lord Curzon and Sir Ranajitlal Sarker were posthumously honoured by the acceptance of their once discarded arrangement.

First Assam would not stay with Bengal and then West Bengal thought that it was best to have the Hindus of East Bengal to shift for themselves. At least West Bengal could not take the risk of living with them, if that involved living with the Muslims of East Bengal also for their sake.

Dr. Malhotra says,

"At that time,

I came with some great assurance to the Hindus of East Bengal" for coming to their aid.

With very great deference to the great leader, I am constrained to say that the assurance had not much value in the face of the relinquishment of the duty as well as the opportunity of throwing in their lot with them.

A similar thing could be said about the partition of the Punjab. After accepting the Cabinet Mission's Plan and even knowing it, the Hindus and Sikhs of Sections B and C instead of pulling up their strength together began to study the communal census figures and maps of the different districts and talukas of their provinces to find out how many Hindus and Sikhs could be put together. And as commenced the work of drawing up new frontiers and divisions. The Muslim League also betrayed lack of even tactical sense. Instead of attempting to conquer the nervous non-Muslim communities, who had to stay in their sections, it began a campaign of hatred and threats and of arousing mob passions among Muslims. Hindus and Sikhs followed suit whenever they could do so. Where this seemed impossible, misdeeds commenced first by the Hindu leaders and members of the upper classes and then, unavoidably, by the rank and file, in the acceptance of murder, loot, rape, abduction, defilement of temples, etc. by the people of the majority community.

In my humble opinion, the creation of the provinces, which led to the cancellation of the Cabinet Mission's Plan, was a sin, for which Hindus, Sikhs and the Muslim League were all responsible. Hindus and Sikh leaders were more so, because they could not muster courage to create an organized united front in their respective sections, but let down their masses. The opposition of the loyal National Muslims and the small Hindu section of the North-West Frontier Province was made extremely ineffectual. The Khua brothers and their Khudai Khidmatgar were absolutely deserted. And the Congress was compelled to accept a resolution against which it had fought for a generation. And to add to all this, they always blamed Gandhi for the partition and took his life for his supposed acquiescence in it.

It is not necessary to write in detail, how heavily both the communities have paid for this sin of gross selfishness and godless communalism.

The purpose of mentioning this is not to taunt any one for the past. Much of what has been done cannot be undone. But if we take the lesson and determine to follow God's commandments at least hereafter, we might still prepare a way for future happiness, prosperity and peace of both India and Pakistan.

If we want to live in peace and be prosperous in this great country of ours, it is imperative that we live as one united family. Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians and others must shed their mutual jealousies and hatred and seek brotherhood of one another. For some of the small differences of the mode of life, thought and worship among the various communities, there might be appropriate administrative and political arrangements, but that should be no reason for regarding one another as aliens.

The two Bengals and the two Punjabes may still create machinery for securing all the advantages of a common Government, without the name. India and Pakistan may still become united not necessarily in a regular Federal form but still acting in all matters of common interest jointly and in a spirit of friendliness through co-operation and joint consultations. If the spirit, which moved the two Prime Ministers to come to the Delhi Agreement, pervades the whole nation living in both the sub-countries, it would be possible to create conditions which will enable any Hindu and any Muslim to live in any part of the two sub-countries and the displaced persons to return to their ancestral homes. No permits, no passports and no armies would be needed to guard the frontiers between India and Pakistan, in the same way as none are needed between Bombay and Madras. The path of communalism is cancelled. Those who by very great stores on the knowledge of history need not be reminded of the results of the various battles of Panipat from the time of the Mahabharata onwards and of the fearful feat of the heroism of the Tuderus.

India cannot reconquer Pakistan, or Pakistan, India by their military forces. It is not military posts which can guard the frontiers between them, but an Ethel C. Rajagopalachari and such.

"The people of West Bengal can share in the world that a freedom has to a quite different thing from what they had hitherto imagined—an output of love, instead of an output for share. I do mean all this most ardently because I have tested the talents of your people and I feel that you have the necessary love and you have the emotional capital of affection and good understanding towards the people across the frontier." (March 27-4-41).

Varanasi, 1-5-50

R. S. MANDHUKALA

GURUDAY RAMCHANDRANATH TAGORE

"Let your life dance lightly on the edge of time,
Like dew on the top of a leaf." — Tagore

The death of May 1881 is memorable in the annals of Indian history for it was on that day that Rabindranath, the greatest post-philosopher of our times, was born at Calcutta in the celebrated Tagore family. Thus is his eighty-ninth birthday anniversary and it is our duty to take at least a glimpse of his unique personality. He was a poet not of India alone but of the whole of humanity. For him "there is only one history—the history of Man. All national histories are chapters in the larger one."

Early in 1946, i.e. just a year before he passed away, a special convocation was held at Santiniketan for conferring upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Literature of the Oxford University. Then on behalf of the University Mr. A. Henderson delivered an address praising the untiring gifts of the Poet and ended with the following noteworthy words:

"What more can I say? How before you in the unworldly poet and writer the most also shines in his art, the philosopher proved both in word and deed, the fervent upholder of learning and sound doctrine, the ardent defender of justice, the one who for the country of his life and character has won for himself the praise of all mankind. And so—

I present to you, a man most dear to all the Nation, Rabindranath Tagore, already a Nobel prizeman, in order that he may receive the latest award of Oxford and be admitted to the degree of Doctor of Literature honoris causa."

With the instructions of Amon and Hydragen hands and with the increasing tensions between different nations, mankind has not only become dependant over the attainment of world peace but has also to a considerable extent, lost its faith in God or Godheads. In this gloomy desert atmosphere of mutual hatred, jealousy, and violence, Tagore's words are cool and refreshing. He abhorred violence. When in Japan, he was once asked to comment on the bravery of two Japanese heroes who fought each other and died, he said in his characteristic way: "They hated and killed and men praised them; but God is shame fastened to hide its memory under the green grass."

He appealed to mankind to have faith in the ultimate triumph of true violence. Violence however brutal or seemingly fearful is only limited

whereas goodness, love, beauty, truth and non-violence are infinite and eternal. Tagore said:

"In an era of mounting anguish and vanishing worth, when disaster is fast overtaking countries with an urgency let loose and brutal thrust for possession augmented by science, it may sound merely poetic to speak of any emerging principle of world-wide relationship. But a time of violence, however, immediately threatening, is disavowed, and we who live beyond it and dwell also in the larger reality of time, must weave our faith in the perennial growth of civilization towards an ultimate purpose" (At the Convocation in Santiniketan, 1948).

All the works of Tagore, *Gitanjali*, *Love's Gift*, *Gardener*, *Wreck*, *China* etc., are based on Love, Beauty and Truth. But for these mysterious constructive forces this world would have long back ceased to exist. Antinatural forces like violence, hatred and violence, as fire cannot put out fire for they are bound to annihilate themselves. "This world," says Tagore, "is the world of wild storms kept tame with the music of beauty." "Love," he says, "is the ultimate meaning of everything around us." "The fate of the Indian is played without ceasing and its sound is love." "Love is the one living Truth that makes all realities true." "When Love renounces all India it reaches Truth." (*Wreck* Series) And what is this Truth if not God or Godness?

Rabindranath's profound, yet simple, philosophy of life is not like that of an idle dreamer or that of a secluded scholar. He is a realist to the core. He realized God first in man-made temples, churches and mosques but amongst the toiling millions. He said, "While God waits for his temple to be built of love, men bring stones." "He is there where the tiller is tilling the hard ground and where the pathmaker is breaking stones." Is this not a sound advice for those among us who in these days of crises, waste crores of rupees over the construction of temples, churches, mosques and on showy coronations when all that is needed is to love and realize His abode in His beautiful creation?

Tagore, like the mighty prophets of old, has given through his immortal works an eternal message of Love, Hope and Faith for suffering humanity. Therein we find a happy synthesis of the spiritual and the material, the West and the East, and the ancient and the modern values of life. His conception, for example, of Joy and Beauty is typical of the ancient Indian *vaish*. He says,

"All the language of joy is Beauty. It is necessary to note, however, that joy is not pleasure and beauty not mere prettiness. Joy is the outcome of detachment from self and loss in freedom of spirit. Beauty is that profound expression of reality which satisfies our hearts without any other accessories, but its ultimate value."

The whole humanity to Tagore was similar to a single joint family and he never looked himself an alien in any part of the world. The world will remember him for ever for this universal humanitarian and love. Godfrey, paying homage to Gandhi, said in one of his prayer meetings,

He has left us the *Gitanjali*—the poems which brought him world fame. The great Tagoras left us his immortal *Sansargen*. The renowned Vidyasaras left us a history of mankind. They were not mere poets, they were teachers. Gandhi, too, wrote not only as a poet but as a *vidhi*.

His creative genius has also given us Santiniketan, Shantiniketan and Vidya-Sharad. These breathe his spirit and are a legacy not only to Bengal but to India. Santiniketan has become, as it were, a place of pilgrimage to us all. (*Writings*, 1954-55).

Rabindranath was disgusted with the prevailing system of education where matriculates and graduates are turned out every year like hard pressed cotton bales in a mill. He himself was fortunate enough to escape the rigorous mechanical discipline of schools and colleges at an early age. Even then recalling his early school days he said "We had in all least five dead specimens of cane muskets, whilst lessons were potted at us from on high, like talismans on flowers." Thus in 1901 with only five students, he started an open school at Santiniketan.

He fully realized, in the words of Thomas Hardy, that "the exchange of international thought is the only possible salvation of the world." Therefore in 1921 he established a nucleus of a World University—the Vidya-Sharad. It may be properly pointed out that this is the first University to be started on such humanitarian international principles. Later he gave an inspiring message to the World Peace Congress held at Brussels in 1935. He says, "We cannot have peace till we deserve it by paying the full price, which is that the strong must cease to be greedy and the weak must learn to be bold." He clearly saw the futility of mere political world organizations without the cultural or educational background for the same. So Vidya-Sharad became an important venue for the achievement of real peace or peace.

Pandit Nehru, in his *Discovery of India*, paying a homage to Rabindranath points out, more than any other Indian,

he has helped to bring into harmony the minds of the East and the West and banished the fears of Indian nationalism. He has been India's internationalist par excellence, believing and working for international co-operation, taking India's message to other countries and bringing their messages to his own people. And yet with all his internationalism, his feet have always been planted firmly on India's soil and his mind has been saturated with the wisdom of the *Shantiniketan*. . . . It was Tagore's

unswerving service to India, as it has been Gandhi's in a different plane, that he forced the people in some measure out of these narrow grooves of thought and made them think of broader issues affecting humanity. Tagore was the great harmonist of India."

After the sage passed away, the Father of our Nation, specially devoted a week for the collection of funds for Yashwanthraji which in the Yashwanthraji of modern India deserving every official and non-official encouragement. On that occasion Gandhi is an impassioned appeal said:

"I am not exaggerating, when I say that Santiniketan is worthy of greater support than the Bangalore Research Institute for which Tata gave 50 lakhs. I wonder if the Research Institute is known anywhere outside India, but Santiniketan is known wherever the Panth name is known and is known as an institution that inspired the Poet's great poetry. The Poet used to call it his toy as plaything, but his poetry would have been barren without the plaything. Santiniketan whose school of art and culture attracts students from far and near his produced painters, poets, and scholars. There are among them who humble words it—a scholar like Kishorebhai and an artist like Nandabhai, who are both unrivalled in their respective domains." (Harijan 2-5-48)

This appeal of the Father of the Nation indicates that it is disastrous to give primary importance to scientific advancement alone. When poisonous clouds of bitter violence are threatening this world, when there is a possibility of another deadly war and when, unfortunately, international peace is at stake in the hands of a few individuals, the noble words of Tagore give us some solace and hope in goodness and in his ultimate success. In his death-bed historic message he said:

"... As I look round I see the crumbling ruins of a proud civilization strewn like a vast heap of filth. And yet I shall not commit the grievous sin of losing faith in Man. I would rather look forward to the opening of a new chapter in his history after the cataclysm is over and the atmosphere rendered clear with the spirit of service and sacrifice. Perhaps that dawn will come from this horizon, from the East where the Sun rises. A glow will come when untroubled Man will retrace his path of conquest, despite all barriers, to win back his lost human heritage."

"Today we witness the perils which attend on the knowledge of night, one day shall be borne out the full truth of what the sages have proclaimed: 'By righteousness man prospers, gains what appears desirable, conquers enemies, but perishes at the root.'" (From *The Discovery of India*).

A. CRAMERSON.

GOVERNMENT AND KILASH

II

3. Government Aid

The Government certainly wanted to help kilash. They, however, wanted to confine their help to commercial kilash, beyond that they would not go. In some of the provinces Kilash and Village Industries Associations were formed at the instance of their respective Governments. In others also other kilash institutions substituted their place. The main points of these plans were:

- (i) Training people in spinning if necessary, with some monetary help.
- (ii) Training of workers as teachers of spinning.
- (iii) Granting subsidy to weaving, and
- (iv) Sale of implements at reduced prices.

I have already referred to the Government help for weaving. Concession in the prices of implements is certainly right. But it is questionable if it is right to offer monetary inducement to the business of spinning. Where there is a living tradition of spinning, there is no need for the teachers, the process is handed down from the mother to the daughter and from the mother-in-law to the daughter-in-law. The spinning itself can bring them some income, the business must feel some urge to learn it. It is not the object of the spinning movement to ask any one to leave off his present occupation in order to ply the shudra. The art must be learnt in one's spare time. Expenditure on the training of teachers, however, is a different matter and justifiable. If people take to spinning for monetary inducement, it is possible that the spinners might abandon it after the aid is stopped. But these are minor things. The important point for consideration is that, if after all this expenditure of money, people spin for wages only, what will it take us? Commercial spinning cannot go on for long if it has no scope for disposing of its stock. After all, an occupation depends on the demand for the article, on the consumption of what it produces. Spinning was almost universal 150 years ago, but it could not stand the competition of the mill-yarn, and so hand-spinning declined and stopped.

As a matter of fact, kilash through Government effort can take a permanent root only if the Government advanced towards it after putting a brake on the competition between mill-cloth and kilash. That is to say, it should draw up a scheme of selecting limited areas and, along with propagating regional self-sufficiency, take steps to gradually banish mill-cloth from these areas. The field of the scheme should be extended from time to time, so that ultimately the whole country would depend upon self-sufficiency alone for its cloth, and the mills would be entirely closed. It was for the very reason that Gandhi advised the Congress Governments shortly after they assumed power that the least that they should do was to stop sending

mill-cloth to villages. The Charika Sangh is firmly of opinion that if woollen mills continue to work in the country, 80 per cent of the people will be permanent sufferers, and no country which disregards the interest of 80 per cent of the population can be expected to prosper.

5. Purchasing of Khadi by Governments

Some of the Governments help the sales by purchasing khadi for their departments. The khadi workers want the Governments to do this, and it is also the duty of the Governments to help village industries. But how much khadi could be sold in this way? Besides, it will be very expensive to use khadi for the police and the army. Even ordinary victims of khadi will involve an expenditure twice or three as much as on mill-cloth, — a fact which will have to be taken into account in the long run. Besides, hand-loom weavers of the mill-yarn too want the Government to purchase the cloth woven by them. I remember to have read somewhere that some Governments have agreed to purchase hand-loom cloth to the extent of one-third of their requirements. In this way, khadi, hand-loom cloth and mill-cloth — all stand at the door of the Government seeking its patronage. And they compete with one another. The Government may decide to help all the three. But then there will be neither principle nor policy in it. It will be merely a matter of benevolence. How can khadi succeed on mere benevolence like this?

14. Pressure from Outside

Reference has been made at the beginning to regional self-sufficiency in khadi. It is impossible to develop this activity, unless some check is placed on the factors which hamper its growth. The least check called for is to prohibit the entry of mill-cloth in the area where there is sufficient hand-spinning. The khadi scheme for the seven provinces of Madras is a plan based on regional self-sufficiency. It is being tried for the last three years. They were warned at the very beginning that the scheme would not succeed unless mill-cloth was banned in those areas. They were even told that if that was not possible, the plan should be abandoned. The Government twice took the decision to act on this advice, but it still remains a dead letter. May we hope that the Governments would take some such step now? It is absolutely essential for the success of regional khadi self-sufficiency.

15. Suggestions from the Charika Sangh to the Governments

At a very early stage, at the time of the formation of Congress ministries in the provinces and at the Centre, the Charika Sangh and other khadi workers considered the question, how best the Governments could help the propagation of khadi. Under Gandhi's leadership and upon his advice, a resolution was passed on this subject on 9-10-48. I will quote from it portions relevant to our discussion here.

"The Governments, which manage the economies of village-industries and which want to undertake handicrafts, must do the following:

(a) Make a five-year plan for introducing spinning as an important activity in all the primary, middle and normal schools of the State with a view adapted to every school for carrying the work as produced. This will be the beginning of Basic Education which must be adopted as early and as extensively as possible.

(b) Establish a network of multi-purpose societies and through them organize village uplift work, with khadi as an important item.

(c) Start cotton spinning where it is not grown in present and make suitable arrangements for the supply of cotton and spinning implements to spinners.

(d) Train experts of khadi and start research in khadi.

(e) Khadi is an villagecraft programme. Khadi is bound to figure prominently, both upon the employees in the cooperative, educational and officialised departments, and in District Boards, Local Boards and Town Panchayats to pass the Khadi Entrance Examination. Make no new appointments unless the candidate has passed such examination.

(f) Impose control on hand-loom cloth from mill yarn.

(g) Prohibit trade in unwashed khadi under the name of khadi.

(h) The only handicrafts given to the Government textile department and its weaving schools, and improve handspinning and handweaving in India also.

16. Spinning in Schools

The first part of the above resolution pertains to the introduction of spinning in schools. This is even more important from the point of view of education than from that of khadi. Even at present, the courses of study in primary schools include a handicraft. Why should it not be mainly spinning? Ordinary teachers can learn and teach it easily. Once a building and implements are secured, the running expenses will be met by the proceeds from spinning, even perhaps, with a small balance as profit. The rising generation will have been trained in spinning and possibly they will take the charika into their homes. Whether or not they spin in future, the educational advantages of the training in spinning will live with them for ever. Nearly all the Provincial Governments have accepted the Basic Education scheme with some modifications. In most of their schools, spinning is likely to be adopted as the basic craft because it is the easiest. If therefore, spinning is introduced in schools from now, it will be easy to turn them into basic schools. About three years ago, a conference of education ministers of all the provinces was held at Poona at the invitation of the Bombay Government. It decided that one of the following crafts should be introduced in schools: (i) Card-board work and carpentry, (ii) Agriculture and gardening, and (iii) Spinning and weaving. In the Bombay Province, accordingly, spinning is being introduced in most of the schools. Teachers are being trained for this purpose. But as far as my information goes, not much seems to have been done in other provinces. If the Union Government pays for attention

to this and sends instructions to the Provincial Governments in this regard, this activity which is as vital to khadi may well prosper. If they do not wish to undertake even this very easy and educationally necessary work, will it be proper for them to spend money in other ways in the name of khadi? We may, however, take note of one difficulty which may arise as a result of the introduction of spinning. If the teachers and the authorities of the department do not evince sufficient enthusiasm, the students too probably would not feel interested in it. But we hope that the khadi-loving ministers will succeed in creating a favourable atmosphere. And once the subject is made compulsory, the boys will necessarily attend to it.

13. Khadi Examination for Village Service

The Government can give effect to many other suggestions in this resolution. We have recommended that in selecting the village staff of the co-operative, agricultural and education departments, they should employ only those who have passed the Khadi Examination. This is not difficult to do. They will have already acquired the qualifications necessary for efficient work in their respective departments. They will have to pass only the Khadi Examination. It is quite likely that if the Government agrees to pay a little more to them, they show preference to them in selection, they will be prepared to pass the examination at their own expense.

14. Check on Unethical Khadi

Let us consider one more question. The resolution says that Government should ban trade in uncertified khadi under the name of khadi. This can be done under the present control laws. If necessary, a separate law can also be enacted. Gandhiji, the Charika Sangh and lovers of khadi built up the khadi industry. It is an industry of its own type. There is a principle behind it and its policy must be in consonance with that principle. It was not built by the effort, capital and skill of the ordinary businessman. The lovers of khadi have made enormous sacrifices for it and have put into it a certain sentiment. Those merchants who have entered into this movement for private business do so only to exploit that sentiment for their own gain. They have no justification to trade in khadi in violation of the rules of the Charika Sangh, and the Government ought to stop them. The Law, which the Government might frame for the purpose, will probably require that no one should deal in khadi without a license. But who will issue the license? Perhaps the Government will keep the authority in its own hands. For instance, the Madras Government has issued a Khadi Control Order and in exercise of it, it awarded licenses to about a hundred merchants in Andhra alone. The Government have not the adequate machinery and the knowledge to test the genuineness of the khadi. They cannot also see to it that adequate wages are paid and undue profits are not made. The fear is that these licensees might usurp the place of certificate-

holders. This will turn the khadi market into a huge fraud. Certainly, a genuine khadi will not be distinguishable from uncertified and spurious khadi. To avoid that, the Government will perhaps ask the advice of the lovers of khadi in the matter of issuing license. But the advice may or may not be accepted. Suppose it is not accepted. Or it is accepted but there are complaints against it. Our aim is to ensure the purity of khadi. And it is not made secure by all these measures. We have to think whether it would be in the interest of khadi, if the certificates are issued by a body other than the Charika Sangh, i.e. the Government or any other institution.

15. Resolution on Mill-cloth is a Self-sufficiency Area

The resolution also lays down that the Government and the cloth mills in consultation with the Charika Sangh should do direct things that mill-cloth may not reach an area where the cloth requirements can be met by hand-spinning and hand-weaving. We have already discussed above the need for this in connection with self-sufficiency in cloth. If the Government do really mean to give real help to khadi, can it be said that the demand is improper? About the policy that the Government should adopt regarding the mills, the resolution says that no new mills should be started and the old ones should not be allowed to increase the number of spindles. But that will be too big a pill for the Government to swallow, and we need not waste our time in discussing it when easier things are not done.

HINDUKRISHNAJI JAIN

(TRANSLATED FROM HINDI)

INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION TO PEACE AND GOODWILL

The Vedic Period

II

The Vedic Indians were not only truthful, they were also a gentle race, for truth is the prize reserved by nature for the gentle folk of the world. They did not exterminate the aboriginal races whom they had conquered but assigned to them a definite though subordinate place in their society. The treatment which the Vedic conquerors accorded to the conquered aborigines compares very favourably with what was meted out to the conquered by conquerors elsewhere.

As Mountstuart Elphinstone observes in his *History of India* (Murray, 1841), book one, chapter one (page thirty-two): "The condition of Hindus was much better than that of the public slaves under some ancient republics and indeed than that of the victims of the Middle Ages or any other servile class with which we are acquainted."

Indeed "slavery in India looked so different to the Greek character from slavery he knew at home that he did not recognize it for what it was" (*Cambridge History of India* I, page 496).

Macpherson reported that there was no slavery in India (26-27) and Arrian (Indian II) mentions with admiration that every Indian is free. "With them, as with the Macedonians, no native can be a slave, but unlike the Macedonians, they keep no other people in servitude."

The Hindu Indians exhibited the unique institution of caste "a system which has made it possible for so many and so different communities to live and develop together in common political units while retaining their own social system and customs", and "whatever character that system has and whatever injuries it involves there can be no doubt that it has enabled the peoples of India to establish a stable society which has withstood and survived all military and political disturbances and the various vicissitudes of some three thousand years" (J. H. Hutton, *Caste in India*, CUP, 1946, p.28).

Gandhis and Amritas, Babylon and Egypt, Greece and Rome,—all have disappeared from the face of the earth but India is the "eternal city" and seems to enjoy perpetual youth. The secret of this vitality is thus laid bare "by W. C. Bennett (*South Quarterly* 1, 1871, p. XXXVIII).

"The old and compact social system of the Hindus presented a barrier against which the wildest excesses of barbarism have expended themselves in vain. Thousands might be slain, and tens of thousands led into captivity, but the Brahman still controlled the family life of the people, their Kithavans had collected them for battle and disposed of their disputes in a court presided by a man which appealed to their sense of justice; and the outsider continued to till his fields, confident that when the storm was passed, he should be allowed to retain them on the payment of the customary share of the produce. The worst tyrants, whose superior energy or intelligence made them formidable to the land, had no further effect than a series of bad harvests. When they were gone, all the old elements of society resumed the exercise of their various functions and repaired a dissolution which could only last for a time. It is this ancient and stable civilisation which saved the fertile provinces of India from the fate inflicted by conquerors of blindest race and not more cruel or barbarous on the equally fertile plains of central Asia."

The caste system was "a sort of organic response to the requirements of the particular

"Caste was as a political stabiliser. After Buddha came it "the happy effect of (Hindu) legions", and says "It saved India from invasion and served as the main basis of Hindu government, a defence against dissolution and the means for preserving and the Hindu pattern of culture under the regime of alien invasions."

"India survived a vast number of invasions, foreign conquests and social upheavals of all kinds including conquests by invasions of alien religions comparable to Christianity and this is largely due to the caste system on which that society has constructed. India is a nation which often survived more conversion to Islam or Christianity."

(Hutton, p. 282)

man. Geographical circumstances have imposed a certain unity on the inhabitants of the peninsula, whereas the diverse origins of the people have dictated variety. . . . It is caste which has made it possible for both requirements to be satisfied within a single social system. It has proved capable of absorbing any intrusive society, and no intruders have yet succeeded in revolutionising it, though it is not so rigid that a caste cannot rise to the social scale. Some castes are so low in the scale that they are regarded as outside the pale of society and suffer disabilities accordingly but that is perhaps an incidental rather than an essential feature of the system" (Hutton, p. 1).

The disabilities suffered by the so-called "outcasts" have now been largely removed as a result of the great Harijan movement which was led by Gandhi.)

An Indian's caste "confines his choice in marriage, sets up his trade union, his friendly or hostile society, his club and his orphanage. It takes the place for him of health insurance and if need be, provides for his funeral obituary. p. 22)

The caste system is "peculiarly fitted to hand on culture patterns (patterns of skill, knowledge and behaviour) and particular forms of culture" (Hutton, p. 22).

It has "effectively dealt with problems—which other societies have failed to solve" "Its aspect as an integrator of peoples is not without its bearing on problems facing the world today" (Hutton, p. 124-125).

In his *Peoples of India* Hutton says: "As a scheme of social adjustment (the caste system) compares rather favourably with the European system of varying territorial nationalities."

S. C. Mitter (*Indian Antiquary*, 1930) observes that while in Europe the political and the social system are locked upon as one and the same thing, the Hindu regards them as distinct and separable in fact. "His Indian life, . . . the life which is the Hindu really matters, is altogether independent of the political conditions which happen to prevail" Mitter holds that the caste system is the only social system ever proposed upon a basis stronger than force; it puts into successful practice the only instance of a scheme of social life which is entirely independent of any form of political government. "The system is permanently stable because of the complete absence of any motive on the part of the ruler for seeking any alteration."

An Sedgewick puts it, "The Indian caste system with endogamous caste and exogamous gotra is a primal method of preserving the 'pure line' as called in genetics" (Hutton p. 114).

Weyenmark writes that nature of most Indians to increase in the rate of families to make

Dr. Mitter's experiments have showed that there is an excess of male flowers where plants are overcrowded, and that in interbreeding breeds

the full-colour greatly exceed the Indian, and often predominate among foods in proportion as size and thus differ in colour.

We are painfully aware of the limitations of caste. It is intolerable: it stifled economic progress; a amplified invasion of foreign invaders by opposing to them a society split up and unable to combine, lacking in national life (Hinton, p. 108). There is indeed ample room for reform in operation. For instance as Gandhi proposed there should be equality of payment for the skilled doctor or able lawyer and for the scavenger, and no one should be permitted to change his occupation in order to attain riches.

But here we are only concerned to point out that the caste-system was a non-violent solution of the problem which faced the Aryan migrant in India, and in order that it may be seen in its proper perspective, we shall in the next section cast a rapid glance at the reactions of other people to similar situations.

THE ROMANCE OF PALM GUR

I had studied something of palm gur in South India and Wardha. But what I saw at the "All India Palm Gur Workers' Conference" at Nagbhed in the United Provinces on the dates 15th to 15th of March was the growth of a great movement of such significance for the whole of Constructive Work.

The history of palm gur is a piece of romance. In South India and in Bengal palm gur making is a very old and extensive Cottage Industry. In the rest of India few people know of it. Years ago, Minabehn had her first taste of date palm gur in undivided Bengal. She must have found it good for she went to Bega with her discovery. Bega was then living in Maganwadi and he put it to Shri Kanasappa, who in turn found out Shri Gajanan Naik to experiment with palm gur-making. The A.I.V.I.A. conducted many experiments, under the direct eye of Shri Kanasappa, in all the provinces from tapping to clean and delicious gur. For many years the A.I.V.I.A. carried on the work steadily, continually improving the methods and quality of production. Then came Indian Independence and Shri Rajendrabhai became the Minister for Food in New Delhi. He in turn took up the idea of palm gur production throughout the country and Shri Gajanan Naik was lent by the A.I.V.I.A. to the India Government as Palm Gur Adviser. The latter took up the work with the zeal of a missionary. A very simple person with no university education or any other similar qualification and with only the advantage of experience, he has now begun to push up palm gur work throughout our vast country. There are now training and production centres in the various provinces, now renamed States. In the old traditional palm gur tracts in South India and in Bengal, improvements in production and better organisation for distribution are being undertaken. In the virgin tracts, covering the rest

of India, the work is being organized as something new. The Nagbhed Conference is the second annual one of palm gur workers from throughout India. At Nagbhed, the U. P. Government have their palm gur training and production centre in ideal surroundings and the conference this year very appropriately met on this spot. Palm gur organisers, workers and even tappers from every State attended. It was fascinating to see a Kolar tapper from Mysore and near Kanyakumari exchanging ideas with a tapper from Bengal and with another from Rajasthan through the unspoken language of gestures and signs. Once again constructive work was creating another point of organic national unity. Therefore from the point at which the togar of Minabehn found the sweet-sour and flavour of date palm gur in Bengal to the point at which the Nagbhed Conference met is nothing less than a romance of discovery, experimentation and achievement.

Much has already been written and spoken on palm gur. The case for it is utterly simple but challenging. Palm gur is perhaps the only rational source of sugar in India. Sugar-cane eats up our most fertile lands throwing out rice and even wheat. The total average three stolen by sugar-cane from staple food is as much as to create a definite void in food production. Sugar-cane itself only becomes partly wholesome food as gur, the rest becoming a species of slave poison as refined sugar. The loss is thus both ways. On the other hand, we have some 5 crores of palms, other than the coconut palm, in India. Each palm, under favourable conditions should give from year to year 25 lb. of gur. That means 125 crores lb. of gur per year if we can utilize all the palms. Not only that, we can double and treble the number of palms in the next 10 or 15 years. These palms grow even on inhospitable soil and require no special attention or care. If we now start growing palms on the banks of streams, tanks and all kinds of river-ways, we will not only get the palms but also the best insurance against drought. And these palms can be grown on every kind of dry and waste land. Palm gur making requires very little training and capital. Because palms are scattered and found almost everywhere in India and because palm juice cannot be collected for transport to long distances, it is almost completely an ideal village industry capable of being fully developed without centralisation of organisation or finance. Palm gur work thus meets a vital need, can release much land for food production, can employ labour of people right inside the villages and is thus a national village industry par excellence. Along with palm gur development will come increased employment for potters, blacksmiths, basket makers, sweet-meat producers etc.

The five days work at Nagbhed fell into three parts: the open conference for extensive propaganda, the exhibition, the education and the workshop meetings for discussion and understanding

of all problems, technical and organisational, involved in the work. Among those, who took part in the discussions were the Development Minister of U. P., Shri R. K. Paul, Food Commissioner to the Government of India, Dr K. Mitra, the Nutrition Adviser to the Ministry of Health, Prof. Walawalkar of the Indian Institute of Sugar Technology and Dr. Sakunane, the Marketing Adviser to the Government of India. There was a big gathering at the open conference and those who assembled were made to realise vividly what a big task in National Economic Reconstruction, palm-ger making has become. The exhibition was a good piece of education in itself. Various kinds of palm-ger and processes of palm-ger making, instruments, implements and equipments used in different provinces, an ideal ware stand, a good show of palm-ger seeds and the results of researches in the nutritional values of palm-ger, sugar-cane-ger, refined sugar etc., were among the exhibits. It was also clearly demonstrated how every part of the palm can be utilised in a variety of ways. One specially interesting item was the aeroplane wings connecting palm with palm which enable tappers to pass from palm to palm without coming down each palm before climbing another. But to me the most interesting of all were the discussions among the workers. They went into the minutest details regarding tapping, cleaning, boiling, storing, selling and even cleaning. The discussions were of a high level and showed how the trained mind can and should be applied to village industries. The discussions were more revealing than the debates of the mighty in big places. This I thought was real research and experimentation in what at once affects the lives of millions of people. I got the vivid impression of the growth of a movement of national proportions emerging from the stage of laboratory work conducted in Madras. The workers who had gathered came from Kanyakumari to the Himalayas and I think they have gone back having seen something of Puro Roop of palm-ger as a part of National Reconstruction.

We have now to do the same thing with other village industries, i.e. pick them from the laboratory and transplant them in thousands of places in the country. Someone has to be found who will do for the plant what Shri Gopalan Malik has done for palm-ger and perhaps the place is even more important than palm-ger. And so with the shakki, the Muga shawl, soap-making, bee-keeping, improved village pottery etc. The inescapable facts are with us. It is these which keep us pushing up, now one and now another, of the items of the Constructive Programme, which come peeping up like growing weeds from the soil. The master farmer has taught us what to do to obtain a full crop of prosperity. What we need is research and the

training of workers. Who will take up research from the bottom and in relation to the fundamental data and who will train workers in sufficiently large numbers? That is the big challenge coming from the facts of India today. To the extent we meet it we shall make the new India of Bapu's vision.

G. RAMACHANDRAN

"Free of English Too"

In the course of a discussion in a Committee I argued that it was a directive principle of State policy in India, that "within a period of 15 years from the commencement of this Constitution, the State shall endeavour to provide for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen years" (Clause 51, the Constitution of India). It has also been decided that Hindi is the State Language of India, and English will be dethroned from that position. These two things together provide us with a clear and definite line for re-construction of our educational system, specially in regard to the place of English. I said that at least the first seven years of a child's schooling should be free of English. Hindi has already taken its place in standards 3, 5 and 7. Even from a partly educational point of view, it will be a bad policy and an unsound step to have English also as a third language over and above the regional language and Hindi. Upon this a friend who perhaps did not go the whole way with me humorously remarked, "You mean free and compulsory education, free of English also." I caught up the joke and replied, "Yes, thank you, for a very happy addition to the meaning of the term 'free and compulsory education', it is to be free not of fees only, but of English, as well." In free India, education has to ensure freedom from the slavery of English too.

20-4-50

M. P. DESAI

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TWO ANNAS

NEWSPAPERS AND EXPERTS

A correspondent has called my attention to a leading article in the Pioneer of 14th April, 1950. It argues as follows against the move to compel colourisation of hydrogenated oils:

If we agree to colourise oils on all other grounds it is difficult to see why the colourisation should be prohibited by legislation as a preventive against adulteration of some other product. If this contention were accepted, it should be possible to plead with equal force for the colourisation of all waxes which is chiefly responsible for the adulteration of such investigations into the possibility of colourising it is worth pointing out, has not as far produced any satisfactory result. The one thing the colour might not be able to effect the eye of the consumer, who is certainly prejudiced against black glass containing black pills or red glass containing bright pills. The other and the more serious one is best stated in the words of Mr. J. S. Bhattacharya. It is true that adulteration of some other product is stopped, but a profitable place is the least harmful of all the adulteration's commonly used in India. In no country of the world is the sale of rancid prohibited or made difficult by deep colouring. We shall create a bigger problem than the problem of rice and wheat change if we show doors on the industry which provides food for hydrogenating vegetable oils."

The article shows the amount of influence which the industry is able to wield over newspapers and experts. The analogy of water and milk has been advanced rather for bombast than for simple readers than for serious consideration by responsible ministers. On this analogy, a Government should do nothing to prevent adulteration of food-stuffs, if the adulterators have some other use in life, for instance, the adulteration of white oil or linseed oil with kerosene or H-sed oil.

Adulteration of milk in water is a dishonest practice, and it may be very difficult to prevent it. There are so many wicked things done in the world which it is difficult to stop. That does not mean that Government should not take such steps as are possible to prevent them, or should diminish their efforts to seek remedies against methods which seem baffling.

The fact is that there is no strong case for the manufacture of hydrogenated oil. It is an artificial product, which is neither essential to life in that form, nor better (if not worse) than the same substance in the natural form. If it is to be still allowed to be manufactured it should

be so done on the condition that it is not made an instrument for practising fraud.

Dr. S. S. Bhattacharya is a scientist of world renown. I understand that he was asked by the Government of India to find a suitable medium for the colourisation of soap. His duty was to report what colour he has found suitable, or to confess his failure. If he has been correctly quoted by the Pioneer, his argument against colourisation can justifiably suggest the inference that with these views of his, he might not have made any serious attempt to find a suitable colour. I hope it was not so. His arguments about the problems of shortages and the cost are both fallacious and irrelevant to the point. At any rate, these views of his have no expert value.

Enormous amounts have been spent on these experts. Once they declare that hydrogenated oils are so dangerous that even once should not be fed on them. In less than a year specimens of the opposite type are produced. The layman will refuse to believe any and will suspect that the experts are made to say what their patron desires of them, and that there is a dearth of independent scientists in India with a sense of social responsibility. Let Indian scientists beware of building this reputation for themselves. It will make them untrustworthy.

K. C. MADHUSWAMI

Religious Workers

Pandit Nehru while inaugurating the National Planning Conference in New Delhi the other day rightly laid stress on the 'mass education aspect' of an enterprise. He said:

"You should not forget the public approach aspect. If the workers know what is involved in the work, then the work would be better, than you get more co-operation from them. They feel what they are doing and that they are partners in a big enterprise. If anything they are to learn from Russia, it is the way in which they estimate the whole economy about the work they undertake."

This is very timely. For, in spite of our declaration of a Sovereign Democratic Republic, much of our administration and many of our institutions are still running on the old British model of 'Resigning for the top and obedience for the rest'. This is a serious impediment to our ventures, which need proper only through our per cent democratisation.

ARGEMONE POISONING

Mustard oil is the only fatty constituent within the reach of the masses in the major part of North India. Of late the oil is being adulterated with argemone oil. Argemone seeds resemble mustard seeds, but its oil is a deadly poison to the human body. It acts over the autonomic system affecting a dilata of capillary circulation. This produces in the first stage swelling of the dependent parts of the body. Later on it affects the heart and the man succumbs to heart-failure; in some cases it affects the eyes leading to blindness. The pathological conditions produced being absolutely painless, men dare not pay any heed to it in the earlier stages, but when the heart or the eye is extensively damaged, medicine is of no help.

Recently, cases of argemone poisoning have been reported from U.P., Bihar and Bengal in an epidemic form. The extensive distribution shows that the adulteration is not an accidental matter but intentional and on a large scale. Our ill-fed countrymen are already suffering from many a deficiency disease, data necessary to maintain a normal health are yet unknown to us. And yet men in order to satisfy their unlimited greed for money do not hesitate to poison innocent human beings on a mass scale. Physicians realise how the members of every a poor family have become the victims of the dreadful action of this poison. The warning of these people is so meagre that it is absolutely impossible to have one's whole family treated at a time. The result is heavy mortality wrongly reported as due to natural causes.

It is usual to designate this disease as beriberi or epidemic dropsy. But it appears to be a wrong designation, and should be regarded as a distinct disease called argemone poisoning, because this deleterious results in the matter being eaten lightly. If a man adulterates another, he is liable to be punished for homicide. More so should be the man who adulterates food or drink in food adulterated with poisonous matter, since he commits murder on a mass scale.

But punishment is not sufficient. The prevention of this heinous crime is more important. The people have a right to claim that the sources of such acts should be immediately searched up and such thorough measures be taken that such product cannot reappear on the market.

A new danger that now threatens is that since the recent agitation, businessmen have concealed their adulterated stocks. When the atmosphere gets calm, these oils might again appear in the market for sale and by the time evident poisonous effects are noticed and authorities start their investigation and detect some stocks, the people will have consumed the whole of the adulterated stuff, thus producing another tragedy.

Therefore, it is necessary that a thorough search should be made and all such should be examined and every adulterated one must be

destroyed or altered in a manner so that it cannot be mistaken for an edible oil.

PANDURANGANA SEN

Note: The above is one more instance of the wickedness, which passes in the name of industry and commerce. But while the fact of adulteration is undoubted, I am afraid that the belief about the actual adulterant used may be mistaken.

In the first place, the word "mustard oil" itself appears to be a wrong description in English of the white oil generally used in Bihar, Bengal, etc. What the people use there is *arrai* or rapeseed oil, and not the mustard, or *rai* oil. Mustard and rape-seed are very much similar in appearance and it takes a little time to learn to distinguish them. But mustard is costlier than rape-seed, and would not be deliberately used to adulterate rapeseed oil with. Mustard oil is not very easily tolerated in the stomach and I believe, is used only as a medicine. Mustard seeds and powder are, of course, used for flavouring vegetables, dals and pickles.

Argemone (rather, *argemone mexicana*), I am given to understand is the botanical name for the weed known as *Shadi* and a few other languages as *aryamari* or *kolali*. It is also known as *derech* in Gujarati. It is supposed to have come from Mexico, but is quite abundant in India. It is difficult, however, to collect it in quantities sufficient enough for being used as an adulterant on a commercial scale. The Ayurvedic authority consulted by me does not think that it would produce the symptoms mentioned in the above article. It can be used as a purgative. If it is the adulterant used then its seeds should be available in the market in tons. Whether it is so should be reported into. The enquiry about the actual adulterant used is likely to be pursued on a wrong track, if a mistaken supposition is made about its identity.

My Ayurvedic authority suggests enquiry in the following directions:

(1) A seed known in Panjab as *tarandri*, in Gujrat as *jusha*, and in Bengal as white *arrai* (Not *arrai* *arrai*) is widely cultivated in the Uttar Pradesh, Panjab and Sindh, and is ground for oil. It is cheaper than the rape-seed and is an irritant which causes even blower on the tongue. It is not easily distinguishable in taste from the genuine rape-seed oil and is, therefore, capable of being adulterated with it. Whether it is capable of producing the symptoms above complained of is a matter for investigation.

(2) There is also another possibility, and a more probable one. There are traders who import essence of *arrai* oil (rape-seed oil). This essence, if mixed with linseed or white oil, would give an odour and taste of *arrai* oil and could be easily passed off as such. I am interested that it is actually purchased for such purposes in Ayer at least. This leads to the suspicion that *arrai* oil is not merely mixed with a little white

oil, but it is white oil or linseed oil which is sold in the name of sesame.

The whole thing shows the depth of degradation we have sunk to.

Wardha, 3-5-50

K. G. N.

NAI TALIM CONFERENCE RESOLUTIONS

(The following resolutions were passed at the Nal Talim Conference held at Ajga (Punjab) in the second week of April, 1950.)

Resolution 1

This Conference notes that where the programme of Pre-Basic Education for children up to the age of seven has been carried out, it has proved itself not only a most valuable preparation for the work of the Basic schools but also an excellent starting point for Adult Education and the whole constructive programme. The Conference, therefore, urges that the State Governments and private agencies should take up Pre-Basic Education as an integral part of the educational programme and should open special centres for the training of Pre-Basic teachers in all the Basic Training Schools and especially in all the centres which provide for the training of women teachers.

Resolution 2

This Conference reiterates the resolution on Adult Education passed at the Fourth All-India Basic Education Conference at Patna and emphasises the desirability of Adult Education being planned on the Nal Talim pattern.

The work of Adult Education campaigns must never be carried out in isolation from the work of the Basic and Pre-Basic schools and these schools wherever they exist, should be developed in this direction and an additional member of the staff provided for this purpose.

Resolution 3

This Conference emphatically reiterates the principle that eight years' Basic Education means the children from 4 to 12 should be regarded as one whole and that it cannot be regarded as consisting of comparatively independent junior and senior sections. In developing Basic Education in their future educational pattern, the Government have accepted this integral eight years' scheme and the Conference, therefore, urges them to maintain their whole educational policy and the programme of the other traditional schools in the light of their acceptance of Basic Education.

The Conference notes with regret that policies have evolved with the hasty development of Basic Education have been adopted in some provinces. The conference resolves for working English in the 1st or 2nd year of schooling in the traditional schools, while no provision is made for it before the Post-Basic stage in Nal Talim, is one such inconsistency and drives children away from Basic schools, just at the time when Basic Education has begun to show itself. Such inconsistencies should be abandoned and every modification of the traditional system should be such as to bring them closer to the Basic standards which should be reported to the State.

Resolution 4

The Conference notes with interest and pleasure that the Recommendations of the University Committee of the Government of the Post-Basic Education in the whole span of the educational programme are in harmony with the policy followed by the Hindustani Talim Sangh. The recommendations made are as follows:

- *The Duration of Basic Education. The duration of the rural Post-Basic or Secondary school period should be related to the entire span of education. The suitable distribution of this entire span would be:
 - 4 years of Basic Education.
 - 1 or 2 years for Post-Basic or Secondary Education.
 - 3 years for college.
 - 3 years Postgraduate University work for the Master's degree.

Resolution 5

This Conference notes with satisfaction the progress made in the established Post-Basic schools towards complete self-sufficiency and the development of the variety of progressive activities adapted to the actual needs of the present day in India.

Resolution 6

The Conference notes the increasing and growing demand for teachers to implement State Education throughout the country and the plans for the rapid expansion of training facilities. It urges that every possible effort should be made by all training agencies, both Government and non-Government, to improve the quality of training imparted and to see that every student in training receives a thorough grasp of the educational programme which Nal Talim is designed to serve. This cannot be done for the great majority of our students in less than two years of training and the courses provided in the training schools should be so set as to shorten this time.

Resolution 7

The Conference has noted with satisfaction the results of the work undertaken by the Hindustani Talim Sangh in expanding Nal Talim in the camps of Partitioned Punjab and Sarguja. The lakhs of displaced children now in India, offer a great challenge and opportunities both to develop workers and to the State Governments to provide a sound Basic Education through which they can be trained as self-reliant and self-supporting citizens. We urge the Governments to start Nal Talim centres in their refugee camps utilizing the services of all the Basic Training personnel they can spare. In some States such trained workers are at present unemployed or employed in post-Basic schools and these may be employed immediately in meeting the need of their services in places at the disposal of private agencies, who are prepared to undertake the work.

Resolution 8

The Conference notes with regret that in the present economic crisis there is a tendency for work in Basic Education to be postponed or even suspended. In view of the fact that Basic Education is the accepted type for the future this conference urges that whatever reduction is absolutely necessary should be made by closing the old-type schools. The development of Basic Education should not be dependent on the availability of special sources of income, it should be the first charge on the ordinary State education budget.

Resolution 9

In view of the need for successful experiments in Nal Talim in any part of India being made known to all other workers in the field, this Conference recommends that full information about all special features of their work should be supplied by the authorities concerned to the Hindustani Talim Sangh, for circulation to all agencies of Basic Education throughout India.

Earth-worms and Chemical Manures

In his *Journal without Slipping* (R. Wipfeld) Shri A. Ghast describes an experiment made in order to discover the effect of earthworms on earth-worms.

A box was made into four compartments so that worms could pass through the partitions at will. The same soil with a different treatment for each compartment was placed in the box. Five worms were put in each compartment, and this is what had happened after only four days.

	Number of worms in Compartment
Soil treated with Sulphate of ammonia	2
Complete artificial fertilizer	3
Slip compost	11
Compost made with the use of a Chemical Fertilizer	2
(Three died in the course of the experiment)	

T. S. D.

HARIJAN

May 29

1950

WHY IS THE HINDU HATED?

"Stop wooing the Muslims. We can never get on with them. Our generosity towards them is taken for our weakness. They will not behave well, until they begin to fear us. 'There is no love without fear,' says Talsania." We have heard such opinions expressed by many a Hindu for many a year. They are repeated with great emphasis and by a greater number of people for some time past.

Let us assume that the Muslim is an incorrigible and unaltering hater of the Hindu and that he has made up his mind once for all that the Hindu religion does not deserve to exist, or if there are people who insist on sticking to it, they should be tolerated only in the position of more or less political subjugation. In that case, it is our duty to examine the reasons for this inveterate hatred. What is it in our life or in our dealings and practices that makes us contemptible in the eyes of others, but which we stick to in the name of religion? We Hindus rightly or wrongly, are fond of opinions that there is something in Islam, which makes even our devout followers terrified and begot, that they are afraid to denounce even the grossest atrocities, if perpetrated in the name of religion, and that somewhere they are trained to look upon women with hostile eyes, on account of which one cannot be sure of the safety of her honour—particularly if she is an 'infidel'—if kept with them. But those who entertain uncharitable opinions for others must also seriously consider what it is that makes Hindus intolerable to them. Are we so, because of our extraordinary goodness, or because of some gross defects in us?

"The hunter, the fisherman and the wicked hate without any cause the deer, the fish and the good, who submit respectively to grass, water and contentment," says Bhartihari. Is the hatred of the Muslims for the Hindus of this type? Or, we might leave the Muslim opinion alone as being too unreasonable and biased and turn to the people belonging to religions other than Islam. What do they think of Hinduism? Let us also examine the attitude and feelings of Harijans, Advaitas and other backward classes of our own faith, towards average Hindus, who may reasonably be considered to be the pillars and trustees of Hinduism.

These thoughts come to me mainly as a result of many tragic reports which are brought to my notice from time to time from different parts of the country. Recently I received two reports of an identical nature. In one, a Harijan child had inadvertently touched his Brahman teacher while handing over a plate to him. In the other,

it so happened at the hands of an assistant teacher who was a Harijan. The under-teacher took so much upon the punisher who had come after a bath, that in the first, the teacher lost the child with a blow causing a permanent injury to one of his eyes, and in the second, the head-master beat the assistant with a stick in the presence of the students. The first matter went up before a Court of law. The punisher then realised the gravity of his misdeed and appealed for mercy. Would it be wrong for a Harijan to feel that in Hinduism, the washed body and clothes of a Brahman are more sacred than the limbs and self-respect of a Harijan?

Another case. Being strongly persuaded by a Harijan-advait, the Harijans of a village consented to send their children to a Government village school. The village was mainly inhabited by rigid orthodox Hindus, which did not appreciate this 'pollution'. As soon as the Harijan-advait and the Government officials had left, they scolded the teacher, gave threats to the Harijans and organised a boycott against them. They forbade the village shop-keeper to sell them grain, kerosene and other necessities, and stopped employing them as labourers. For some time the Harijans did not give in, whereupon they received a threat that they would be beaten and their houses burnt down. This had the desired effect. Upon receiving the information that the Harijan children had discontinued attending the school the Harijan trust decided that he should live in the village for some time if he was to succeed. So he settled down there, and, with promises and service and with the help of the Government officials and law, succeeded in inducing the average Hindus to adjust themselves to the new situation.

In another village, the opposition came from the Nagnats. Their opposition was greater than that of the peasants in direct proportion to their higher rank in caste. They beat the Harijan-advait, Harijan parents and their children as also the school-master with stones and sticks. The conflict has not yet ended.

Let me narrate one more incident. There are three wells in a certain village. One belongs to the chawars (peasants) but is also used by the Harijans (peasants) for their drinking. The water is very little and generally muddy. Another belongs to Brahmins (Harijan workers), and the third one is in the joint use of 'Hindus and Muslims'. But here the term Hindu does not include Chavars, chawars, brahmins and other Harijans. The Chavars have as well of their own that of the chawars being also closed to them. They fetch water from a 'river', which is no river at all, but a streamlet of muddy water. Under these circumstances, a few chawar women with the support of some Harijan-advait-workers, took courage to draw water from the common well of the Hindus and Muslims. But the adventure had a very unfortunate end. The report of the deed spread immediately and as the Harijan workers were returning from the site

of the well, a crowd of men and women collected on the main street. The women armed with shoes were put in the vanguard of the party and prompted to belabour the wellmen. Later on the village toughs also joined the game. There was a shower of latias, shoes, bats and licks on the wellmen. After a brief respite, the assault was repeated. A gang emptied over the head of one of them a bucket of dirt and soot. The situation was brought under control only when the host with whom the wellmen were staying went to the people and gave them the assurance that he would get the well 'purified' at his own expense. While the women were taking their perchance, it was disclosed later, that in the chamer locality, the reserved women were also assaulted and stoned.

Let us consider what all this means. Is it any wonder, if these scavengers and scabbers develop hatred for the Hindus and Harijans? We are very proud of our Vedantic philosophy of Advertsa, but is there anything better in our daily religious life and conduct than the lawless sense of caste-distinctions and untouchability? Do we ever care to see the selfishness and inhuman hard-heartedness, which the caste-bugger has developed in us? If per chance, these same Mangas, chamers and other so-called low-caste people become Christians or Muslims they would be freely allowed to attend the common school or draw water from the common well. Why then, should they not have the temptation to become Christians or Muslims? And even even after conversion, Hindus would not give them equal treatment and would continue to exploit them in their business relations why should they not expect that the runs of Government must be in the hands of any but the Hindus?

Let us consider to what extent the Hindus themselves are responsible for the spread of Christianity and Islam. It is said that the Christians or Muslims suffer from a fanatical passion for proselytisation. But this is not the whole truth. Much of their success in conversion is due to the many injustices which we have unconsciously inflicted upon them for centuries. We kept our artisans and craftsmen tied to a position of poverty and humiliation. We freely exploited their labour and services and yet we regarded them as untouchable or low-caste. In this way we nearly compelled them to change their religion. Often many were taken to have become Muslims or Christians under a false sense of pollution of food or water. If a person even unknowingly partook of the forbidden food or water, he was ostracised and driven to seek shelter in another faith ever after. While, on the one hand, the social boycott of the converted was continued, on the other hand, out of fear of the ruling authority, they were placed in a position superior to that of their kinsmen, who had still remained Hindus. Thus a Muslim or a Christian convert enjoyed a higher status than

an unconverted Hindu. To this day, this has been the policy of Hindutva which, in its practical form, has reduced itself to a bundle of observations of rules of behaviour and eating. Many of us are convinced that there is no religion superior to Hindutva and we reveal this superiority complex by regarding every other religion as less developed than ours. Who, with any sense of self-respect, will tolerate this kind of arrogance?

Some of us are inclined to believe that every Muslim in India is a fifth-columnist. Suppose for a while that they are all expelled to Pakistan, but we continue to live our backward and depressed and oppressed modes in our traditional way. The consequences will be that the suffering Harijans will continue to forsake their own religion in favour of another. If they cannot become Muslims they will become Christians, Buddhists or Communists, or try in some other way to separate themselves and bring about a revolution, or found a separate Government.

This dismal future, which is nothing less than the total extinction of the caste-ridden Hindu religion in course of time, appears to me almost certain. Gandhi said that, if untouchability remains the Hindu religion cannot live. It behooves us to reflect over this grave prediction, and realise why the followers of other faiths hate the Hindus.

AIWA, 2-4-60

K. C. MATHURAPADA

(Translated from Hindi)

NOTES

St. Ishkoodas Hospital

St. H. N. Hospital of Bombay, which is celebrating its Silver Jubilee next week under the patronship of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel is one of the model institutions of its type in India. It is by no means one of the largest hospitals of India and, on Western standards is perhaps a very modest one. But particularly among the Gujarati-speaking population, all over the country, it has won a popularity, which should be emulated by every institution intent for the service of the people afflicted with disease and physical injury. Treatment with the most modern up-to-date methods and drugs by first class physicians and surgeons is not, as is often believed the greatest comfort and consolation to a patient in his illness. What a sick man and his friends need even in a greater measure than treatment is sympathetic attention, understanding of the pecuniary and other difficulties — in short, a touch of kindness and warm feelings on their afflicted nerves. For, when a patient enters the hospital, he is not the only person who feels miserable but it is a whole family. The popularity of St. H. N. Hospital is due in a very large measure to the great mental comfort which the patient and his relatives experience within its premises, in addition to up-to-date treatment at the hands of the most eminent Gujarati physicians and surgeons of Bombay working hospitably for all free patients.

This particular feature of the Hospital is a legacy of its first Managing Trustee, the late Sheth Harkishandas Tribhuvandas and the first batch of its honorary, as well as salaried medical and nursing staff. They all combined to create a tradition which has been continued and further developed by its present Managing Trustee, Shri Gordhondas Bhagwanrao, as well as the doctors. Gandhi first came into direct contact with the Hospital in 1928, when it was only a one-story building with about 40 beds as against its present three stories and 150 beds. He then wrote as follows in the "Victory" Book:

"I offered a personal tribute to the philanthropy of Sir Harkishandas. The cleanliness of the hospital struck me as deserving to be imitated by others. I personally felt through my son (Shri Devadas Gandhi), who was operated upon for appendicitis that many a poor patient found comfort here. The cleanliness of Sir Harkishandas who has constituted himself the soul of the Hospital, gives all his services to it. This is very commendable to him and makes it possible for the Hospital to work in such an efficient manner. I have just learnt that all the doctors working for the Hospital give their help free of charge and in a spirit of service. I congratulate them."

This testimonial is as good today as it was 25 years ago. Pandit Jambhatali Matha was pleased in 1936 to find in it "a beautifully and efficiently equipped hospital," and Ashwari Kopalani, who had been its patient for a fever, expressed his satisfaction, unreservedly.

The Hospital was originally intended to serve only Gujarati Hindus. But it became impossible for it to restrict itself strictly to the people of a single language and religion, and people of almost every province have received its services. During communal and other disturbances it has served without any distinction of caste, creed or language.

A word must be said for the almost forgotten Lady Markhorat, wife of Sir Harkishandas. The donation left by Sir Harkishandas was worth under rupees three lakhs and was inadequate for founding a hospital. When Lady Markhorat learnt this, she gave almost the whole of her own property—about rupees four lakhs—to add to her husband's, and thus made the hospital a practical proposition. "What about the name in that case?" she was asked. "My husband's name of course. You may keep my name somewhere as you do for a donor of one lakh." Thus it was Lady Markhorat's almost unselfish gift and devotion to her husband, which made the Hospital possible.

The Hospital is spite of its expansion during all these years has become rather too small for the calls upon it. The Trustees have made an appeal for public funds to enlarge the Hospital and maintain it in these days of high cost.

I hope the Hospital will continue to enjoy the popularity it has won and to evolve the policy of donors.

Varanasi, 5-6-46

Indo-Pakistan Peace

The Delhi Agreement has been followed by other acts in the same spirit. The most important of these is the joint conference of the Press representatives of Bharat and Pakistan. In democratic countries, the Press wields even greater power than the States and Governments. A very large part of the newspaper-reading public undoubtedly make their own the views presented by the editor of the paper usually read by them and take the information supplied by him as authentic even if it is a mere rumour or conjecture. Even those who do not care to read the leading articles are influenced by the way in which reports of events are dressed up for public consumption. Thus the Indian public knows only such facts as are favourable to India, and the Pakistan public the other way. If the Indian and the Pakistan Press speak the same voice, the people of both the sub-continent would form identical views. If they put themselves in opposite camps, their people would be trained to look upon each other as enemies. It is to a very great extent in the hands of the Press of the two States, whether there should prevail peace and prosperity or hostility and adversity in our common fatherland.

The resolution made by the Press representatives of both the sub-continent to foster peace and unity in the mutual relations of the people of the two States is very welcome.

Varanasi, 11-5-46

R. G. M.

COMMUNIST SUPPORT TO THE AGREEMENT

In a long statement to the Press (May 22), Shri Asgharali Khan reviews the history of the Indian politics which led to the Partition of the country and states the position of the Socialist Party in regard to the various positions of migration and communal troubles and gives his reasons for supporting the Delhi Scheme, Tripartite Agreement. It is a well-informed document and deserves to be applied with a cool mind. I regret I am able to reproduce only a few of its important passages.

(—54)

Partition and its Problems

"The principle and the practice (which) combined to partition the country solved nothing. While the two-nation theory brought into being two separate States, the two separate 'nations' still faced each other on both sides of the border. The prime question then was: Would these 'separate nations' live together in unity and be welded into a common nationality?"

"The question was the same that had faced undivided India, and if the answer was found to be affirmative, Partition and all the attendant bitterness and hostility had been unnecessary, the two nations might as well have lived together in undivided India.

Solutions

"What is the solution of this awful problem?" was the unargued question that naturally asked. In the opinion of the Socialist Party there are only two solutions of this problem and no third.

"One solution is to accept the full implications of the two-nation theory. That would

mean the expulsion of all Hindus from Pakistan and of all Muslims from India. I understand that the exchange of Hindus and Muslims from East and West Bengal was the solution suggested by Dr. Bhanuprasad Mookerjee. Some others too have made the same suggestion. But it is not realised that such an exchange of population can never stay with East and West Bengal. The logic of the situation would drive us to its inescapable end.

"This solution is wholly repugnant to me, as it must be to all who believe in the principles of human civilisation. To be forced to accept the principle that two human beings could not live together because their religions were different, was to go back to the Dark Ages and to deny everything that one had stood for."

"The practical aspects of this solution are no less repugnant. People cannot be forced out of their homes except by force. Application of force on such a mass scale cannot but brutalise the whole people and reduce life in this country to the 'brutist' level."

"Further, such gigantic migrations must disorganise the country's economy and put a strain on the State that must prove unbearable. Again, exchange of a score of Hindus for four scores of Muslims must start the train of a new conflict, because Pakistan would feel justified in demand new territory to settle the excess population. The remedy would thus have created a new disease."

"The acceptance of this solution would also mean the victory of Hindu communalism and the ascendancy of the Hindu ruling caste. That would inevitably stimulate separatism further, and then the separatist mentality might not be restricted to religious communities, but might spread to racial, linguistic, and even caste groups. That would be the end of India."

"Thus considered from every point of view, the idea of exchange of populations must be given up."

Both States to be Secular

"That leaves only one possible solution: namely, that both India and Pakistan be secular States and the minorities in both have full security and equal citizenship."

"It was in the light of this basic analysis that the Socialist Party Executive had endorsed at Kew the policy in regard to East Bengal situation. Since it still remains our basic policy, let me bring out the main points. The main points were three:

"First, India must hold fast to its secular character, and no matter what happened in Pakistan must give full protection and security to its Muslim citizens and guarantee them equal rights of citizenship."

"Second, India should, by friendly approaches to Pakistan, try to persuade that country to join hands to guarantee to words and deeds full protection and opportunity for development to all minorities. The Executive went on fur-

ther to say that "in this connection the Prime Minister's suggestion for a joint inquiry commission and a joint tour with Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan was a commendable beginning. That suggestion bore no fruit. But further attempts should be made and the idea of a joint tour and inquiry should be expanded to wider joint action."

"The last point provided for a way out in case of a possible failure of these efforts. To quote the Executive again, 'If the current attempts of our Government do not succeed and the people and the Government of Pakistan persist in their present policy, India must finally and sooner rather than later, act on her own and take every measure to protect the minorities and human rights in Pakistan.'

"I still stand four square by this policy and hold that there is no alternative."

Peace and War

"While it is true that I had suggested what is known in international law as 'measures short of war', it is not right to overlook the qualifying conditions and focus attention only on the final step. Let me remind the reader of the conditions I had set forth. First, I had emphasised that there must be peace and order in India and our Muslim citizens must live without fear and in enjoyment of equal rights with Hindus. As I had said in a later statement, we cannot rush to protect minorities and human rights elsewhere, when we fail to do so at home. Second, I had invited Mr. Nasser that though Nehru's friendly approaches had proved infructuous fresh attempts should be made to reach a peaceful solution."

"It was only in the event of all peaceful efforts failing and when we had succeeded in keeping peace at home and doing justice to our minorities, that I had suggested what was described as armed intervention."

"As it turned out, Nehru's hope was justified, and a peaceful settlement was arrived at. To oppose that settlement or to sabotage it is to play with fire, for as Nehru has said the alternative to war. War is a frightful affair and no sane person would rush into it when other avenues of settlement are open. Nor would we necessarily save the Hindus of East Bengal our help in the rehabilitation of the refugees."

"There is a great deal of talk about the honesty of purpose of Pakistan. 'Will they implement the agreement?' we are asked on all sides. It occurs to no one to ask if WE will implement it. Judging from the temper of the people of West Bengal and the attitude of its Press, one may well ask that question."

"Let us remember that if we implemented the agreement and Pakistan did not, a solution—though a tragic solution—would not be available. But if we both failed to do the job, no solution could ever be found. A war wrought in a regional climate on both sides would only result in mutual destruction. It would be quite a different affair, however, if an India which had upheld the principles of civilisation and

respected human rights, need force for the enforcement of those very rights and principles. The result of such force cannot but be the defeat of the forces of evil and reaction.

As a Socialist, I have ever been an enemy of communalism. I was a bitter opponent of the League and its foundation theory and of Partition. I was also, and am an opponent of Hindu Sikh and all other communalism.

Gandhi's Position

Let me remind the critics of what Gandhi had once said at the time of the Punjab riots. When the partition forced migrations began, Gandhi firmly set his face against them. He declared emphatically that he would never accept the migrations as final and would never bow his head before the principle that human beings could not live together just because they professed different faiths. He said that conditions must be created in India so that every Muslim who had fled with his life might return to his home and live in peace and with honour. And he said further that in Pakistan similar conditions must be created so that every Hindu and Sikh could go back to live with honour and happiness.

And then he made a most startling statement. He said that if we succeeded in creating such conditions in India, and Pakistan failed, he would be prepared to fight with Pakistan on that issue. Let it be remembered that it was in trying to create these conditions in India that the Nation's Father was martyred.

My proposal was no different in principle from what Gandhi had said. There is no doubt, of course, that the Muslims were sure that if he succeeded in creating the conditions for which he was working, the moral force of his message would have compelled Pakistan and the 'fight' of which he talked would have been unnecessary. Lesser men like me might want the same hope.

"At any event, let it be remembered that there was no gain for force majeure in my proposal if we failed to create the conditions for the Muslims in India which we were demanding for the Hindus of Pakistan. But if we did do that and Pakistan did not, and wished rejected all peaceful methods of settlement, then I did expect all Muslims in India to join hands with other Indians in compelling Pakistan by force to do its duty by its citizens.

Communal

"Lastly, a few words about Ahmed Shams. There is a great deal of talk about the communalism of India and Pakistan in Hindu communal circles. It is tragic, however, that these circles do not realise that by their actions they do everything possible to defeat their purpose. It was communalism, both Muslim and Hindu, that was responsible for the division of the country. Communalism now can only further divide and alienate.

"If the Hindu communalist is dreaming as he well might, of retaining the broken pieces by a war of conquest, he is living in a fool's paradise. Ten crores of Muslims of Pakistan

and India could never be forced to become citizens of India by war.

"Even if the world allowed the battle to be fought and India were victorious in victory would become its defeat, for it would have a hundred million rebels on its hands, backed by millions outside. It would be a task beyond the powers of any nation to keep a hundred million people under subjugation. And why should India want to subjugate any one? Did we win our freedom from subjugation only to subjugate others? If I understood my countrymen, their overwhelming answer would be 'no'.

"Strange as it may appear, I too dream of a re-united India. I dream of it because I am a Socialist, I dream of it because I have faith in the better people of the earth. I dream of it because I dream of an Asian federation and ultimately of a World Government. But a World Government is a far cry from a Hindu imperialism."

Bond v. Deben

An educationist writes:

"If you do not take care, you will find that both education, in which cases will take a different form from the ideal view. For instance English will be introduced in the form of the mother-tongue and a kind of superficial complex developed."

I must confess that my scheme was conceived in terms of the village, and when I was developing it, I did say that some variation will be necessary in applying the scheme to the cities. This had reference to the industries to be used as media of instruction. I never thought that English could even find place in the primary stage. And the scheme was so far concerned only with the primary stage. No doubt the primary stage is made equivalent to the mother-tongue, less English. To infuse English on children is to stunt their natural growth and perhaps to kill originality in them. Learning of a language is primarily a training in developing memory. Learning of English from the beginning is an unnecessary tax on a child. He can only learn it at the expense of the mother tongue. I hold it to be as necessary for the urban child as for the rural to have the foundation of his development laid on the solid rock of the mother-tongue. It is only an unfortunate India that such an obvious proposition needs to be proved.

Bombay, 31-5-46

M. K. D.

(From *Strips*, September 3, 1946)

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: K. S. HANUMANTHALA



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TWO ANNAS

THE PROBLEM OF DISARMAMENT

The difference between reduction and abandonment of armaments resembles that between dana (charity) and dāya (renunciation) of wealth. It is only by abandonment that fear could be shed.

At the same time, abandonment of armaments presupposes shedding of fear. Then we have a riddle before us. The risk involved in abandoning armaments is the possibility of others attacking us from outside and even getting our freedom. This is common to both the parties. But someone has to make a beginning. Who will do it? The smaller of the two nations says, "Since I am small I cannot take the risk of making a beginning." And the bigger nation says, "Since I am big, I cannot make a beginning." The small one is afraid on account of its smallness, the big one because of its bigness. But if there were courage, even the small could make a beginning, and the bigger also. The small would consider, "After all what is my military strength? What do I gain by maintaining it? If I give it up, I shall at least be free from this worry." The big power will think, "My strength is known to all. In this context if I abandon the armaments, I will be considered an act of courage. How will it fail to inspire the world?" But how may such courage be created in the small and the big nations? If it were a case of two individuals, it would be possible to say to any of them, "Take the step with *dharmatva* on your lips." But when it is the question of a whole nation, such methods of motive do not work. Along with motive (*dutka*) they need also the *tehris* (organisational approach). The entire economic structure of society should be built up so as not to invite or encourage invasion or attack on it. Should there be no equality of all persons in its economic structure, it would come day certainly in via internal disorder, or external aggression, or both.

The famous saint Tukaram has said, "My wealth is not so small as could be kept in

a box or a house. It is therefore kept in all houses. My wealth and my food grains are spread over the entire world." Hence there was no fear of theft in Tukaram's house. Only if such decentralised economic arrangement is introduced in the house of a society and citizens is purified along with it, could the abandonment of armaments be made possible, and citizens bear its fruits.

Under the capable leadership of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, our Government is putting great emphasis on non-violence in international politics. I am justified by it and I have several times expressed myself so. But I apprehend that so long as our Government does not adopt the policy with the village as the pivot of national economy, the policy of non-violence might remain only in words. Gandhiji had the conviction that India would be able to set an example to the world by abandoning armaments, because the culture of India is filled with this dogma, because India has won independence through non-violence, and because India could be a self-sufficient country.

But for the achievement of this ideal, he laid down the conception and plan of a village civilisation. I am quite clear that if any one left village industries aside and got wished to follow non-violence, he would be pursuing an impossible ideal. His efforts would resemble a deer without water. Like Dasa and Shree, village economy and non-violence are welded together and would always stay together. Their mutual relation could be stated as under:

(a) Where there is non-violence, there will always be village economy; and

(b) Where there is no village economy, there will not be non-violence.

Readers will note that I have not said that where there is village economy, there will definitely be non-violence. That would be a wrong statement.

Parvatham, Pondicherry, 11-5-50

VINODA

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"RE-ORIENTATION" OF COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

Dr S P Mookerjee, India's Minister for Industry and Supply, addressing the second session of the All-India Cottage Industries Board at Jaipur recently, made the following observations:

A new orientation should be given to production in cottage industries. This new orientation can only be brought about by a larger mechanisation of the methods of production, the invention of small machines and labour-saving devices, the adaptation of imported machines to our conditions and to the use of our own materials, the study of techniques of production followed in other countries and export suited made relating to the marketing of new small-scale and cottage industries." He also announced that the Government of India were setting up a Central Institute of Cottage Industries in Aligarh and a beginning would be soon made with the machinery already purchased from Japan.

Dr Solomon Trane, the American Industrial expert who has been invited by the Government of India to advise on the economic development of the country, also made similar remarks in the course of a recent speech at Bhopal:

"The main problem is how to raise the efficiency of unproductive people in the country productively. If this objective is recognised, the methods of achieving it could be developed. The only way to create more wealth is actually to use more machines in addition to human hands. You cannot go on buying machines from abroad; you must learn to make machines yourselves. Otherwise industrialisation and the development of agriculture is impossible. . . . As in Japan, much of the industrial production in India must come out of cottage industries; co-operation, if properly organised."

It is, indeed, gratifying to know that both the Government of India and an eminent planning expert like Dr Trane are wholeheartedly in favour of developing cottage industries in this country. In fact, the logic of hard facts in Indian economy has forced this conclusion; there is no other way. As Dr Mookerjee himself stated in the course of his address mentioned above,

"whether from the point of view of solving the growing problem of unemployment or of avoidance of growth of social evils consequent on over-concentration of large-scale industries, or of the paramount need for raising the standard of living of millions of our countrymen in the rural areas, it is obvious that we must encourage a co-ordinated and systematic growth of cottage industries."

But there appears to be some confusion or misunderstanding regarding the extent of mechanisation to be employed for these village industries. In order to give "a new re-orientation" to the cottage industries, Dr. Mookerjee wants "larger mechanization of the methods of production." Dr Trane also feels that the only way to increase the wealth of India is "to use more machines in addition to human hands." But who wants the cottage industries to be run only by hands without the use of small and efficient machines? Surely, Mahatma Gandhi was not against all machinery; what he was against was the "crave" for unnecessary multiplication of machinery and "labour-saving devices" in a

country like India where the main problem was to absorb labour and not to cast or waste it. The recent brochure on *The Principles of Gandhiji Plan* also makes it abundantly clear that the Gandhian ideology is not hostile to mechanical efficiency. To quote the pamphlet,

"The technical efficiency of these concentrated industries may be improved by the use of electricity if it is available in all regions in the region and by the introduction of such mechanical devices as would not hamper full employment."

It is thus quite clear that in organising cottage industries in India, we have to steer clear of primitive and crude techniques as well as over-mechanisation and centralisation. As Prof Aikens Huxley in a "Note on Gandhi" in the *Gandhi Memorial Press* Number of the *Yarn-Shawl Quarterly* observes,

"The most consistent efficiency in the name of liberty because it leads to regeneration and the loss of opportunity; less trade efficiency is also the enemy of liberty because it tends to create poverty and slavery."

Viewing the whole problem from a rational and scientific standpoint, there should be no objection to the use of machinery in the development of cottage industries if the following conditions are satisfied.

1. Full employment of the human, natural and material resources of the country.
2. Elimination of economic exploitation through the organisation of labourer co-operatives.
3. Machines should be cheap enough to suit the economic conditions of Indian masses in rural areas. They should also be easily repairable in the locality if necessary. The State should set up mechanical schemes to collect surplus for collecting spares.
4. Cheap hydro-electricity is made available in all the regions in a region. If electricity is "scarce", it would naturally lead to dissipation and excessive idleness among the villages.
5. Power also should be as far as possible decentralised so that the dissipation of the hydro-electricity plan may not force millions of villages to be idle and helpless. Such decentralisation of electric power has been effected to a considerable extent in countries like Japan and Switzerland.

Consistent with the above-mentioned considerations, experiments should be made in different cottage industries to find out the "optimum" size and mechanisation that would be suitable and efficient from the standpoint of "overall" and balanced national economy for India. If serious efforts are made in this direction without bringing in "irrational" considerations and prejudices, I am sure something tangible and concrete would be achieved in preparing final plans for the all-round economic development of the country.

Wardha, 1-3-50

B. N. BHATTAR.

[Note: My feeling is that while hydro-electricity may be a good long-range programme, for the purpose of speedy economic recovery of the country by finding immediate employment for large numbers of people, it is not of very great use. The industries immediately needed are such as can be established at once, and the tools such as can be worked by animal and human

energy. Also the articles so produced must be protected against competition by machine-made goods for satisfying the same wants. —K. G. M.]

11-2-58

NOTES

Graded Pledges

The Jains have a sect known as 'Tirapanchan'. It is said to hold very extreme views about the implications of Jain doctrines, and claims a few lakh followers mainly belonging to the intermediate communities of Rajputras.

At present it is headed by an ancient Acharya in the person of Shri Tola. As the non-violence community is most involved in the present deterioration of business morals, Acharya Tola has for some time past been directing his attention to awaken the conscience of his followers in particular and the public in general against this deterioration.

The doctrine of Jainism in its strict conception presupposes total renunciation of worldly life. But since this is not possible for a majority of human beings, a way has been found to admit laymen into the fold by a system called *anuvrat*, i.e. graded observance of pledges starting from a minimum of each. A person who has faith in, say, non-violence to non-vegetarian, but does not feel strong enough to live up to it fully, may under this system proceed towards it by pledging that he will at least abstain from violence of a particular type, or from acquiring possessions beyond a particular limit or in a particular manner. Such pledges are called *anuvratas*. Naturally, *anuvratas* are arranged, at one time, this practice seems to have been widely prevalent among Jains.

Acharya Tola with a view to repopularise this practice, has established an association called *Anuvrat Sangh*, open to all people without distinction of caste, creed, colour, sex, etc. It has laid down for its members rules of minimum observances under such heads as truth, non-violence, non-control, non-stealing, non-possessions, prayer, etc. Some of the restrictions laid down would seem to be so obvious that every one should be expected to observe them. Some areas need to be further tightened up. But the fact is that the most obvious duties of man towards society are not fulfilled in the post-war world. Hence, their specific enumeration is good.

Though the organization is open to persons of all religions, and the detailed *Anuvrat* under heads other than that of non-violence have been thought of from a social and non-sectarian point of view, those of non-violence are conceived of strictly from the point of view of a religious sect. For instance, however desirable strict vegetarianism might be, in the prevailing conditions and structure of human society, including that of India, only a small section from among Jains and Vaishnavas may be expected to pledge itself to abstain totally from egg, meat and fish diet, or from sailings connected with these foods, or also, in regard to the use of silk and trading in

silk. (It is remarkable that the use of pearls and pearl trade are not mentioned, though they involve as much taking of life as silk, and are highly prevalent among Jains.)

But these details apart, this effort to arouse the public conscience against unprincipled and unregulated life is commendable. A Conference of this Sangh met in Delhi in the first week of May, and it is reported that about five hundred merchants took the pledges, detailed in the rules of the Sangh. I hope the pledges will observe them in letter and spirit, and act as a lever to raise the moral level of the whole society.*

Wardha, 5-5-58

A Remarkable Marriage

Shri Mansar Ali Solhva's (Sevashan) Acharya, Garguphat, Karpur, had a marriage performed in a remarkable manner on the 19th April. Besides the fact that it was an inter-provincial and inter-caste marriage, inasmuch as the bridegroom was a Sonar of U.P., and the bride a Sonar of Travancore, the priest was Shri Mansar Ali Solhva himself, a full Muslim. Both the bridegroom and the bride are working under him and he stands to them in the position of the father. The marriage was attended by a large number of people. The ceremony was very simple and consisted of a *Shakha*, a *namam* by Shri Solhva, a set of questions to the bridegroom and the bride and in keeping with the Travancore custom the tying by the bridegroom of a cloth round the neck of the bride and the giving to a ring by the latter to the former. This was followed by a mutual present of garlands in accordance with the U.P. custom, and of a garland of hand-spun yarn by the priest himself to each of the parties to the marriage, as symbol of the *Sarvodaya* spirit.

Wardha, 11-5-58

K. G. M.

Gram Vidyalay - Nai Taluk

The new season of the Grama Sevak Vidyalaya begins on the 1st of July, 1958. Along with the usual ten months' first course (which includes training in a major industry such as oil-pressing or paper-making as well as short elementary courses in other village industries, together with theory classes in subjects connected with rural social service and Gandhian economy) from this year will be started the two-year course of Gram Vidyalay - Nai Taluk with the object of training worker-teachers who will be able to give rural education through village industries. Village industries will become the media of education. While *Sarvodaya* the object will be education, the means will be productive village industries.

A short course of six months' duration for rural organizers named as Gram Seva Prerash will also begin from July.

Details and prospectus can be had from the Secretary, Grama Sevak Vidyalaya, Nagarwadi, Wardha. The last date for receiving applications is the 15th of June.

* The rules of the Sangh and other information may be had from Acharya Solhva, Sangh, Karpur (Karpuram).

HARIJAN

May 27

1950

FRIENDLY RE-UNION

Shri Akharama Mahabharati, President of the Arunachala Mission, Calcutta has recently (March 1950) published a pamphlet entitled *Auto-Pakistan Federal Union—the Only Solution*. Though parts of the pamphlet are after the style of religious literature and in the name of the founder of a particular religious order, it is a thought-provoking paper. Its arguments may be summarised, in the author's own language as nearly as possible, as follows:

The Partition of India was an immoral and unrighteous thing. It was not a case of the Minority (Muslims) imposing their wishes upon the Majority (Hindus) but, the Minority, misled and misquoted, demanding Partition as the price for agreeing to the independence of the country. Unfortunately, our great leaders agreed to it. But they did so under duress just to get rid of the third party, the British, the rest of all creation. They were sincerely and solely motivated by the desire of avoiding conflict and bloodshed. But the Partition, instead of solving I created, great terrible agonising new problems India is almost halted by the immorality of the problems arising out of the Partition.

The Partition of the Punjab was an immoral and unrighteous thing. Fierce changes of population have not solved the Punjab's problems. The holy puritarians of the Sikhs and the Moslems of Muslims are in Western Punjab, where they cannot freely go and worship as they used to do before.

Similarly the Partition of Bengal, also was an act of immorality and unrighteousness. Here also, an exchange of population will not solve the problems. Hindu temples and mosques, places of pilgrimage like Shrinagar, cannot be moved or exchanged. The fundamental rights of the Minority could never be exchanged or surrendered. The thousands of temples and shrines cannot be exchanged.

Therefore, the Partition must be undone. Let India can create a different entity. If our Muslim brethren in India, but Pakistan want enter into a Federal Union with India. Indians should bear no ill-will against Muslims. But as long as the Pakistan is not abolished there can never be peace and security for the Hindu Minority in Pakistan, nor for the Muslim Minority in India, no peace for either India or Pakistan. It breeds their very existence. It has been the root of intense trouble and degradation and misery. Indo-Pakistan Federal Union is the only solution to the problems that have been created since the Partition.

Exchange of population will be criticised fully. It would be total and ignominious surrender to the forces of reaction. It would be giving further into the hands of the power of evil and creating more trouble. West Punjab and India would be quarrelled. God does not create it. It would be something worse than was said as it is.

The author also discusses the means of achieving this. After arguing strongly against war the author asks

"Now then, if war is ruled out, could it be achieved?"

and answers it as summarized below:

Man need a compelling force to break their moral bonds, to correct their wrong thoughts and ideas to save their personality. This is right, in the Divine Scheme of Things. God in His Infinite Love and Wisdom, uses this compulsion through circumstances, which are being continuously shaped and fashioned by Divine Spiritual Forces.

But when men seek to apply that compulsion, it may go wrong. The matter may be beyond control, but, Action cannot hinder. Compulsion is not to appease, sometimes strong, sometimes violent. It may defeat its own object. Correction may be the real be delayed.

This does not, however, mean that man can know it is God and themselves all life and its ending. Man are on the plane of action. There is to do in the best of their highest powers. But the thing is so clear of great national crisis, man have not only to take responsibility on his lot, also to avoid wrong thoughts and actions to pray to God, to watch their minds as in God, to become one, give right thoughts and right guidance. They have to act in God's name. On the plane of action, let Muslim, Hindu and the Government of every India man and woman, take courage in both hands, and in God's name placing full reliance on Him, reject evil. Let them denounce and repudiate the great evil of Partition, openly and unambiguously, and call for a Federal Union of India and Pakistan.

In the altered circumstances of today in the light of the momentous things that have happened, they will be fully justified in doing so. Anything short of it will not meet the demands of the situation. Any thing short of it will be a betrayal of the Muslims. Man may find fault but God will be at their side.

That they have to do instead of having one crisis today, another the day after, and so on with us and it is better to have a first crisis which now out of our. Let there be a full and final solution.

In an earlier paragraph, the author draws attention to the necessity of a new understanding of religion.—

Above all a great and profound change must come over the spirit of our Muslim and Hindu brethren. They must be awakened to a new consciousness that they are alone everything else the children of the same Father God, brethren also of another.

This is the only solution of the Hindu-Muslim problem, on which depended India's freedom, peace, progress and happiness. Change of heart and mind, truly alone will mean a changed action on the part both of Hindus and Muslims.

God is One and Religion also is One. Hinduism, Mohammedism, Sikhs and Christians, whatever may be the different forms and practices that they follow, are in truth, and reality of one Religion. The moral and material interests of Hindus and Mohammedans are one and the same. Perfidious millions of Muslims are still in India. Pakistan means an evil destiny eternally.

But Pakistan, but Pakistan is the way, the one and only way in the world's solution.

Presently the fog shall be lifted. The darkness shall vanish. The fact shall give Muslims and Hindus same shall hang at each other's neck, wrap and re-wrap, and together they shall rejoice.

Hindu and Muslims shall be united, the two cultures the two civilisations shall give India's solution in India shall be fulfilled that together they shall worship their common Father, God.

Whether or not there is formal Federal Union does not seem to be very material. The

important thing is the substance and not the form. The substance is that the States of India and Pakistan and their various communities radically change their ways of thinking and attitude towards one another. They must always think in terms of unity and mutual friendship; they are together one people. They must belong to scores of religious sects or to none, and speak a dozen different languages and write in as many scripts. It is to the benefit of all that a composite unity should evolve out of all these different factors. This will take its own time, but the essential condition for its possibility is that the approach of the communities and classes to one another should be friendly, that they realise and accept that they are children of the same soil, their problems are similar, their interests are identical and their geographical unity is indivisible. They cannot, must not, think of each other in terms of rivalry. Petty bigotry, enmities etc. of some people on either side might create disturbance here or there, but the two Governments, and the leaders and the common men and women of both the sub-countries must keep their heads calm and clear, hearts clean and impartial, and never allow the evil forces to gain ground. If this is accepted as the common permanent policy of the States and is demonstrated by honest actions on both sides, conversations, treaties, consultations, etc. may serve the same purpose as a formal Federation. A formal Union can be brought about under pressure even as the Partition was made. But it will fail to achieve its purpose without the union of hearts. A hearty understanding has no such fail, even if there is no writing.

If there is a conviction, as the author has pointed out, that the Partition did no more than satisfy "the vanities and selfish ambitions of a few politicians", and was "against the highest interests of vast millions of Hindus and Muslims", people of both religions should once for all, close their ears against all propaganda of hatred and war, whether in the name of Partition or in that of some kind of dictated reunion. The Government and the people of Pakistan must be as much convinced of the necessity of a formal Federal Union as the Government and the people of India. They must take their own time to know this. If the Partition is to quote again the words of Swami Akhansarda, "positive-ly against Divine Plan and Purpose, and can but lead as it has led, to disastrous consequences" and that "Hindus and Muslims must unite in God", let us not lose hope that God will give the same revelation to the Governments and people of both the sub-countries. We must prayerfully wait till "God, in his Infinite Love, renews men's thought process" and brings about a conversion from within.

ALVI A CONFERENCE, ANJAL

[The following statement has been issued in representing the consistent view of the all India Village Industries Conference of the Harijans Association held in Anjal on the 7th April, 1950 under the Presidency of Shri J. C. Kamnappa.]

1. In order to increase the production of consumer goods for the people, on the basis of regional self-sufficiency at the present time, when there are only very few such goods which are scarce needed by the people, constructive workers everywhere should select some productive village industry and become personally proficient in it and then open centres of such production work in suitable places, organising local resources and supply of local materials to the fullest extent.

2. To provide employment to the maximum number of people in the country it has become necessary now more than ever before to emphasise that people should make their purchases of village-made articles in preference to any other form of some other kind as that will be true economy in terms of the masses who are in chronic unemployment and consequent dire poverty. It is specially the duty of the Central and State Governments to adopt and follow such a policy of purchase of village-made articles to the utmost extent possible both to set an example and to help village artisans.

3. The industrial policy of the Central and State Governments raises the fundamental issue of the place of village industries in national planning. It is necessary for Governments to declare in unequivocal terms that to order to give a living employment to the maximum number of people and to either to the fullest extent local materials and talent they will not permit large scale and centralised industries to destroy or even cripple village industries and that the right of village artisans and workers who produce what they need for their daily existence with local resources and materials will be safeguarded and fully nourished in any programme of national planning.

The Conference pleads before the people and the various Governments the following items of immediate work to help the country tide over the present economic crisis:

(i) All cloth production to be organised through the khaddis and handlooms only and the adoption of a policy of the progressive closure of textile mills and the stoppage of the import of foreign yarn and cloth.

(ii) Oil production through the hand-loom-press to be organised extensively on a country-wide scale in the rural areas and giving protection to the great village industry against competition by oil mills.

(iii) All paddy-husking and flour-grinding to be organised through hand-machines and all rice and flour mills to be closed.

(iv) Tannery production to be taken up as an alternative to sugar-cane products.

and some more institutions and ways made to be independent of the world.

3. Leaders must be organized primarily as a village industry under direct help from Government and more to be protected from exploitation by big capital.

4. Since in the organization of certain villages, industries it has been found that there are some laws and regulations which are as a serious obstacle it has become necessary to study the village laws, to discover such laws and rules and to remove them forthwith. When necessary, suitable amending legislation should be made. The removal of such laws and rules should be made widely known among peasants and workers.

OBJECTIVES BEFORE THE SPINNING CLUBS

The aim of spinning clubs has caught the imagination of constructive village workers since the Charkha Sangh announced it and disseminated information and details about it. This is naturally gratifying and encouraging. At the same time we must not be blind to the risks underlying a sudden rise of popular enthusiasm in a movement. We have noticed several such tides of popular enthusiasm for the charkha in the course of the last thirty years.

In the course of my recent tour through various provinces I noticed that people related great interest in the clubs on various considerations. For instance, that they would thereby be able to get relief from the Charkha Sangh depots with ease, or, that in course of time the spinning clubs would develop into a political party and capture power through this programme. Hence they feel that these bodies should be caught hold of from their inception. Similarly, there might be other opportunist considerations also for taking to this idea.

Thus there is a danger of the spinning clubs being pushed away from the right track, and so we must be on our guard from the very beginning. We must always keep our eye on the original objectives of the clubs and direct the movement in the right direction.

The spinning clubs have a heavy responsibility to discharge. They have started an activity in the name of Sangh. They should realize that the world is passing through such a complicated situation that the revolution itself might become instrumental in destroying human society. Under various names and forms a powerful class or party arises which establishes its control over people and then exploits and crushes them.

In every age, people have fought battles in the name of freedom. But after obtaining victory the same process started exploiting and crushing the people through the political power captured by them. The pages of history are replete with the testimony of these facts.

The organizers of the spinning-club movement have to find out the root causes which are

responsible for the constant failure of popular efforts for obtaining freedom. On careful examination, we shall find that usually the freedom battles had had the aim of defeating a ruling authority and not the evil system on which it rested. Consequently in the first stage, the fight was for freedom only defeated a ruling monarch but not the neo-feudal system. This they made even stronger than before. The very persons who led the battle of freedom became the rulers of the State.

In the second phase they destroyed the capitalist, but not capitalism. The essence of capitalism consists in the system, which makes capital or centralized control over the sources of wealth indispensably necessary for continuing life. With such living order, it was essential to create alternative centralized organizations in place of the old capitalist class. These these very people who had destroyed the old capitalists having organized themselves into a party, became the controllers of the very people, whom they had inspired to wage the war for freedom. In other words, capital was merely transferred from the hands of a class into those of a party. Being a better organized body than a class, a party could succeed in creating the people in its true character in the form of Dictatorship, and it carried them into absolute submission.

The question is, why did such things happen? Gandhi through his new revolutionary programme made an attempt to find a solution to this fundamental problem. He used to say from the beginning that an individual, or a class or a political party is simply an instrument. It is the system which is either good or bad. Therefore, if people desire to have real and genuine freedom, they must not aim at simply overthrowing the holder of power (whether an individual, a class, or a party) but should bring about a revolution in the system itself. The political leaders of India did not fully grasp Gandhi's idea, with the result that people soon now depressed and disappointed. We have not followed Gandhi's advice of radically altering the British administrative system, what we have done is simply taking over the administration into our own hands from those of the British. The result of it is that the condition of India is similar to the one which happened in the west, when a king was overthrown but the kingship continued; and capitalists were destroyed but capitalism is maintained.

This happened so because the leaders of all these movements of freedom kept the people simply as their followers during the war period. They neither made them self-reliant, nor prepared them for leadership of the freedom movement. Indeed the problem of leadership is a difficult one. You must have clear views on this point. When during the war period people remain as mere followers, after the victory they have to remain dependent upon their organizers for all their institutions and also for the solution

of all their problems. Not being trained and practised in apply their own minds and initiative, the talent becomes inert and gradually atrophied. The establishment of absolute and arbitrary rule over such people becomes easy and natural.

Indeed, the problem before us is not how we might change the individual head who runs the system, but how we should revitalize the people's native talent and by producing in them the capacity to protect their own finite power, eliminate the necessity of organizer leaders. This would be Gandhi's fundamental revolution.

Gandhi advised us that the way of revitalizing the people lay in creating a sense of responsibility in them through the constructive programme. But instead of following his teaching, we put up the people to simply fight the personnel in the administration, accusing their parents through attractive slogans. After the end of the campaign when the passions subside, the people become even more disgraced and lapse into greater inactivity than before so that we who secure power are able to run the government in the same way as before. It is for the spinning clubs to end the beaten way of accusing devious persons and take to that of bringing about a real awakening in accordance with Gandhi's ideals, so that people may learn to avoid being caught in the traps of an ambitious individual or class or party and to develop self-reliance.

The formation of spinning clubs through the Charkha Sangh is only a step in the direction of establishing people's own security by putting an end to centralized management. You have to formulate your programme with this fundamental aim in view. In other words, spinning clubs must look to the supply of all the fundamental necessities of society, for it is their responsibility to free the people from the crushing burden of the individual, the class or the party. It is, therefore, necessary that the members of the spinning clubs should have a clear conception of the fundamental responsibility and their entire outlook and inspiration should be based on it. Members should arrange holding deliberations, debates and studies for a clear understanding of Gandhi's views on politics, economics and sociology.

Besides they would have to pay special attention to the following points in the method of organization.

1. As I said above, whatever attempts have been made hitherto for the welfare of the people have been sustained on external inspiration and leadership. Their real effects are visible in the prevailing conditions. Therefore, whenever village spinning clubs are formed, the inspiration and leadership should come from within. The task of the outside worker should be limited only to awaken the people.

2. Until now 'Constructive work' has been of the nature of philanthropy for the benefit of the "pitiable poor". This attitude of

patronization cannot lead to Gandhi's basic revolution. In the final analysis the victims of the rich are made by the exploitation of those very "pitiable poor". To continue the programme of fighting poverty with the help of those richer of the rich is to perpetuate the exploitation of the poor at the hands of the rich, and be satisfied with taking back a bit of the exploited wealth for ending the "pitiable poverty" of the "pitiable poor". This is impossible. Therefore constructive workers must give up the usual method of carrying on their activities with the help of donations from the rich. Spinning clubs will have to shoulder the responsibility of organizing the supply of the requirements of the people and creating a social order without taking power into their own hands. Remember that power does not become stable unless it develops on the basis of responsibility. Power secured to the people by the Constitution sustains them only to the same extent as food distributed to the poor from a charity kitchen (even) may be expected to give them nourishment. It can only relieve them from immediate pangs of hunger. For permanent livelihood productive activity is essential. Similarly constitutional provisions may remove the immediate helplessness of the people, but for sustaining the people's authority, people have to forge a sanction by continuously shouldering responsibilities. Therefore, even though you start only with the activity for being self-sufficient in cloth, you have to bear in mind that ultimately you have to organize the meeting of all the requirements of the people, develop a proper social order and maintain internal security by the people's own efforts.

3. In order to discharge such various responsibilities of the spinning clubs, their members must be such young men and women as can achieve the fundamental aim of the revolution through sacrifice and renunciation (discipline and detachment). You might be aware that 30 years ago, Gandhi laid stress on self-purification as a part of the national movement. As the nationalists of the day did not adopt Gandhi's message of self-purification, the country is faced with the present disastrous situation. Therefore, the responsibility of completing the task of self-purification now devolves on you.

4. Considering the above facts you should not worry much about increasing the number of clubs and members, but look intently for the degree of self-purification, the development of the spirit of brotherhood, and the growth of initiative and qualities of leadership in the members en masse. You must also observe how far the clubs have become self-sufficient in respect of tools and won the trust of the people and whether the people of the locality have understood the revolutionary character of the charkha.

DEEPAKRA MAHESWARI

(Abstracted and translated from a letter to provincial spinning clubs)

GOEVA CONFERENCE, ANGUL.

[The following resolutions passed at the All-India Goetsa Conference, 21 April, Cuttack, on 21st April 1950, has been conveyed from the Secretary, All India Goetsa Sangh, Ranchi.]

The Conference, is of opinion that the people, the parliament and the Government should help the nation building activity of re-forestry. The expectations of the Conference in this matter are as follows:

1. From the people that they
 - (a) use only sawdust and saw-logs in their homes;
 - (b) do not use lighter articles made from the fibres of cheapened cotton;
 - (c) do not use hydro-powered oil;
 - (d) carry on development committees in villages far away from towns for the work required for their needs;
 - (e) get their inferior bullocks maintained and have their cows serviced only with superior quality bulks;
 - (f) if they are agriculturists, maintain cows and try to grow better for their cattle.
2. From Government that they
 - (a) maintain prohibition of reproduction of the inferior breed of bulks by several parties joining together for this purpose;
 - (b) convert the present towns and city, villages into institutions where good and healthy cows are maintained and superior quality bulks are reared;
 - (c) maintain municipalities in super-breeding bulks to serve cows maintained by the public;
 - (d) cooperate with veterinary departments;
 - (e) conduct government for supplying milk to the public.
3. From the Government that they should
 - (a) inasmuch as it is essential for the uplift of the village that the village school and health should not be left in it, provide complete education and subsidiary aid justice to the village in the village itself, encourage village industries and create conditions to enable the village to get the full value of its products;
 - (b) invest agriculture and positive (holistic) farming in cooperative co-operation, and encourage co-operation to keep cows and grow bulks to produce (over-livestock);
 - (c) prevent the possibility of adulterating glass with hydro-powered oil either by stopping that industry or by any other method;
 - (d) remove the inferior cattle of the cities to distant villages, and arrange for the transport of milk from the villages to the cities instead of the cities;
 - (e) take measures for improving the cow of the agriculturists, increasing milk bulks and providing them of quality;
 - (f) grant direct loans for production and give monetary and other help for bulks and other essential expenses;
 - (g) allow full use of the forests for grazing;
 - (h) reserve grazing land as far as possible and not break the present grazing lands;
 - (i) start milk-busness schemes; and
 - (j) until milk-busness are removed from cities, provide facilities for their return to villages on rented railway coaches during their dry period.

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No, a hundred times no, in spite of what the warring nations are saying as to the result of the discovery of the atomic energy and its use in war, and various devices for guarding its secret, and finally its power to put an end to war. And this, because, the selfishness which has driven mankind to kill and conquer, can never put an end to evil and violence but merely drive it underground till the defeated party becomes strong enough to avenge the defeat.

Only non-violence and positive resistance can triumph over evil and violence and selfishness which manifest as these.

You cannot go on bombing or taking a non-resisting people for any length of time. And if you do not succeed in turning non-violent movements into violent ones, there is no way of suppressing them. Not only world opinion, which has not yet learnt to understand and appreciate this old-new force, but the very conscience of man, in spite of its perversion, cannot help feeling the influence of selfish goodness.

Buddha and Jesus Christ and other great sages and prophets like Lao-tse, were not such fools as the worldly wise have taken them to be. But the world still waits to see the application of their teaching. A few obscure saints had practised it mainly as a personal virtue, but it had not been applied to the affairs of a nation or the world at large. In this age, Leo Tolstoy expounded it with great power, and Mahatma Gandhi tried to carry it out better than any one else had done before.

The time is at hand, perhaps through the very discovery of the atomic power, to test its efficacy and to show to a selfish and doubting world what it can accomplish. That will be the test and application of the spiritual anti-atom bomb to neutralise the atomic bomb.

A STUDENT OF RELIGION

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ASHRAM ACTIVITIES

(By M. K. Gandhi)

III

Dairy

The Ashram ideal is to do without milk, as it holds that the milk of animals like man is no food for mankind. For a year and more no milk or gha was used in the Ashram, but as the health of the children as well as the adults suffered under the regime, first gha and then milk had to be added to the Ashram dietary. And when this was done it was clear that we must keep cattle in the Ashram.

The Ashram believes in *parashu* (cow protection) as a religious duty. But the word *parashu* means of pride. Man is incompetent to 'protect' animals being himself in need of protection from God who is the protector of all life. The word *parashu* was therefore replaced by *gauras* (cow service). But as the experiment of doing without milk or gha and thus saving the cow without any selfish considerations did not succeed, cattle were kept in the Ashram. We had buffaloes as well as cows and bullocks at first, as we had not yet realised that it was our duty to keep cows and bullocks only in the conclusion of the buffalo.

But it became clear day by day that cow service alone at present stands for the service of all sub-human life. It is the first step beyond which we have not the resources to go for the time being. Again cow slaughter is very often the cause of Hindu-Muslim trouble. The Ashram believes that it is not the duty of a Hindu, nor has he the right, to take away a Muslim's cow by force. There is no service to or protection of the cow in trying to save her by force; on the other hand it only signifies slaughter. Hindu can save the cow and her progeny only by doing their duty to her and thus making her slaughter a costly act which no one can afford to do. Hindu society is not discharging this duty at present. The cow suffers from neglect. The buffalo gives more and richer milk than the cow, and keeping a buffalo costs less than keeping a cow. Again if the buffalo brings forth a bull calf, people do not care what becomes of him because buffalo 'protection' or 'service' is not a religious duty for them. Hindu society has thus been short-sighted, cowardly, ignorant and selfish enough to neglect the cow and has installed the buffalo

in her place, injuring both of them in the process. The buffalo's interest is not served by our keeping her, but is in her freedom. To keep the buffalo means torturing it till calf to death. This is not the case in all the provinces, but as the buffalo has a nucleus for agricultural purposes in Gujarat for instance, it is destined to a premature death.

On account of these considerations, buffaloes were disposed of and the Ashram now means on keeping cows and bullocks only. Improvement of breed, increasing the quantity and enriching the quality of milk by giving various feeds, the art of preserving milk and extracting butter from it more easily, least painful methods of castrating bull calves, — all these things are attended to. It is all in an experimental stage, but the Ashram does believe that the cow would pay for its keep if she is well treated and all her products are fully utilized.

Many perhaps say that even a man cannot simply afford to keep a cow, and slaughter is inevitable as long as that is the case. Mindful is not so benevolent that it will die to save the cow or allow it to live on itself as a parasite. The cattle population at present is so large that if it is well fed, the human population will not have enough food left for itself. We must therefore prove the proposition that the cow if well kept is capable of greater production.

If this proposition is to be proved, Hindu society must discard some superstitious misapprehensions as religion. Hindus do not utilize the bones etc. of dead cows; they do not care what becomes of cattle when they are dead. Instead of looking upon the occupation of a farmer as sacred, they think it unclean. Ruminated cattle are exported to and slaughtered in Australia where their bones are converted into manure, their flesh into meat extract and their hides into boots and shoes. The meat extract, the manure and the skins are then re-exported to India and used without any compensation.

This stupidity makes for the destruction of the cow, and puts the country to huge economic losses. This is not religion but the very negation of it. Tanning has therefore been introduced into the Ashram. None of us is still a skilled tanner. No tanner from outside who would keep the Ashram gains has been available. But all the same tanning is an integral part of Ashram

industry, and we have every hope that it will be developed and propagated like spinning. The cow will *continue* to be a burden to the country only if dead cattle are fully utilized. Even then there will not be any profit. Religion is never opposed to economics, but it is always ranged in opposition to profit. If the cow is to pay for its keep, dead cattle should not be allowed to go to waste or to swell the profits of large-scale tanneries. This cannot be done by force. But Hindu society should keep the cow, tend her and her progeny well so long as they are alive, cherish them in their old age, and duly utilize their carcasses when they are dead. Thus alone can the cow be saved, and in saving her we shall perhaps learn how to save the rest of the sub-human creation. Thanks to our ignorance, laziness and hatred, the cow today is hastening to her destruction. As for the other cattle, the last word about them, the better.

The Ashram suggests that all *goshalas* and *panchpals* should be organized religiously and scientifically. The rich should have their own *goshalas* and must be using cow's milk and *ghee* only. Trading in cow's milk should be looked upon as a sin, and the well-to-do should manage public *goshalas* so as to make both ends meet. The poor would then soon be saved.

The Ashram at present has a limited object in view, to conduct a model *goshala* at the Ashram, to breed good cows and bullocks, to utilize their carcasses fully when they are dead so as to show that cow-keeping is an economic proposition to rural workers and provide for their employment upon the completion of their training. This work is going on at present. There are many difficulties, but we are fully confident of success.

(To be continued)

(Translated from Gujarati by P. C. D.)

SOAP FROM NON-EDIBLE OILS

The emphasis on the prevalent shortage of edible oils cannot be exaggerated. The findings of the Nutrition Advisory Committee make a dismal reading inasmuch as the consumption per capita of fat per day in India is hardly 68 gm, whereas it ought to be at least 100, if the health of the nation is to be preserved or rather improved.

Among the industries that draw upon the existing sources of edible oils, the soap industry can be classed as a prominent one. Since, however, the amount of soap consumed by a nation is a measure of its civilization, we cannot even so much as pretend to do without the soap industry but on the other hand, it actually requires to be encouraged and largely developed.

To meet although partially, the exigencies of such a situation, the utilization of non-edible oils in place of the edible ones, in the washing-soap industry, strongly suggests itself. The most common among the non-edible variety of oils,

which can be employed to replace at least a part of the edible oils that now go to supply the soap industry, are what are locally known as karanja oil (*Parquetia Glabra*, screw oil (*Albizia indica*), and castor oil (*Euphorbia Japagifera*). These oils are available in many parts of India, and are now being used either for burning or wasted, and they are cheaper in those areas where the seeds are grown and crushed than the oils like those of groundnut, coconut, sesame, etc.

The greatest difficulty that confronts the common soap-maker in the preparation of soap from these oils by the *saponified* process, is that these oils are highly susceptible to temperature and heat, which have to be carefully manipulated in the process (saponified) of manufacture of soap from these oils. The average soap-maker who is conversant with the *saponified* process of washing-soap manufacture can easily do this with a slight practice and succeed in producing washing soaps of good quality, containing non-edible oils like those of *screw* and *karanja* to the extent of 30 per cent of the total oil, and maintaining the presence of 58 to 70 per cent of fatty acid, which amply speaks for the quality of the soap.

A successful modern approach for the utilization of non-edible oils in soap manufacture largely depends upon two factors, the temperature control within 50° to 60° C and the duration of heat so as to avoid graining and induce saponification, till the complete formation of a perfect emulsion of soap. This can be accomplished by constructing a double-jacketed parabolic soap-boiling pan with empty space to contain water to serve the purpose of a water bath, whereby the temperature can be efficiently controlled while the attendant gradual cooling of the mass helps to accelerate the reaction in the pan.

The natural colour and the strongly disagreeable odour of the soap prepared from these oils (*screw*, *karanja* and *castor*) are properties not easy to tame. This is really a formidable difficulty that has to be reckoned with. The normal approach to satisfactory results in this direction can be made by using colours like *Fluorescein* and *Congo red* in the smallest quantities possible and perfumes like *rose*, *jasmine*, *rose*, *oil*, *diphenyl* oxide *stearate*, etc. in sufficient quantities.

It is very much desirable to encourage the utilization of non-edible oils like those of *screw*, *castor*, *karanja*, etc. and relieve the strain on the edible-oils shortage. The introduction by the manufacturers of these oils to the soap industry, and the liberal consumption of the soaps prepared from these oils by the consuming public, would not only be a patriotic duty, but also a useful innovation.

CHANDRIS-CHANDRIS

Village Industries Research Laboratory,

Pune 8

COUNTERFEIT GHEE AND GANDHIJI

During the last session of the Bombay Legislative Assembly, Shri Pulasthi Dabhi brought a private Bill for preventing hydrogenation of edible oils. The Bill was ultimately withdrawn on the Government giving an assurance that it would take steps to put a colour into the oils to distinguish it from ghee. It is proposed to colour it with Annatto, as no more satisfactory colouring material is still available. I hope the assurance will be soon put into effect. I must not conceal my doubts about its fulfilment, because other Governments made similar promises but they still remain unfulfilled. Powerful interests have been working against such steps, and Governments seem unable to resist their pressure. Besides, the Governments themselves seem to be lukewarm in the matter, and there is perhaps not unanimity of opinion in their cabinets. From the press reports it appears that when Shri Dabhi's Bill was being discussed it was opposed by only two parties, namely, a representative of the industry and the Bombay Government in the person of the Health Minister, Dr. M. D. D. Chidre. Dr. Chidre is himself a great medical authority and his own assurance that hydrogenated oil is not less beneficial to health than the same oil in liquid form, would have been regarded as sufficient by most people. But unfortunately somehow Gandhiji's name came to be mentioned in the discussion. The reference was reported in some of the papers in a manner which suggested (i) that Gandhiji himself also made use of the solid oil in the Aga Khan Camp in his food, and (ii) that he was not opposed to the hydrogenation of the oil. I enquired of Dr. Chidre if the report was correct. He has sent me a copy of his speech. The reference is as follows:

"On the name of Gandhiji has been floated in this discussion. I lived with him in Jinnah's (Aga Khan) Palace. Gandhiji himself had his food boiled. He never used fried food. He used butter made from goats' milk as he always used goats' milk, but the rest of us were mostly fed on vegetable ghee."

And J. H. Bhambhani: "To his knowledge."

Dr. M. D. D. Chidre: "Yes to his knowledge."

There is nothing to be shocked at in this. Any of his co-prisoners could as well have said that they took tea also in the Aga Khan Camp with Gandhiji's knowledge and without any protest from him. If Gandhian had been younger in age, they would have even found some day Gandhiji actually preparing food for them with vasopathi, even so he is known to have prepared tea for Mahadevadas Desai. Moreover, he was not incapable of experimenting with vasopathi even upon his own body. All this does not mean that he approved of the use of vasopathi any more than of tea.

As to (ii), we have Gandhiji's own writings written after his release from the Aga Khan Camp. They are reproduced in a booklet (Nalaka Ghar), published by the Gosewa Singh,

Wardha, and may be had on application to it. I shall give only two important sentences:

"Vasopathi is wholly superfluous. Ghee may be refined of impurities properly, but they do not need to be solidified nor they may be made to look like ghee. An honest manufacturer will not stoop to counterfeits. The market is flooded with them. Counterfeit coins are heavily punishable. Why not counterfeit ghee, since the genuine article is much more precious than coins?" (Harijan, 14-4-'45).

"To sell vegetable oil or butter in the form and name of ghee is to deceive the Indian public. It is thoroughly dishonest. It is the clear duty of tradesmen not to sell any product of this nature in the guise of ghee and no Government should recommend such sale" (Harijan, 13-10-'45).

The question of the effect of the counterfeit ghee to health has its own importance, but it is secondary to the moral issue. The people have a right to demand that however harmless the counterfeit ghee may be, it must be visibly distinguishable from the genuine ghee and unmixable with it. It is sought to be covered by irrelevant and frequently changing opinions of health experts, supported by irrelevant certificates of Food and Health and other ministers, that they themselves have used the counterfeit ghee and found it harmless. I call the certificate irrelevant, because along with this artificial substance, they consume so many other articles of diet which could counterbalance its evil effects. With the best milk (and, perhaps, fresh butter, eggs and meat), fresh vegetables and other substances with rich vitamins contents liberally available to them, if ministers have not experienced any harmful effect of the little vasopathi that they might use in drying their vegetables, it is no proof of the harmlessness of the product. To them, vasopathi is a luxury. To the ordinary lower middle-class vegetarian, ghee is the only source of animal fat. In the hope of getting it, he pays a high price for a product which is but a counterfeit. With all deference to the Doctor Minister of Bombay, I must decline to accept his personal testimony as sufficient. So too, I agree, are the contrary opinions of those who have never used it irrelevant, however great their position might be in public opinion.

The case against this industry is based on grounds of business morals, and the harm caused by it to milk-cattle, village industries and health of the people. At its best, the testimony on the last point is negative. No expert has yet asserted that the counterfeit ghee is superior to genuine ghee or unhydrogenated oil.

I hope the Government of Bombay will prove strong enough, as promised, to take effective measures against this substance so "that it is not adulterated nor used for adulteration."

Wardha, 18-6-'53

K. S. MARSHWALLA

HARIJAN

June 1

1950

RESPECT FOR LIFE

Of late sabotage on railway lines have become almost a regular event in our country. Very serious accidents of a major nature are deliberately brought about causing death and injury to numberless innocent persons. A single accident of the type of the late Calcutta-Purigha mail near Patna causes a loss of public and private property worth lakhs of rupees immediately; and there is no means of knowing how much responsible loss and hardships one such accident causes to individuals in money, society, living standard, permanent mental derangement, loss of a sole bread-winner etc.

Someone is reported to have said that there is less violence in the use of the atom-bomb against an enemy than in such lawless activities. I shall not hazard a measurement of degree of violence involved in the two. That much is certain that there is not less wickedness of heart involved in the sabotage activity than in atom-bombing even though the extent of destruction caused by the former is trivial in comparison with that caused by the latter. The common feature in both the acts is that even has lost all sense of respect for life. Both also indicate the denial of the principle that all property is a sacred trust, and may not be wantonly destroyed or endangered whenever may be in possession of it.

This is a common feature also of the ideologies of the Communists and Communists of India and Pakistan, and of the Democratic and Communist States of the modern world. Every one of them, one might almost say man in general, has lost respect for life, and every one has developed for wealth and means of production of wealth that type of jealous passion which sometimes leads rival lovers to murder both the beloved woman and the other lover. If in the midst of all ideological differences, there were in common a sense of respect for life, even jealousy for property and power would not lead to war, riot, sabotage, scorched-earth policy, murder, forcible expulsion, abduction, loot etc. All the reading and preaching of the philosophies and scriptures of the great religions and the glorification of art and culture, and all development of science is not worth a straw if they fail to imprint on the mind of man the great commandment: Thou shalt not kill. Non-violence is the greatest virtue. The teaching:

हिंसा का सर्वोपरि अर्थ है, शत्रु को

मराना, मारने के लिए शत्रु को

श्रेयस्—१।

Violence should never be done to any man in any way for obtaining a woman, or wealth, or

even an object; has remained a dead letter throughout history except for a handful of individuals. War and during exploits of bandits and jealous lovers have been glorified and artistically advertised through poetry, fiction, film, drama and newspapers.

Government will no doubt take all precautionary measures for preventing sabotage of railways and similar business centres, and to punish the offenders if they are traced. It might even proclaim drastic laws and impose heavy fines, or penalise measures similar to those against Criminals. But they might fail to fully achieve their purpose. For it is easier for a burglar to evade the law and outwit the watchman than for the latter to catch the former before he has committed the crime. In their best form, they are superficial remedies, in their worst form, they become too tyrannical and bring about depersonation of the people living under them, besides giving wrong handouts in the life of many an innocent citizen. The ultimate remedy is to awaken, in the first instance, the moral sense of the rulers and would-be rulers of the people and to create genuinely a genuine respect for life and abhorrence for violence. This appears to me to be the most important mission for believers in religion and ethics of every denomination of this age.

Wardha, 30-5-50

K. C. MANGRUPALA

INTEREST ON MONEY

During Gandhiji's lifetime there came into being various public and charitable institutions either founded by Gandhiji himself or by other national workers who had come under his influence. These institutions carried on activities relating to one or the other form of the constructive programme. Some of these in the course of their work came to own landed properties, capital endowments and/or other moneys, which they did not want to use immediately and so invested in securities, shares, fixed deposits or other forms on interest. Under the terms of some of the donations the institutions are under an obligation to use only the interest, the corpus being kept intact. Of the rest, they might use capital or interest at their discretion.

The Indian National Congress may also be reckoned among these institutions.

Is it right to maintain institutions, particularly Gandhian ones, on rents and interest arising on investments? I remember Shri Vinoba in one of his post-prayer speeches disapproved of the practice of investing surplus funds of the Charkha Sangh on banks, securities, etc. There was the possibility, he said of the invested funds being utilized for purposes contrary to Gandhian ideals and thus defeating the very objectives of the constructive programme.

Since then I have seriously pondered over the ethics of the utilisation of interest and how it was viewed by the different religious prophets of the world.

It is well-known that Prophet Mohammed had condemned it outright and put his own precept into practice. When an estate devolved upon him from his uncle, he called the debtors together and abandoned his claim to interest and asked them to pay the unpaid balance of the principal amount.

Amongst the Hindus, those that live as interest are treated as sponges or leeches, which means that they are said to draw on the same table as the slaves or children, as they are called.

By its very nature, interest is an unearned increment to wealth. The owner of accumulated wealth lends the same to needy persons and charges them interest thereon. The rates of interest often vary with the need or affliction of the debtor. The creditor takes a bond either personal, or secured on property, movable or immovable, from the debtor and goes to sleep. The interest accrues at simple or compound rate and returns to the owner in plenty. According to an Indian proverb found in various languages, a race-course horse of the finest make cannot keep pace with the speed at which interest runs. It runs during the 24 hours of the day, while the steed can only run during a limited period. The steed requires rest but interest does not. The steed has to be maintained while interest requires no maintenance. This formidable instrument in the hands of the creditor has sometimes brought about the ruin of the debtor. The transmission of hundreds of acres of agricultural land to the money-lending class during the British regime is entirely due to the institution of interest.

Both from a strict theoretical point of view and the examination of the practical results achieved during the long course of its history, interest is more a harmful institution than a beneficial one. It does not fit into the framework of *Karmadaya* where emphasis is laid on honest labour, self-sufficiency and non-exploitation. These principles apply not only to individuals but also to institutions. For in the case of the latter, if they are intended to work for the ideals of *Karmadaya* they too, must be expected to work on the same principles of non-exploitation and self-sufficiency, and not depend upon interest for themselves or for their branches or affiliated institutions. Interest increases the debt as well as the capacity for production both in the creditor and the debtor. In the case of the creditor, it involves a superstitious complex and in the case of the debtor, an inferiority complex. The creditor generally looks upon bodily labour with contempt, and the debtor, who cannot submit except on bodily labour, is ashamed of the same and considers his fate for this unwelcome debt. Also a man with nothing but bodily labour to live upon is not favoured by the creditor with a loan, even when he is in dire necessity, for he is afraid that if the debtor does not repay the principal or interest, he would

have nothing to go against for recovering the loan. And therefore, the creditor, the chief exploiter, often does not advance him a loan or charges exorbitant rates of interest. The debtor, finding that a major part of his labour will go to satisfy the demands of the creditor, loses interest in his occupation and becomes indolent. Or, if he is a modernised clever man, begins to speculate with funds not of his own, lives an easy life and ultimately looks to the law-courts for relief.

It is also known that banking has become a family institution and generation after generation looks to the earning of interest as an honourable profession. Exploitation is thus handed down from father to son and affects the moral and spiritual development of the succeeding generations also. Central institutions do not help to subordinate centres which carry on some of the aims of the constructive programme. These subordinate centres look to the Central institutions with a sort of mental servility and the Central institutions are likely to develop influence and power which may suppress the soul of the subordinate institutions.

There is no obligation upon the concerns with whom these charitable funds are invested to use them for a purpose consistent with the objects of the Trusts. They may be utilized for carrying on a war or an industry necessary to war, or use opposed to the constructive programme. Is it not a deplorable tragedy that funds donated to the Gandhian institutions, whose object is the furtherance of ahimsa, should be devoted through these intermediary bankers for purposes directly contrary to their objects?

It is not only the Gandhian charities that should abstain recourse to interest, all charitable institutions of whatever type, should also follow the same principle. Charity or benefit to humanity cannot and must not submit upon a system leading to harmful results to its beneficiaries, its unfortunate persons who are condemned to lifelong indebtedness and consequent misery. Charity and exploitation go ill together. Interest is unbridled exploitation in whatever attractive form or colour it may appear. Charity is unbridled benevolence extended to the needy and the afflicted.

The system of interest should be abolished as early as possible. It is an anti-social or gins-bug and drink. It may be remembered that Governments have made efforts to regulate interest and reduce its burden from time to time in different countries.

I should like to suggest to the authorities administering charitable funds that they should distribute the funds in their hands at present to all deserving beneficiaries. These latter may be required to invest them in constructing buildings for residential or commercial purposes connected with their institutions, or the purchase of lands for making the surroundings life—lovely, cheerful

and shelter, in the production and propagation of good literature, in the production and distribution of the implements necessary for their agriculture and cottage industries, in the purchase and upkeep of pastures for their cattle and similar other purposes. The trust funds may be utilized for furthering the objects of the Sarva Seva Sangh and the different constituted institutions thereof. The distribution of trust funds as suggested above leads to decentralization even at small properties.

I desire to remind the readers of these journals and the constructive workers that interest is an efficient of the system of money economy whose soundness is being questioned by modern economists and the less the dependence upon it, the greater the benefit to individuals and public institutions.

If money-lending for interest is at an end litigation will dwindle to a considerable extent. If trust funds deny to themselves the status of interest, the result will be that they will all have to be utilized for direct productive work and in the decrease of unemployment in the villages. If depositing in the banks or with the bankers is abandoned it will increase village unemployment and cannot create any real productive work because banking generally means circulation of large amounts in a few concerns.

Vinayachandran, 25-4-50. *SPRACHAKUMAR*

HISTORY WARNS MODERN MAN

Technical Proficiency No Guarantee

Did mankind ever get itself into the sort of jam we are in today? Yes, many times. Modern technology should not confuse us about that.

We have travelled before along the road we are travelling. The same traffic rules regulated them as govern us today. The only difference is this. In earlier ages men travelled in donkey-carts and on foot. If they wandered along on the left side of the road, the collisions were not fatal. If we, travelling the same road of eighty miles an hour in our latest car, break the rules we will bring about a major disaster.

But the rules have not changed. Neither has the road, although modern man often flatters himself that the gadgets and gadgets of the industrial world are proofs of his superiority to his forbears.

Technical proficiency is not, in itself, a guarantee of wisdom or survival. Civilisations that in the past became fascinated by their own mechanical skill proved to have taken a step toward suicide. They might later reverse this trend and flourish again—but only if they abandoned their narrow concentration on tools as an end in themselves.

Conditions of Healthy Culture

There is only one application of a lesson that runs through history. Nothing fails like worldly success. My study of twenty-one civilisations

has convinced me that cultures are healthy only when they are modest, when they are responding with a healthy creative response to some challenge of climate or immigration or internal change. The civilisation that solves its problems and rests on its laurels has a sad future if it does not respond to the next challenge with a different answer.

Worship of the Past—Patriotism

Today we are endangered by our mastery of the machine. We are so bewitched by our own progress in technology that we may neglect the broader creative acts which alone will enable us to survive. Industry is one of man's strongest temptations; there is no surer way of drying up the sources of creativity than this worshipping of our own achievements of yesterday. Patriotism is a case in point.

One of the reasons why our times are dangerous is that we have all been taught to worship our nation, our flag, our own past history. Man may safely worship only God. The First Commandment is also the first law of growth for individuals and for societies. When we break it and ignore our past, we fail.

+ + +

Patriotism is a modern passion that hardly existed before the French Revolution. In ages when men really worshipped God, they gave the State only such a limited loyalty as we render our city Governments today. They paid their taxes and cast their votes but they did not allow the State to rule their consciences.

Patriotism has become the modern substitute for religion—and a very bad substitute, to my mind. Hitler and Mussolini carried this modern cult to its highest extremes when they declared that the State commanded all loyalty of its citizens. Both leaders urged their citizens to either national piety. Mussolini by equating modern Italy with the Roman Empire, Hitler, by reviving the pagan gods of Teutonia. But all cultures of modern countries share in the error.

The national State-worship which we take for granted today is a peculiarly dangerous form of idolatry. So is our backward-looking belief that science can give the answers to our present problems.

Independency of Science

Our recent scientific program was a creative answer to the challenge of industrialism, and a fine one. But the problems that we now face are not of a kind that will be answered in the laboratories. They are moral problems—and science is amoral.

The challenge of 1945 is clear. How are we going to employ the physical power our scientists have gained for us? If we try to answer this problem by the old response of piling up more and more scientific knowledge, we shall be heading for a grave disaster. Using an old successful response to meet a new demand is one of man's great temptations, but it rarely succeeds.

The Polytechnics trained as navigators, the Hellespont as fishermen, the Spartans as soldiers, the Normans as horse-tamers. And in each case, the single skill was always the one on which they depended, even when circumstances called for a dash and new creative effort. As a result, their cultures did not grow.

Militarism and Materialism

History shows that civilizations which have depended on military prowess to survive have failed, a soldier's skill will not solve the problems victory brings. Charlemagne, Tamer, the Athenian tyrants, the British Plantagenets—all failed because they counted on the one thing they had learned too well—militarism—and thought that it would serve them in any circumstances.

Life is not that easy. A single formula for success cannot be written. Every new challenge demands a new, spontaneous response from a man to a society.

But man is lazy. He does not like to think and new solutions when old ones are at hand. That is why it is hard for modern man to greet up the hopes of finding a materialist solution to the problems of the world. Concentration on material progress has worked as well in other fields, it has spanned the oceans and tamed the storms. Surely, says the child of our times, surely it can help us to form One World of friendly, prosperous human beings. But it cannot, in the nature of things. To expect a political solution to be found by the specialists in a dangerous delusion. Man has been very clever in gaining control over nature. But he is very backward in learning to control himself.

Necessity of Spiritual Transformation

If a real solution to the problems of world unity were possible, we could pay our scholars to find it. But it is not—*as is true*—the problem demands a spiritual change in modern man, we cannot hand the task over to any civil service class. Each of us has to do the job himself. This is a discouraging prospect, but it is by a spiritual rebirth that every great civilization has reached maturity.

One of the first things we shall have to learn, if we want this spiritual transformation, is to cease worshipping the pet idols of our-day machinery, our national flag, economics, science itself. The man we have accomplished to date with the help of these man-made devices, the leader it will be far as to surpass them. The Rich Man has peculiar difficulties in entering into the Kingdom of Heaven in all ages. Those who belong to highly successful nationalities will find it especially difficult to surrender patriotism in order to found a world state.

But there is a precedent for our problem. The Greek city-states in the fourth, third and second centuries B. C. stood in acute need of political federation if they were to survive.

II

Hopes for People without History

For hundreds of years the wisest men of Greece tried to find a formula for federation—and failed.

Why? Because of city-pride. The Athenians were too proud of Athens' past to give their loyalty to a larger Greece. And so were the citizens of Corinth and of Sparta. These were all cities with a noble, well-remembered past. While the Greek cities declined as separate powers, the task of federation was being accomplished in those centuries with no great difficulty, by the cities of Carthage, Syria, Egypt and Italy in their own areas.

These empires eagerly begged as the old Greek cities and helped them. Why? Because the new cities were not handicapped by a history of success. They were able to create the right answer to the problem of their times because they owed no loyalty to other America worked out in a glorious past. With no famous precedents to imitate, they were free to create their own solution.

Today, the unification of the world may also be brought about by citizens of countries which have had no proud record in the past few centuries.

If the greater powers stubbornly insist on clinging to the old concept of nationalism—which is out-dated now—people who have not found nationalism a happy experience may be the only ones who can give the world the fresh solution that it needs. I suspect that the coming people in the Americas may be the French-Canadians, and in Asia, the Chinese.

Unification of the World

For the unification of the world must come. And it is desirable, from every viewpoint, that it shall come through peaceful voluntary means.

Unification through the sword has never in history been a lasting or happy solution.

We must have unity. But it is quite possible that in making One World our primary hope, we may fall by coming too low. For the Brotherhood of Man is, I am convinced, an utterly impossible ideal, unless men are bound together by belief in a Transcendent God.

The foundations of our own Western civilization were not laid by men who wanted any such mean thing as economic progress or political union. Three things came in the Middle Ages, but as accidental results of their effort to realize the Kingdom of God on earth.

Condition of Modern Women

Certainly, our recent efforts to solve our problems in strictly materialist terms have failed and made paroxysms of all our former plans. We have made 'terrific strides', we say, in the development of labour-saving machinery. And so we have. But one of the odd results of this progress is that women today are overworked as never before. Women in America can no

of the existence of the real. The latter is not the goddess of cloth. For, while, before the war, the male produced 17 sq. yards per capita, now they can produce only 11 sq. yards, despite the fact that in such capital, technical knowledge, and business skill are expended upon them. I boldly claim that such is not the miserable condition of the chakka.

But when Agriculture, Cow protection, Village Industries, Village Clinics, Nature-cure and Nai Talim are integrated with the chakka as all-comprehensive life emerges therefrom indifference to them will lead India into nothing but difficulties. Today more than 64 per cent of the public revenue is spent on military defence. The hostile relations of India and Pakistan are held responsible for it. Even after the Indo-Pakistan problem is settled, so long as village economy is not scripted and implemented into practice other similar problems will arise, with the result that Government will have to concentrate on the military strength in the same manner as other nations do. It should therefore be fully realised that it is only the Sarvodaya philosophy which will create conditions of life, while all others, at best.

Wardha, 3-4-50

VINAYA

(Translated from the Sarvodaya, April, 1950)

INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION TO PEACE AND GOODWILL

The Yoda Period

III

"The English in America exterminated one race, the Red Indians, almost completely and beguiled another race, the Negroes, as slaves, on whom they inflicted unspeakable brutalities. The English in Australia carried extermination even farther than in America. They accomplished a good deal of it by the simple use of arsenic, though there were other ways, more heinous and diabolical—ways which the Australians themselves have discarded." (The English reported from the Power Library Supplement, August 7, 1948)

British Bush News: "a quarterly guide to books published in the Commonwealth and Empire" (National Book League, London) in its issue of February 1949, published a notice of a book entitled *Black War: the Extermination of the Peruvian Aborigines* by Olive Tardiff (Charlotte Melbourne) and said: "The aboriginal race of Tazumana, became extinct within the short space of seventy-five years from the first white settlement in 1822."

Porter's Post of November 1, 1948 (p. 18) informs us that at present there are only 400 descendants of the Carib race which Columbus found 450 years ago.

Lord Clarendon in his preface to *Africa Since or Prior* by John H. Harris (S. C. M. 1948) men-

tions "that most ancient artistic race of the Western World, the Bushmen whose residue was destroyed by South African white men."

Harris (Op. cit. p. 52) says, "The white race have done to death millions upon millions of these [the Negroes] the most relatively harmless but intensely interesting members of the human race." He calls gold "the scarlet woman" of the modern financial world which has seduced more men than any other African commodity. For its sake rivers of blood have flown, while the great apertures in the phibian hospitals of Johannesburg tell today their own horrible story of the price these must pay who pit blood and name a mile below the earth's surface for the precious yellow ore" (p. 43).

In the Congo the native was deprived of his wife and exposed to the inclemencies of the weather and the attacks of wild beasts in order that he might collect rubber for the whites (Harris, p. 55). He was chained, imprisoned and flogged, while his women were outraged and his children too were chained and imprisoned if old enough; if not, they were clubbed to death or their throats were cut.

Our last witness will be the great missionary, Albert Schweitzer, who wrote in *On the Edge of the Primeval Forest* (p. 81), "Of the fact that a great part of the labour entailed upon a doctor in the tropics consists in combating various diseases, each one more heinous than the last, which have been brought to these children of nature by Europeans, I can here only hint. But what an amount of misery is hidden behind the hint!"

"Ever since the world's far-off lands were discovered, what has been the conduct of the white peoples to the coloured ones? What is the meaning of the simple fact that one and that people have died out, the others are dying out, and that the condition of others is getting worse and worse, as the result of their discovery by men who professed to be followers of Jesus? Who can describe the injustice and the cruelties that in the course of centuries they have suffered at the hands of Europeans? Who can measure the misery produced among them by the fiery drinks and the hideous diseases that we have taken to them? . . . We and our civilisation are burdened with a great debt. We are not free to confer benefits on these men or not, as we please, it is our duty. Anything we give them is not benevolence but repayment. For every man who suffered injury someone ought to go out to take help, and when we have done all that is in our power, we shall not have earned for one thousandth part of our guilt." (Quoted in the *Traveller's Messenger*, April 1949, p. 75)

SANITARY HABITS AND CONVENIENCES

Chief S. H. Paul, the Mayor of Bombay, has been loudly crying on a campaign against the unsanitary habits of the citizens of Bombay. In the following letter, Mr. P. Kishorebhai draws attention to some of the less talked of yet very important, items of these habits.

I am unable to imagine that Kishorebhai's views mentioned in the letter paper. It is unfortunate and of doubtful value. A part of the unsanitariness of Indian style inmates of railway coaches is due to want of pre-thought and precise instructions about the position of the legs provided near the seat as also on the seat-backs.

Chief Kishorebhai has given more thought to the convenience of the Western and modernised travellers. In the first place they are very costly and secondly they are hardly convenient for their Indian counterparts. While there may be many available where possible, the methods to be employed for the events of India must be thought out in an original manner. —K. D. M.]

The *Weekend of Madras* did a good turn when it published on the 1st March 1959 its second leader on "A Train to Spitting", a much needed plea. There is, however, yet another and perhaps more important topic which hardly receives the attention because many sensitive people are too squeamish to write or speak about it in public forums. The sanitary habits of most of our people and the sanitary conveniences in India need reform.

House: In many of our houses, the bathroom, where we bathe is often used for another purpose. And a highly stinking place it is, because of the turban and absorbent character of its floor-laid walls. No amount of cleaning with phosgene water will effectively quench the stink. When there is no fresh arrangement, it is desirable that the liquid excretion should be collected in non-absorbent containers of enamel or porcelain and subsequently disposed off at a safe distance.

Public Places: It is not an uncommon sight even in cities to find children, under the abetting eyes of their parents, committing nuisance, namely or major, in public spaces, not to speak of lanes even when their houses are provided with latrines. It is not uncommon to find even adults, not only men but also women, committing nuisance by the roadside and along railway approaches to cities, an inculcated habit to which Mr. S. K. Chatterjee, I.C.S., with commendable but unusual courage, drew pointed attention in one of his articles in the press. There are Municipal and police regulations to prohibit this practice, but they are not effectively enforced, partly because no adequate sanitary conveniences have been provided in and near cities, much less in villages, and partly because people are so used to it that they are not ashamed of it.

Railways: In railway trains it is painful for sensitive people, particularly those who have known better and modern ways, to see the bathrooms even in Second and First class coaches if they have been used already by some other

passenger. They are wet, stinky and stinking. The so-called "European" type of seated convenience is meant to be sat-on as on a chair and not to be stood-by or squatted-on. If used standing or squatting, it is difficult to avoid soiling the polished wooden seat, even when the train is stationary, not to speak of its being in motion. The least that should be done is to lift the seat if and when the convenience is used standing.

An increasing number of railway coaches are being provided with the "Indian" type of convenience. But it is difficult to keep even such bath-rooms clean and dry when water is used for cleaning. In the absence of a better alternative, it seems best to use toilet paper.

Railways may well put up posters in bath-rooms at stations and in railway coaches to depict the right and wrong ways of using bathroom conveniences, show rather houses nor schools offer such education.

Bus Routes: Sanitary conveniences along bus-routes in or between towns are largely non-existent. Passengers are obliged, some walk to their homes and depart, to use the roadside where the bus chooses to stop, may be in the midst of a village or a town. Men, and particularly women who have known better and modern ways, suffer a great deal because of lack of comfort stations. It is desirable that such stations should be located at convenient intervals and kept clean. Every bus office should have such facilities. Buses should make it a point to stop at Travellers Bungalows and railway stations en route, which have bath-rooms, for the use of such passengers who wish to use them, and who, if necessary, will be willing to pay a small fee for such use.

Raising Sanitary Standards: An increasing number of Indians are getting used to modern and more decent sanitary habits, and suffer when they are obliged to revert to primitive ways. Further, India invites foreign tourists. Nothing will discourage such traffic more than the sanitary inconveniences provided in India. The prospect of a bus or train journey is deterrent to a degree. It is necessary to moderate the sanitary habits of the people and the sanitary facilities in India. And it is time to start away all squeamishness and organize an effective campaign for this purpose.

F. BHANDARWALA

Correction

Please read December 1949 instead of November 1949 in line 17 from the bottom, on page 93, first column, in article "Now After Stadium" (Harbin, May 12, 1958).

HARIJAN

June 22

1950

WHAT IS SELF-SUFFICIENCY?

The reader will find elsewhere Shri Vinoba's comments on Shri Chetanabhadran Sarka's recent criticism of the Sarvodaya philosophy under the caption "A Challenge to Sarvodaya Philosophy". I understood that Shri Sarka has held these views for several years, and he does not speak only for himself, but represents the views held by him in common with other industrialists. The *Eastern Economist* of New Delhi wrote in its issue of June 26, 1946 a criticism on "Chand Karmachari" as they represented the views, more or less of Shri Sarka himself, he brought the article to the notice of Gandhiji. This led to an interview between Gandhiji and Dr. P. K. Lokanathan the Editor. The discussion which took place at the interview was made by Dr. Lokanathan the subject of another article, "An Hour with Gandhiji", published in the same paper in its issue of September 13, 1946.

In the meantime Dr. Lokanathan's first article was replied to by Shri Krishnasami Gandhi, Secretary A.I.S.A., in *Margin* dated 24 September 1946. It dealt with the statistical points raised by the *Eastern Economist*. Gandhiji's own interview discussed besides these points the philosophy of the basic economy also, and it has, therefore, its own importance. The article is reproduced elsewhere with the permission of the Editor. It will be noticed that Shri Vinoba thinks and works on the same lines as Gandhiji.

Towards the end of "An Hour with Gandhiji" the Editor has raised a few doubts. It is to be regretted that he could not place them before Gandhiji himself who would have answered them in his own telling manner. But as this is no longer possible, the answer must be attempted by others. Shri Vinoba has already answered it to a certain extent in his note. Let me supplement it.

The Editor is a well-known economist of our country. He says that he found little difficulty, and merely in appreciating Gandhiji's economic philosophy, but even in ascribing to him up to it, but when he thought of the community he saw difficulties in accepting it. This is the usual predicament of intelligence wedded to orthodoxy, when it finds itself late to face with radical reform. In such cases my humble submission is a man of intelligence generally is that if he is personally able to accept a way of life as worth ascribing after, the only way to find solutions for probable difficulties is, first, to define himself as its favourer, secondly, not to propagate against it, and thirdly, to begin to practice it himself to the best of his ability and

thus stand late to face with the problems presented by it. No reform in life, worth the name, can take place if it is not faced with difficulties. Even as tremendous technical and social problems have to be constantly faced in industrialisation so will it be with the Sarvodaya life. They can be solved only if all intelligent men as well as the State that are intelligently concerned that Gandhiji showed a way of life which is worth ascribing after, combine their strength and efforts together for the purpose. Men of ordinary parts and limited vision might be criticised if they say that they would take the risks only if difficulties were removed and if the whole community did so. But if the highly educated and expert section of the people also adopt the same attitude who will pave the way for the community? If an intelligent person says, I am prepared to associate with Harijans on equal terms, but my caste people will not tolerate it, and as I must wait till they do, can self-sufficiency go? The issue has to be solved by every person concerned of the cause by putting it into active practice and meeting difficulties.

Dr. Lokanathan refers to two difficulties in particular: (1) that the village-sufficiency scheme will leave no margins of reserves against an evil day, and (2) that men and women will be overburdened with work, and will not accept it.

On the first point, I am afraid that the learned Editor failed to remember what he himself had been pleased to discover in Gandhiji during his interview. In the first place, as was made clear by Gandhiji, the self-sufficiency idea has a special meaning. It may not be possible for even a great country like our own to be altogether self-sufficient, let alone a village or an individual. But, normally, a village must be self-sufficient so far as the primary needs of human life are concerned, i.e. food, clothing, houses, and a few other essential needs of life. I might also add that the word self-sufficient does not convey the Sarvodaya idea fully. Perhaps the proper word would be fully sufficient as accord with the Indian word *ananyaparata*. That is, self-sufficiency does not mean barely sufficient or sufficient only unto the self, but fully and abundantly sufficient. It must produce the essential needs of life to the maximum extent possible so that it can stand not only reserves, but also possess surpluses for being either exchanged for its secondary needs or made available to such parts of the country as are unfortunally short of them. It will also produce abundantly things for which it is specially adapted, whether they are primary needs or secondary needs, provided they are not made an instrument of exploitation, and are not made a speciality at the cost of self-sufficiency in essentials. For instance, a village may produce cotton or jute, if the soil is particularly fitted for it, but it should not do so without first producing sufficient food for itself. It may make

various things of basketry, but not for obtaining cloth in exchange for them. It may manufacture either earthen vessels and pottery, but not exchange them for corrugated iron or asbestos sheets to build its own houses. If necessary it may purchase soap but not mill-produced or rainwater.

Secondly, village self-sufficiency must not be understood to stand for traditional methods of production only. Modern technical science has been poorly applied in the sphere of village life. If the current of technical knowledge is directed in this direction there should be no reason for the apprehension that Gandhiji's economic philosophy might become a half-humanistic or sub-human way of life. Rather I should think that there is no other way to bring prosperity to villages.

The second difficulty presented is whether this will not entail too much hard work to villagers, particularly women. This is not an altogether imaginary difficulty and requires to be carefully investigated. To do so here would make this article too long. So I defer the discussion to the next week.

Wardha 38-5-50

A. K. VISHNUSWAMI

AN HOUR WITH GANDHI

A leading article entitled "What Successes Have Appeared in the Eastern Hemisphere of India in this apparently, neglected the attention of Gandhiji and devoted to an invitation to the latter for a discussion with Gandhiji at the Bhamburda Centre. The meeting came off on Thursday 24 September, and was, for me, a remarkable event. It was and my first meeting with him; for I had met him some years ago at Bombay when I came there with other men who had returned for my All-India Congress Conference. I had the opportunity of putting a question of two and listening to his ideas on current issues. But that meeting was in an open, a personal sense. On this occasion however I could see the Mahatma at close range and was able to get a grasp into his mind as it opened itself out as a member of economy and social concerns for over an hour. It is no exaggeration to say that I returned after the interview with a better knowledge of what may be comprehensively described as Gandhian Economics, and a deeper appreciation of his complete.

Perhaps the reader will follow our discussion better if I indicate here very briefly what the article, in the Eastern Hemisphere (published in April and also what I did not. The article did not argue that the 300 millions of Indian population could not be clothed entirely with khadi (as did it seek to devote upon the desirability of an alternative of such policy. Its object was a much more limited one. It was only designed to point out what is the basis of Gandhiji's ideal philosophy for the entire population living. By a series of calculations and an occasional assumption it was shown that over seven dozen of alternative methods would be necessary if India is to depend upon khadi for its clothing, leaving only eleven acres of workers for every other kind of work (including agriculture). An appreciation amongst the labour of the entire of workers there was possibly the labour left for housing manufacturing of millions of goods required for consumption various kinds of services etc. You can have khadi if you like but you will not have enough workers for the thousands of other comforts which we seek.

There was no dispute as to the matter of working hours required for spinning, weaving and all other indigenous processes. The All-India Spinning Association

calculated that to weave 1000 yards, there is a need for the figure of the Eastern Hemisphere. But Gandhiji's policy objectives was largely against the use of machinery in spinning and the importance of the progress to be made upon the method suggested in cottonization. He concluded me by saying that no one had argued that spinning should be a whole time occupation for which a definite number of workers should be exclusively assigned. The entire case for khadi, according to Gandhiji, has been built upon the idea of spinning requiring only an hour's time of every available worker. He found me in the fact that even khadi would be taken to any calculations have been left me from the total number of the working population and all persons above 10 or 20 could all devote themselves to it. Weaving and certain other indigenous processes after spinning might be a full time job but spinning was designed definitely as a spare-time work. Considering the fact that the agriculturalists were employed for practically three to four months in the year and had surplus time, during the rest of the year, it should not be difficult, indeed it is necessary for people to engage themselves in a useful occupation and hand-spinning provided just that facility. Again the idea of a loom a day, it might be legitimately argued to all right when workers have to work under the trying and difficult conditions of the present, but has no significance when people are working as they do so many other things like cooking, etc., without impediment from above.

My own calculations based on work under one set of conditions are inconclusive where the conditions of work are entirely different. If all the villages, would spin for me, how the quantity of yarn necessary for the entire country would be sufficient. But if people would not spin, that was Gandhiji said another matter. He had no before himself an idea, and naturally practice would fall short of him. In fact an idea would have seemed to be an ideal which acceptance was perfect and not likely to be set by men. He was only concerned to prove that khadi was an indigenous yarn was its entirely production properties, provided people would do their work. Personally he was not content with the yard per head, he would like to have a more use of work. Gandhiji wants people to be self-reliant though not necessarily dressed. This raised again whether in that case there would be room for other kinds of village industries. It may be possible to get all the yarn by hand-spinning. But if hand-spinning of cloth is to be done, it is also to be made by hand if other things too are to be made by hand what would be the time left? Further did he expect the village women working in the fields from spinning in moon, and having to look, and do other household duties and then to begin to do so hour of spinning? Gandhiji explained that one hour of spinning a day was only an average and he expected that women would work up by spinning longer hours during the off-seasons as regards the former question he answered that he had not estimated how many village industries could be which were occupations. He believed however that there would still be labour available for all essential village industries. In any case spinning was suffered from every other kind of occupation. We must also remember from our whole a misapprehension of life ideas in regard of hand labour. That is, would work to get as much paper made by hand as possible, but would not produce machine-made paper although he added humbly that the comparison of the writing for which paper is required was really superficial. But he was indeed about it being conscious of the fact, I suppose, that he was also a writer. Again, he had to recognize the need for industries that would replace them and make them replace them, the notion of the present period. It is a mistake to think that Gandhiji is entirely opposed to machines, and would desire them completely. If he had the power, it was all a question of more or less of use of looking at everything. That was good to know and I continued to draw upon the point by telling Gandhiji, if you say as much as hand labour

STUDY OF LANGUAGES IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Referring to my note "A Good Beginning" (Harjan, 26th April, 1933) a friend writes to the following effect:

"The amendment you suggest does not mean that an S.S.C. candidate shall take Hindi as his optional paper. If you intend to see that Hindi propose the candidate should be that the candidate can take English for both the compulsory papers. And it is only to say that the regional languages do not suffer at the hands of Hindi, you should state that in no manner must select the main language for both these papers, but must choose the optional language as one of them."

While I appreciate the spirit behind this suggestion, I am unable to subscribe to it wholly. What I said in that note was that it was a good beginning, inasmuch as it enabled students to complete their secondary education without being compelled to study English, which is responsible for the wasteful and unnecessary 'Mastic monstrosity'.

Let me put down in short what I believe to be necessary for secondary education in regard to the study of languages:

1. English should not be a compulsory subject.
2. Hindi must be a compulsory subject of study all through the secondary course. So also the regional language.
3. In addition to these two, there should be a third language paper. A student may take English or one of the Indian languages prescribed in Group I (II) except that he cannot take his own regional language.
4. Then there remains the question of Sanskrit, Pali, Ardha-magadhi, Avesta, the ancient languages and of French, German, Russian, Chinese, Persian etc., i.e. modern European and Asian languages. They have been included in Group III. The study of this group is not compulsory. This is proper. But I believe the study of Sanskrit, to an extent and in a manner accessory and helpful for a sound study of languages like Gujarati, Marathi, Hindi, etc., is highly desirable. This may be achieved even as a part of the study of the regional languages. I may draw attention to one more paper in the S.S.C.E. course, as it will help to appreciate the intentions of the designers of that course better. We saw that Group I and II subjects are compulsory. Group IV is also as follows:

"Hindi (written text)—optional for those only who take the General English of Group I."

This means that an examinee can take (1) English (written text), (2) a regional language or additional English (with text) or additional Hindi (with text) and also, if he desires, (3) Hindi (written text). This scheme enables a student to take two English papers only, or two Hindi papers only, or two English papers and general Hindi to the entire advantage of the regional language. This is a defect which deserves

to be remedied in the manner suggested above. To this extent my suggestions in the previous note stand amplified.

IS-S-130

(S. P. B. 131)

TEMPLE MADNESS

Some days ago, it was reported in the Press that a temple installing the images of Shri Katarba and Gardsah had been built in Baroda. The installation ceremony having been performed by a minister of the Uttar Pradesh.

In these days of economic and spiritual crisis, it is extremely disconcerting that even against the expressed wishes of Gardsah, certain people are trying to erect altars with the installation of his images. If the tendency is allowed to continue, the practical rule of Christianity—chiefly the love and service of humanity—will be neglected and after a few decades we can well imagine that only those Gardsah temples will remain to tell posterity that he was a Divine being. His great experiments will perhaps be followed to the extent of putting them all in well-bound books to adorn libraries. The dogmatic religious heads will add his name among the apostles, and the masses will naturally think that the center is only to be worshipped as if a beyond human capacity to put his teachings into practice. Oh! then what an irony would it be to the memory of the greatest humanitarian of this age, who tried as best to practice all that he preached. Under the caption "A Temple to Gardsah", Gardsah himself wrote thus:

The person who created the temple has wasted his resources by worshipping them the villagers who are shown there are misled and I am being misled that the whole of my life has been concentrated in that temple. The reasoning that I have given to worship is distorted. A man is worshipped only to the extent that he is followed, not in his weaknesses but in his strength.

It would be a welcome relief if the owner of the temple removed the image and converted the building into a spreading course where the poor will stand and earn for wages and the others for sacrificing and all will be workers of Khaddar. This will be the triumph of the life in action and true worship of it and me."

(Harjan, 24-3-33)

This temple-building madness must go. Gardsah must have rung with the poet who wrote—

I built the temple and no altar
I intended no image or idol
The human heart is all I need
Whereby I worship day and night
The human heart is all I need
For I have found God even there
Love is the one sufficient creed
And comradeship perfect prayer."

R. CHITRAMBAHAI

DIFFERING JUDGMENTS

The Supreme Court, is the final Court, of appeal for all judicial matters in India. Its personnel is very carefully chosen, so that its decisions may not only be binding but command the respect of the citizenry.

During the past few days, two full benches of that Court have puzzled the public by pronouncements differing—judgments on two important questions of law—I believe that the thumb rule of majority has put its stamp of finality so far as the particular disputes are concerned. But one does not feel happy to think that the highest tribunal of the country should be so not-unwielded as lay thinkers often are.

But human intellect is so frail that when questions are particularly intricate and demand not only keen powers of reasoning but also absolute dispassionateness the best intellects are often found to be incapable of coming to a unanimous decision. This had happened when the boundaries of the Punjab and Bengal had to be settled. The Indian and Pakistan judges were unable to come to an agreement and the decision of the Empire had to be taken and accepted. This was not a happy situation. The Empire settled the boundaries, but he could not bring satisfaction to either party.

Of course, judges must have their freedom of conscience, and if they find that they honestly differ from one another, it cannot be helped and the fact has to be accepted. Nevertheless it is a thing for regret.

Both the majority and the minority views cannot be correct. The majority brings an end to the dispute but is unable to give satisfaction of its correctness; and what is needed is both finality and correctness.

Is there no way out of this? Would it not be better when such a situation arises if the judges defer the judgment for a time and discuss the matter out among themselves from every point of view until they arrive at the same conclusion? When intellects differ, it is not the logical faculty which is at fault, but the dispassionateness of the mind, and the ideas on basic principles of what constitutes equity and justice. Each judge must examine the basic principles and the dispassionateness of himself as well as that of his colleagues and frankly discuss these rather than the texts of law. They must all proceed on the faith that under all the circumstances of the case there can be only one viewpoint and if their effort is sincere they would certainly agree to what it is. If the difficulty arises from the clumsy language of the law, they must decide what the principle of law should be and suggest to the legislature to amend the law accordingly, and decide the case on principles of equity accepted by them in conscience. They should feel that when judgments differ no

decision can be confidently credited with being in accordance with justice, equity and good conscience. It is too much to hope that the Supreme Court will find a way of arriving at unanimous judgments.

Wardha, 30-5-60

K. C. MANDREKAR

NOTES

Training Class For Goshala Workers

At a meeting of the Managing Committee of the Bombay Provincial Federation of Goshalas and Pargopolas held on Monday on 9th May 1960, it has been decided to start training classes for goshala workers with two months' practical and theoretical training course at Poona from September, 1960 with Acharya Shankar Narayan as honorary Sanshodhak aided by a sub-committee of Shri Parashuram Kharve and Shri Jayantilal Markar. The training will include elementary knowledge of animal husbandry, dairying, fodder production, feeding of cattle, management of goshalas and general treatment of common diseases and other allied subjects. The Committee has also resolved to start one position for agroproductive cattle near Savar, one in the Panchsowals and one in East Khordak in co-operation with the pargopolas of Savar, Shirodoli and Jalgaon.

148 Shroff Bazar,

Bombay 2

J. N. MANDHAN

Gen. Secretary

The Bombay Provincial Federation of Goshalas and Pargopolas.

Mathashram, Wardha

The new session of the Mathashram classes will begin on the 21st June 1960. It provides a 5½-year F.P.S.C. course for girls on Nal Indian law. A limited number of scholarships are also offered. Applicants must have passed the fourth standard and must not be below eleven years of age. For details and a copy of the prospectus write to the undersigned. The last date for receiving applications is June 26. AGARTTA.

Mathashram, Wardha (M.P.)

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HARIJAN

OWNED BY MAHATMA GANDHI
Editor: K. G. KARNATAK



VOL. XIV. No. 16

AMMADABAD—SATURDAY, JUNE 17, 1939

TWO ANNAS

SANTOSHATA AND SARVA-SVA An Omen of Disaster

The Sarvodaya Samaj is like an ocean, the depth of which no one has yet fathomed. But it is an ocean of nectar in which there is no fear of being drowned to death. One can swim in it without any swimming. It is vast in every direction. One may leap into it singly or in company with others, keep on the surface or dive beneath and stay in it as long as one pleases.

The Master of Satya and Ahimsa

The weak (member) of the Sarvodaya Samaj is free from all organisational control. There is no external authority over him. He may work on his own plan, alone or with others as he likes. He may even form an organisation if he needs it. Many activities have been suggested for his pursuit, he may select one or more out of the according to his capacity. Or he may take upon any other work of a like type though not mentioned in the list if it commends itself to him and is felt by him as one for which he is particularly fitted. Several well-known instructors of constructive work exist to give him their help. They have now indicated themselves together into an inclusive body called Sarva-Sva Sangha. He may seek its assistance, but he is also free. If he likes, to go ahead without their aid. He may seek the advice of the experienced people and act as they direct, or he may mark out his own path and act on his own initiative. He may as a worker have his name registered with the office of the Sarvodaya Samaj or may dispense with that formality. A conference of the workers will meet annually. He may attend it if he, even so, wishes. No one will prevent him. But he may not go there and no one will compel him to do so. If he does anything on his own initiative to put the Sarvodaya ideal into practice, no one can question his contribution. As a worker he carries no rights but does carry all the duties attached to that title. In the performance of these duties he may seek cooperation of any good man, no matter what party or ideology he may belong to. But one thing he may never do; he may not abandon Truth and Non-violence for vanity, it is the master of the Sarvodaya ocean.

Link with Sarva-Sva Sangha

We had decided at Seragram not to found any new party or creed. We aimed at mingling

ourselves completely with the entire society and try to give our shape to it. 'Our shape' does not mean the shape of our passions and opinions, but the shape of the pure spirit, free from the taint of all opinions, one and universal, — beyond race, nation, caste, creed, class or colour. That is the shape we ourselves aspire to take and also that which we wish to give to the world. For that we shall have to serve all in all manner of ways. With that end in view we formed the Sarva-Sva Sangha at Ran. At Ran, the Sarvodaya Samaj and the Sarva-Sva Sangha were linked together. An attempt was made to elucidate the relationship between the two and their common and differential characteristics. Instead of clarification, it has created a confusion in some minds. There was discussion on the subject and at these discussions in open someone led to such results: That the idea behind the two is quite clear, and there should be no difficulty in understanding it. 'The Sarvodaya Samaj' is a conceptual association of people with an allied way of thinking about the way of life. 'The Sarvodaya Sangha, on the other hand is an all-India institution of experts for planning and executing programmes of work. Every member of the Sarvodaya Samaj is a worker who is his own master. When the class system is both master and servant, unfortunately will disappear and good develops.

Ideological Revolution and Politics

A friend says: "I am fully in sympathy with the Sarvodaya Samaj. But I do not join it because it contains politics and in the modern world there can be no social revolution without an institution being organised for political purposes also." I say to this: "You have made three assertions, each of which is erroneous. First, you seem to think that one is required to join the Sarvodaya Samaj. It is not so. Whomever believes in the Sarvodaya ideal is in it whether or not he gets his name registered in it. Only a few thousand will have their names registered but we hope there will be tens of thousands of souls whose names are not shown on the register. If an unregistered soul asserts that he also belongs to the Sarvodaya Samaj, he has to be accepted as such. Secondly, you assume that there is no politics in the Sarvodaya ideal. Of course, it does not contain the short-sighted politics of the power-seeking variety, because that

desire to know why the 'well-being of all.' It is control, and either the self or a narrow group. Tolstoy has expressed this in a very telling manner: "Generally people desire their personal good. A few desire the good of their own people. But only the servants of God desire the good of every one." The servants of God cannot subscribe to the politics of this or that party. Certainly there is not the politics which makes for division and dissipation of energy. They have their own kind of politics which is meant for uniting and strengthening all. Thoroughly to think that in modern times, the social evolution can be achieved through political power betrays an incapacity to read the future. Monarchy is gone, gone too is the aristocracy. Democracy is in the process of liquidation, the stage is now being set for the rule of all by all. He alone wins who sees this. And rule by all does not mean voting rights for all, but a sincere co-operation emanating from the unity of hearts. The age is approaching when the truth "One is all and all in one", will rule the world. If we put ourselves on the side we will share the credit of success. If not, it will come in spite of us. An ideological revolution is what we aim at. And an ideological revolution can never become the handmaid of politics in any age and even in this age. People often think that they could rapidly bring about great changes if they were in power. They could educate as they liked and convert the people to their way of thinking. But that is an illusion. A tower of cards is easily built, but it topples down also with equal ease. Where political authority assumes control over education and suppresses uniformity of mind (which is nothing but the absence of independent thinking), it is a complete preparation for the total annihilation of that power. A gust of wind is sufficient to bring down the tower with a thud.

Illusory Organization

The peculiar characteristic of the Sarvodaya idea is that it allows scope for the existence of different views and freedom of thought. A Sarvodaya worker does not treat as a rigid system or form. He does not believe in fixed frames and moulds. He does not create mere organization for strength. He gives his faith in the power of Truth. He is not desirous into thinking that if weakness is overcome it becomes strength. It is illness, which seeks the easy method of becoming strong thus. It is illusory strength. If it were possible to produce health merely by heaping together the ill and the ailing, there should have been no need for either doctors and nurses or medicine and nutritious food. These methods have place only in violence. They raise an army of a million men and think that the entire nation has become strong. When soldiers win a battle, they think that it is the victory of the nation. They quote the slogan, 'Organization is power in the East age.' But they forget that there is no longer Kali now;

Kali has passed away. It is Krittayuga now—the age of action, brave and virtuous action. How can it be Kali when the soul has become weak? Therefore we must not labour under the illusion that we can bring about Sarvodaya by going on a war, or warring elections.

True Organization

This is the logic of Sarvodaya for not feeling interested in building up an organization. At the same time, I have said that a Sarvodaya worker is free if he feels the need to organize locally. Such organization will be on the plane of common ideas. All members will be fully and intimately acquainted with one another. There can be no room in it for hypocrisy or egotism. In a small-scale organization, it is easy to avoid such blunders. But hypocrisy and egotism are such subtle evils that they can get in anywhere. If the worker feels that evil has entered even in his all-too-small organization, he will at once disband it. He will not let things come to a head. But for all that he does, the responsibility will be his. He will act out of his own sense of responsibility and be prepared to suffer for it.

Sarva-Deva Sangha and Politics

Having thus defined the nature and the aims of the Sarvodaya Sangha on the one hand and the individual duties and freedom of the Sarvodaya worker on the other, let us now see where the Sarva-Deva Sangha comes in between these two. The Sarva-Deva Sangha is a non-federative for rendering advice and help to the workers of the Sarvodaya Sangha. It is an organization indeed, but it is not an organization at even best of activities. It will maintain the Sarvodaya file, organize Sarvodaya work, co-ordinate the work of the Charitra Sangha, the A.V.I.A., the Talim Sangha and other constructive bodies, publish Sarvodaya literature and do many other allied activities. As I conceive it, even this body will have no force except that of service, and will not be connected in any way with any political party.

TRUTH.

(Translated from the Sarvodaya, May, 1939)

Clarification

In reference to the Annual Session of the Sarvodaya Sangha at Angul, my attention has been drawn to the report that has appeared in several newspapers that the Sarvodaya Sangha has been dissolved and an institution called Sarva-Deva Sangha, federating all constructive organizations, was set up and entrusted with the work of the Sarvodaya Sangha. This is an erroneous report. The facts are that the Sarva-Deva Sangha was already in existence and the Sarvodaya Sangha has not been dissolved. What happened at the Angul Session was that the managing body of the Sarvodaya Sangha was dissolved and the Sarva-Deva Sangha took upon itself its work and responsibility.

TALLAKSHYAM
Secretary,
Sarva-Deva Sangha

(From the Third Sarvodaya, May, 1939)

AN INTER-RELIGIOUS MARRIAGE

[An inter-religious marriage was performed at Dapur, Wadia, on 24th May 1955 of Shri Lalchandlal Desai (Shri Brahmin), a Jain Hindu, and Shri Padma (Shri Hindu), a Hindu, both of many's family, both sons whose the father of the bride is a conservative member of India. The bridegroom and bride did not know each other previously and the marriage was negotiated by their friends. The parties did have a choice of waiting for some days before marriage to find out whether they suited each other. The marriage may not be called a love marriage but was conducted on a principle. The following speech of Shri Padma who blessed the couple describes the merits and demerits of such marriages.]

—B O I

We have taken a step of heavy responsibility. Shrimad Padma is a Muslim and Shri Lalchandlal a Jain. Both of them have taken the decision after full deliberation. They deserve our congratulations. Still greater congratulations are due to their parents and other relatives who have come here and blessed the union. Really there is no need for our congratulations. A good deed gets its own reward. But under the prevailing circumstances, a certain amount of courage is needed to take such a momentous step, and praise is due to this couple for showing that courage.

You must have witnessed that members of several religions were seated in the centre of the ceremony. Many people seem to think that the scriptural texts of one religion abhor the touch of the texts of another. This erroneous belief arises from the fact that their texts are in languages which the common man does not understand. The Quran is recited in Arabic. Most often than not neither the Muslims nor the Hindus understand its meaning. The same is true of the Vedic mantras, and the hymns of Zend-Avesta. People recognize only the sounds, and the great difference in the sounds is responsible for maintaining the feeling of separateness. We may stick to this practice if we want to maintain this feeling. But if we translate these texts in our own spoken languages, the differences begin to disappear and we discover that all the religions teach the same thing—namely, truth and goodness.

Of the texts which were recited here, there was one from the Quran, which says, "May God show us the right path." I feel that the step taken today is on the right path. But there are others who disagree with this view. This situation demands that we recognize our responsibility. It would not be proper to enter into an argument with them. Let those who are taking this step prove by their life and conduct that in doing this, their sole aim was to serve the cause of religion. They can do it only by leading a life of service and self-restraint. If this is done, those who disapprove of the act will be converted to our view and realize that the step was right.

During my recent tour in the various parts of the country, the problem of fostering love between people of different religions constantly engaged my attention, and I meditated over it

Various solutions were suggested by friends. Some suggested that we must encourage inter-religious marriages. They said that such marriages would lead to the elimination of ill-will and hostility between the communities, and to the emergence of love. While I accept this proposition, it should be realized that goodwill between the communities should not be made dependent on marriage. It can and must be developed independently of marriage. Ill-will and hostility should be got rid of by sound thinking. Indeed sound thinking is the only way to foster friendship. Marriage may follow as a consequence of the good relations established by sound thinking. I do not approve of bringing about inter-religious marriages as a mechanical device for promoting goodwill and love. I welcome them as an outcome of friendly relations, and not as a means of creating good relations.

Islam is a faith for the last twelve hundred years. Other religions and sects are also here, some of them came even before Islam did. All have been tinged with the colour of the land. Qura is a country of love and synthesis. It has given shelter to all races and communities. It has even lovingly treated them. The races we concentrate on the fundamental common of humanity, the more do the different religions appear as enriching and strengthening one another. I regard the different religions as merely different forms of worship. Each form has its distinctive merit. When the different ways meet together all these merits gather together and make a rich and full pattern.

I hope that those who have brought about the union of these two religions, through this marriage will annihilate the various animosities by these two may, also by other religions. May God give them the strength to achieve this.

(President, from Meadi)

List of Certified Khadi Dealers

It has been brought to the notice of the Charika Sangha that there are scattered all over the country across Khadiars dealing in so-called Khadi under names which misled the people and make it difficult for them to distinguish certified Khadi dealers from uncertified ones.

It has, therefore, been decided to publish a list of certified Khadi dealers. The list will be available at all certified Khadiars at an extra per copy after 1st July, 1955. In the meanwhile, the attention of Khadi-lovers is drawn to the signboards of authorized Khadiars. In case it is a branch of the Charika Sangha, the words *All-India Spinners' Association* ... *Trust* and in case it is a certified Khadiar the words *Certified by All-India Spinners' Association* will always be found on the board. Before entering a shop the visitor will do well to read the board and be certain that he is entering the right shop.

Camp, Bardoli, 5-6-55
(From Meadi)

SECRETARY,
A.I.A.

HARIJAN

June 17

1939

THE PROBLEM OF TIME

Have the villagers, particularly women, enough time to engage themselves in all those occupations which according to the Sardar's scheme of life are necessary to make themselves or their villages self-sufficient in respect of the essential needs of life? The question is particularly important because, in the Sardar's philosophy, what is envisaged along with self-sufficiency is that the villagers, both men and women, are not expected to lead a mere creature life, but one of enlightenment, joy, culture, cleanliness, tidiness, health and reasonable comfort.

If Dr. Lakshminathan had an opportunity to put this question to Gandhiji, he would have found that Gandhiji had had that problem posed before him as early as the foundation of the All India Village Industries Association itself in 1934. If my memory is correct, three different aspects of it were presented to him directly or through friends by three different individuals independently of one another.

One of them had studied khadi as even a greater exploring industry than capitalist mills, because of the insignificant wage which till then was paid for spinning. It worked out at about 1½ to 2 rs. for a full day's labour in the most efficient centres. At other places, it was even less than an anna at times. Gandhiji himself had calculated that even in those days of low prices and with his own ideas about a proper standard of life (by no means a luxurious one) a family of four with two earning members would need an income of Rs. 30/- a month, or, 8 rs. per day per each earning member. 1½ or 2 rs. per day was without doubt well below. The reply of the A.I.V.A. members to this charge was that spinning was unemployment work, that even this income would not be available to the spinners if it was woven up, and that it was impossible to pay more, because khadi was already costly and could not afford to be made still more so.

This defence did not satisfy Gandhiji. Whether it was retail work or regular employment, if a person was set to work for a full day, he must get at the end of it sufficient for his maintenance. If 8 rs. per day were needed to live fully, it was clear that the wage earner's family would be ill-fed, ill-clad and ill-housed at 2 rs. unless he had also other sources of income. None could say that a majority of spinners had other sources of sufficient income.

These considerations led to the translation by Gandhiji of his famous theory of the maximum living wage and to the reorganisation of the A.I.V.A. spinners' Association in accordance

with it. The step was a revolutionary one: spinning, weaving and other village work ceased without any demand from workers and khadi was made even costlier than before. It was a revolt against the accepted idea of money economy. The credit of bringing about this radical change in the khadi policy belongs to I am not misinformed to Shri Harin Chelapadhyaya, one of whose letters to Shri Kaka Kalelkar attracted khadi as a growing industry.

In a world where money was the measuring rod of prices all-round, it was not quite possible to overlook it altogether. And it was good that it could not be so overlooked. In, along with the raising of the wage standard also the efforts to increase the efficiency of the spinners for producing more and better yarn and of making improvements in the various implements of khadi production. The efforts were not confined to the sphere of khadi. They provided all the activities of the A.I.V.A. also. The prevailing village methods of ginning (oil-press), chaffal (grinding stone), dhokra (foundry), paper-making, etc. were also investigated and what technical talent was available was applied in this direction.

Of course, only such improvements could be made as were consistent with the Sardar's view of life. The improvements must not be such as would make man himself part a machine joined to another machine, and the improved machine must be within the then capacity of the villager. It should be capable of being repaired in the village itself, but it might throw him suddenly out of work; and further, since the aim of the constructive economic programme was to create more work and employment, the machine itself should not be such as would create unemployment by making a large number of workers superfluous.

I have related this account because it provides a partial answer to the problem of village time. The present villager is an inefficient worker, his tools are still more inefficient. As a people, we have all—whether educated or illiterate—developed the habit of hurrying on our work with idleness, indifference and untimely hands, inefficient, inefficient and crude tools, and inconvenient and quickly fatiguing postures and paraphernalia. We are often even proud of being able to do so. Slothfulness and shabbiness do not worry us much. The result is that we are all inefficient workers, and take longer time and feel more exhausted than what we should in getting through our daily work. Improvements in the method and manner of work as well as the tools of work of villagers will go a great deal to reduce the time of work and the fatigue of the villagers. The Constructive Scheme have always been alive to the necessity of these improvements.

This is only a partial answer and a part of the problem. The case of Dr. Lakshminathan's 'economic woman' will need a separate answer.

Wardha, 6-5-39

K. A. KALANDEWALA.

THE KOLTA OF JAUNSEER

Shri Dharmadev Shastri has been running for several years a centre known as "Ashok Ashram" at Kotes Jaunseer District near Dehradun for advancing the welfare of the people in that hilly region. In September last, I was able to spare a couple of days to see the centre and to study from close quarters the condition of these hill-people.

Jaunseer District is a northern sub-division of Dehradun District having its headquarters at Chakraborti. It is inhabited by ancient tribal people and is administered under the Excluded Areas Act of 1925. The area of this sub-division is about 400 sq. miles and according to 1941 census, its population is 50,000 souls. Due to geographical contiguity, these people have a natural affinity with the people of Tehri-Garhwal on the one side, and the Kumaon State on the other. In spite of the political separation, people inhabiting the two regions are united by ties of language and marriage. Classification by caste shows that the population is composed of Brahmins, Rajputs, Kayas and Koltas. The last two being Harijans. The Brahmins and the Rajputs migrated here about five centuries ago from the districts round about Marwar, Delhi and Agra during Muslim rule. The Koltas and the Kayas who were the original inhabitants of this area, resisted the advent of the immigrants in the beginning; but when the new-comers adopted the worship of their God, called Mahesh, they gave them refuge and befriended them. Since then both the sections have lived together and shared houses, lands and facilities of teaching and cultivation. Though the new-comers belonged to two different castes, they started inter-marriages between themselves. Being more skilled and advanced in due course, their population grew larger than that of the Koltas.

After the establishment of British rule, the first land settlement took place in 1815. The Brahmins and the Rajputs, being more resourceful and influential than the Koltas, betrayed their benefactors and got all the land settled on themselves, turning the original masters into landless peasants. The settlement, called *chak-dar*, made these ancient people subservient to the new masters. It created a new class called *Bargujars*. They were Brahmins or Rajputs and were given such large powers as enabled them to convert the Koltas into veritable slaves. They made the Koltas cultivate the land for them without the right of ownership, also denying them the right to bring the uncultivated hilly lands under cultivation. True that they gave them food and shelter, but this was done in the same manner as that of a cattle-owner who looks after his cattle. They allotted the Koltas some land to take out a scanty living for their families, but it was not enough to meet their needs. As a result, the Koltas had to beg or borrow from the Bargujars, who for a pittance kept them in bondage for generations.

There are instances to show that the Koltas served their masters for generations and yet the pittance which their benefactors had borrowed were not repaid.

I would like to give here some details about the Koltas. They are divided into three classes—

1. **Kinsori Mundhi.** They are looked upon as members of the zamindar family and for them they shave their heads when a death takes place in the family, and observe all the social practices incumbent on a family member on occasions of birth, marriage and death.

2. **Mai.** These are Koltas, whose ancestors took loans from the zamindars, only two or three generations ago, and in lieu of which the whole family is reduced to a state of slavery. Not only the head of the family has to work for the zamindar, but his whole family, whenever required, has to work without wages. The head of the family is led by the zamindar, and the rest are given a small piece of land for their maintenance.

3. **Budgri.** They are Koltas, who are not attached to any particular zamindar, but have to serve the whole village. They do odd jobs for the zamindar and also work on the land.

This simply shows that the social and the economic condition of the Koltas is most pitiable. As a consequence of long servitude, they have become victims of disease, poverty and moral degeneration. The evil practice of polyandry prevails among them even at the present time. Boys and girls are married at a very tender age. In a village which I visited, I asked such young boys and girls as were married to raise their hands. The heads of all the children went up without an exception.

A majority of men and women suffer from venereal diseases. Syphilis amongst women has grown to an alarming extent. Medical mortality is reported to be very heavy. The problem of traffic in women is woefully serious. Every year a number of Harijan women are taken to the plains by their own relations and lodged in brothels in various cities. Ill-treatment is a very large extent both amongst the Koltas and the Bargujars, but the former are far more backward than the latter. They are also of an encouraging nature, and their sufferings are aggravated mostly because they cannot exert themselves.

The Congress Government in U.P. have tried to give the Koltas some relief, e.g., (i) All debts of more than three years' standing have been declared unlawful. The zamindars, however, have been shrewd enough to get new agreements made for the old debts. (ii) The land settlement of 1905 is also being reviewed. Accordingly, the land which was given to the Koltas for the maintenance of their families is recorded as settled on them. Officers are busy doing the work, but the obstacle in the way is that no records proving their ownership are

available. Now also the landlords are trying by various means to deprive the Koltas of their right of ownership in these lands. Social and economic boycott is being sponsored against them, in whose forests, houses and lands are being recorded by the Settlement Officers.

It will thus be seen that the two well-meant measures, viz., the cancellation of the old debts and the revision of the land settlement, have both aggravated the sufferings of the Koltas. Well-meant as, or sacred, and more effective methods must be devised to better their miserable lot.

In the course of my visit to Chikreta, Deyra, Kotal and adjoining places I found that Shri Dhanmandu Shastri and his band of workers together with the leading residents of the area have placed before the Government a few demands, which I shall presently mention. But before I do so, I must record my sense of great appreciation for the excellent work done by Shri Dhanmandu Shastri and his workers. It is extremely difficult to work amongst such backward people as these. On account of their ignorance, they resist all changes and new ideas, but I could see that they had great faith in Shastriji and a little awakening amongst them was visible. This was all due to Shastriji's efforts during the last many years. I appeal to the public as well as the Government to extend help to this most urgent and good work. He is planning to extend the scope of his work but it cannot be done without the requisite facilities. I hope that it will be freely given by the public and the Government.

The demands insisted to above are:

1. A Government village should be appointed to look after the interests of the Harijans and secure for them an actual practice, the benefits conferred on them by laws.

2. The Government should advance loans to them, on easy terms to meet their free the charges of the necessities. Unless this is done, the ownership of land and the freedom from debt cannot be secure.

3. Cottage industries should be developed. Training in basket-work, wool-spinning, weaving and jute work should be arranged.

4. A Rescue Home and a Maternity Hospital equipped with V. D. Clinic, should be opened and the Public Health Protection Act extended to the area. This will prevent the exploitation of the women.

5. Special arrangements should be made for the education of Kolta children. They should be given small scholarships for attending schools.

6. Last, but not the least, the Scheduled Areas Act of 1950 should be extended

and Jammughawa should be made a part of the District. This is very essential, as much of the backwardness of the area is due to its administrative separation from the adjoining areas.

CHANDRAMANI KERRY

PROGRAMME AND POLICY OF THE CHAKRAVA SANGH

The All-India Spinners' Association has been devoting all its attention during the last 25 years to the protection and distribution of khadi. It has so far produced about 15 crore worth of khadi and thus has given much relief to the poor and the distressed in villages in the form of spinning, weaving and other wages. It has endeavoured to develop the quality of khadi early to the level of other cloth. The A.I.S.A. has thus shown by its constant service that some relief could be given to the poor and that the country's need for cloth could be met by the khaddis to some extent.

But the status of khadi does not lie merely in the wages that have been distributed nor the khadi that could be produced and supplied. Its value lies in its inherent, fundamental, economic and social values that it has set up in a revolutionary way. The living-wage principle that was introduced in 1936 to build a revolutionary change from the money value to economics to the moral basis.

The self-sufficiency programme implying freedom from exploitation of all kinds is therefore the logical economic ideal in which khadi is rooted. This was already instilled by Gandhiji in 1936 along with the living-wage principle. The spinner should use the yarn for his or her own need of cloth before delivering for others for a debt or wage and can sell the yarn only if there is surplus. This essential point was missed for a long time till Gandhiji emphasized it again in 1945 in the form of yarn quota from the khadi buyers. Gandhiji explained that khadi represents a wholesome movement for totally changing the economic basis of poverty and putting an end to exploitation of all kind. This meant a new social order, creating full economic freedom for the lakhs of lakhs of India.

Khadi will lose its special value if the self-sufficiency and non-exploitation principles are ignored and if khadi work is not immediately incorporated on this basis. Therefore the present form of khadi work has to be thoroughly overhauled, diverting it of the present commercial form of production to one place and sale in another without disturbing the work built up during the last 25 years of huge sacrifice. This became the declared policy of the A.I.S.A. from 1945 March, when it passed a resolution to hand over the present commercial portion of the khadi work to Public Trusts who would carry on this part of the work as a programme of relief to the poor and to meet the demand of khadi buyers with the spare tool and sacrifice as

the AISA has been carrying on all over. Then the AISA would become free to devote all its resources to future to the development of black work purely for self-sufficiency through Sewagee Groupa Sewa towards creating self-sufficient economic units of village raj. A few Trusts have come forward in some provinces in response to the AISA and have relieved it to some extent. But in some provinces like Tamilnad no Trust has put come forward to take over the work on the terms of the AISA.

It need not be understood that the AISA has decided to liquidate itself. Nor can the AISA indefinitely carry on the present economical form of black work, waiting for some Trust to come forward to relieve it. The development of the Kotel Mandol movement started in 1949 October has offered a unique opportunity for all black lovers inspired by the revolutionary ideas of black to rally together and form small units in all parts of the country. Time has now come for the AISA to decentralize its work, harness the energies of the Kotel Mandols with local initiative and responsibility in considering the black work in several regions. The Provincial branches of the AISA being very strictly may not be able to do intensive and concentrated work of this kind in the various parts of the province. Intensive self-sufficiency and Sewagee Sewa will become order of the province is redistributed into small compact regions or circles to work for achieving regional self-sufficiency in black with the co-operation of the various Kotel Mandols.

Each circle will be called a village in charge of a market. Each village will be an autonomous unit with its own labour, capital and full responsibility to develop the village towards the ideal of individual and regional self-sufficiency. The village though forming part of the province will be free to take all the initiative for working a definite programme suitable for the village. The village will be directly responsible to the Central Office at Sewagee. It will have an intensive programme for cultivation of crops, giving necessary training for spinning, carding, spinning and weaving etc. It should become progressively self-sufficient in finding its own cotton and making its own clothes and other implements required. It will register the black customers and will have close contact with them by periodical visits to their houses, wards, and the villages in the village giving all possible help. The black-castes will be able to do more propaganda for the ideology of black by distributing necessary literature. The Kotel Mandol movement will gain great impetus in each village and group of villages. Each village will work with a definite programme to become progressively and completely self-sufficient in meeting all the requirements of the village.

There will be all possible co-ordination between the various villages in each of the pro-

vincial regions without seriously disturbing the present form of work.

In accordance with this policy Madrasites and some provinces have been reorganised into villages. Similarly in Tamilnad and Andhra about six villages will be immediately set up. The AISA's ideal being purely regional self-sufficiency and the creation of a new order of society based on the principle of non-exploitation and the establishment of village raj it cannot obviously divide the villages on the basis of the present political or other divisions. The only consideration will be the compactness of such circle, the number of black drovers and the spread facilities required as a result of the AISA's long work. The AISA has decided to create the Madras village as a distinct circle. There is required for two branches under two provincial managements in Madras City. It should be conducted in concentrated work towards one black under a single management. This will give an opportunity to the Madras Khat Vahag for developing work with all initiative and local responsibility. Thus the black-castes in village will be able to do more intensive work with greater contact with the black lovers through training classes, and propaganda through literature. Black production will develop in the City for domestic and regional self-sufficiency enabling the village to progressively curtail the import of black and implements etc. from outside the village. The village is expected to plan its work in order to be not only self-sufficient but self-supporting in the present programme.

We hope that the people of Madras and the suburbs will appreciate the noble purpose with which the Madras Khat Vahag is started today and we request all black lovers in the village to give their best co-operation in realising the object.

Madras, 11-5-54

EMERSONIAN GANESH
Secretary, AISA, Sevagee

PLANNING FOR VILLAGES

(The Deputy Secretary of the Sevagee plan at the Government of Bombay met last week in a meeting room at Vaidal in discuss various topics relating to constructive activities. The subject was addressed, among others by Shri Vallabhbhai Mehta (Finance Minister, Bombay), Shri Manohar Parikh, Shri Chakrabarti, Shri Dr. Ambedkar, Pandit and others.

Emphasizing the importance of the Sevagee Scheme, Shri Vallabhbhai Mehta, the Finance Minister of Bombay observed:

"The Government of Bombay contemplates to carry out the Sevagee plan in the form of a village raj. The Government of Bombay can do this only through the constructive work which was done in this. The Sevagee Scheme of the Government of Bombay is this type of a Social Revolution."

The discussion centred round the following heads: Black and Village Industries, Vol. India, Agriculture and the Village Corporation, Public Planning Commission and Labour and their Problems. On each of these the gathering arrived at some definite conclusions, a brief summary of which was made by a member appointed for it.

Among them that on the Planning Commission was not of highest and wider interest. The members had the

board of village and District Board Deputy Chairmen of the Planning Commission. This added to the importance of the Harjiana. As the commission arrived a letter to the effect of the situation upon it became a useful study book by the members of the Planning Commission and the public. Their summary is reproduced below.

Conclusions

1. The aim of the Planning Commission should be to reorganise and improve villages so that the people should not be attracted to the village life.

2. All national Planning schemes should be based on principles of developing wellbeing of every man, satisfactory communication, life of physical labour, material progression, and healthful.

3. The success of village-centred planning will largely depend upon the extent to which people respond to it themselves. For this it is necessary that the education of the masses should be organised on National Days, four days from the primary to the University stage.

Students and workers also should concentrate their aim to attract the people for this. For this history has much and not content with any propaganda from the press and the platform but should set an example to help working life in their own lives. Like health, agriculture, culture and workers must in this respect educate to work details of life in the quantity, quality and extent of their lives, find living not only that all the present wave of decay and corruption be dispelled.

4. It must be planned very closely on the right line, it is necessary to fix the proper standard of living in terms of cloth and other vital necessities for the nation. It should neither be as low as that of the economically poor, nor as high as that of the prosperity standard of life.

5. On account of the extreme poverty and illiteracy of the majority of farmers, Indian agriculture is still a semi-ignorant use of its plants, culture and equipment, the results in agriculture. The only remedy of this extreme poverty is the application of the principle of cooperative living in villages. The Planning Commission also should formulate for this a bold and comprehensive programme.

6. It is not necessary for agriculture, one bigging and other village industries to have massive plant based on machinery. What is needed in planning for work of these is intensive production in small areas.

7. Village industries should be given protection and encouragement against warlike. The best way for the Government to protect and maintain village industries is to build on the use of village products for all their requirements. As the largest production of the country is cotton, it is surely the greatest producer of goods, and their products naturally influence the economy of the country.

8. The same principle should also be applied to cloth. Because it should be noted that there will remain cloth so long as villages are not mechanised and the source of domestic textiles. As a measure to meet the present material shortage and also with a view to preparing to the military and Governmental services the spirit of non-violence ardently and discipline of physical labour it is necessary to be taken existing among them for manufacturing their own clothes.

9. The planning must not be set in which every thing has to be carried out in accordance with the plans and Government, dictated from the centre, rather the centre of the plan must be the village. Only then people would be able to understand their problems and take interest in developing their own communities to solve them.

This is possible only if prime responsibility are entrusted with the responsibility of village communities.

and are given an opportunity to give for the principal work of their life. In parallel planning should be village-centred so that the principal work of the work as well as the social education is concerned.

10. The village is fundamental in the location of the city life of such a concentration, that it is in a more isolated villages and it is not, planning is not confined to its own place, it is not, that of the village distribution being wiped out leaving no hope for the revival in the city centre.

11. Should the Planning Commission follow the plan, Governmental history in its plans and policies the constructive workers of District will undoubtedly create all the help they can in every thing else.

(The above from Harjiana) HARJIAN HARJANA

Harjiana

Training in Hiss and Peh-gar

For the last three or four years, the Government of Bombay has been working the new plan under which men and gear are produced from palm trees. One of the objects of agriculture industry is to find employment for those people who have been thrown out of employment on account of the prohibition policy.

It should be noted that though the new work is carried on under the auspices and with the aid of the Government, it is an independent department, wholly under the management of rural workers. The District and the Provincial departments give their co-operation to it, but do not interfere in its work. As the work is carried on through rural workers, the administrative changes are also very few.

Under this scheme the District organisers and Centre organisers are honorary voluntary workers. Many of them are Congress and constructive workers. Workers on salary basis are selected after a thorough test. But since the work is expanding there will be need for more such workers.

The field officers encourage opportunity to those who are desirous of engaging themselves in constructive activities. The worker is allowed plenty of freedom in developing the work to the extent of his capacity. They can work as voluntary or remunerated workers at any time.

The department intends to open a camp after June 1950 for training intending and advanced workers. Those who are recipients of salaries will continue to receive them during the period of training.

For particulars and details apply to the undersigned.

Provincial Area Officer
Old Canton House
Fort, Bombay

UNDERSEEN MEAT
The Director
Government Area Office
Bombay 2011

(Press Release)

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY KARNATA GANDHI)

Editor, K. G. MANNATHALA



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AHMEDABAD—SATURDAY, JUNE 24, 1950

TWO ANNAS

VANA-MAHOTSAVA FESTIVAL OF FORESTS

The new Food Minister of India, Shri K. M. Munshi, has made an appeal to celebrate throughout the country the first week of July as the Vana Mahotsava Week by planting trees. I hope the people will wholeheartedly give their co-operation to this important programme.

There was a time when in our country when the wealth of a man was measured in terms of trees such as mango, coconut, kaffir, lakshmi etc. possessed by him. In fixing up a marriage, this was one of the factors which the parties took into account.

There are more real wealth than currency notes, which pretend to care interest. The interest which money brings is illusory as being a mere transfer of a thing in existence from one person to another. Even if hoarded for fifty years, a note is a note cannot double itself, but if a tree is properly looked after for some ten years only, it will give enormous wealth in the form of fruits, leaves, wood, etc. and will continue to give profit for several years without any trouble to the owner. Moreover, they will attract clouds and increase rainfall and will prevent erosion of the soil. Shri Munshi's ever fresh imagination has made an important suggestion of launching a countrywide drive for planting one crore trees during the 'Festival of Forests' Week.

A few days ago Shriwell Sachchid Kripalani in the course of a speech described how the Jews of Palestine take immense pains after planting trees. Concentrated efforts are made there to turn a desert land into a land of forests.

There remains one of our hygienic hotel-keeper in a health resort in U.S.A., which is a popular place for young couples to go to for their honeymoon. He makes each couple plant a tree and puts a board there with their names and date of marriage. This makes them attached to the tree and prompts them to visit the place often. Thus by a single act the hotel-keeper achieves the two fold purpose of increasing his clientele and adding to the national wealth.

If the planting of a tree were made a part of the rite of the marriage ceremony imposing the obligation on the couple to rear it as their first child, it would be a valuable piece of the general age. It would prevent some difficulty in

cities which municipal bodies would be required to solve. But so far as small towns and villages are concerned, it would be a constructive reform. Let us remember, as our great poet has said, that our civilization was born in aranyak (forests).

A point which deserves to be remembered is that planting a tree is not sufficient by itself. People and the Government should see that every tree planted is carefully looked after.

Wardha, Thursday, K. G. MANNATHALA

VANASPATI PROHIBITION BILL

Paradi Thebartha Bhargava has introduced a Bill in the Indian Parliament for the prohibition of the manufacture and sale of hydrocarbon oils. If the Bill is passed into law vanaspathi factories will be closed and its import from foreign countries will also be stopped. The Government has published the Bill for eliciting public opinion, and fixed 31st August next as the final date for communicating the opinion to the Government.

During the last few years vanaspathi has become an important article in our country. The industry has proved so profitable to its manufacturers and sellers that strenuous efforts are being made to rapidly multiply its factories and it has become easy for them to spend lakhs of rupees on advertisements and other propaganda for it. If we look at any important paper, our eyes will run over to notice prominent advertisements to build pride in famous variety of vanaspathi. Besides many attractively put up and illustrated tracts printed on costly paper purporting to give information about it are widely distributed. Immense propaganda is being made to elicit public opinion in its support by August 31st.

On the other hand while the article has proved very profitable to the business community, it has done great harm to the people in a variety of ways. It has seriously disturbed the economy of agriculture and cow-keeping, and almost killed the glass industry. From the point of view of health, it has not been proved to possess any superior value whatever. And yet with its deceptive disguise, it successfully lures men into incurring superfluous expenditure and practise self-deception. It has made it difficult for the people to obtain pure oil and pure ghee. And what is most important of all, it has contributed in a very large measure to

the loss of all sense of business morality from industry and commerce.

This deceptive oil push is the job of glam to entice the public and convince the householder, though he very well knows that it is oil and not glam, either to go in for it or to submit to consuming adulterated oil or adulterated glam. And the consequences are that the moral, money means of livelihood and health of the people are imperilled.

It is difficult to predict the final outcome of Trench Shagar's Bill in the Parliament. There does not appear to be any unanimity of opinion on this subject in the several Cabinets of the Central and State Governments. Some are in favour of complete glam wholly against it and the rest indifferent. This became evident from the facts disclosed by Shri Jalendra Dasgupta in the course of a statement made before the Parliament. It was found that some of the State Governments had expressed opinions which run counter to those pronounced by the ministers of those very States when earlier they met in a conference in this connection. Some ministers and experts have consciously or unconsciously gone beyond their sphere and made statements which have been avidly seized upon by conspiracy industrialists and used by them as an effective instrument of propaganda. For example, Dr. Ghiler was within his sphere when he narrated the results of the experiments of the experts, but he transgressed his limits when he went on to relate what had happened in the Agartala Palace or alleged the industrialists by giving the irrelevant certificate that he himself had used conspiracy and did not experience any harmful effect. In the same way if Dr. S. S. Bhattacharya had confined himself to saying that a reliable colour was not available, he would have been within his jurisdiction as a chemical expert. But he exceeded it when he aired his views about how colourlessness would affect commerce and industry? When they knew that there were others—some of them even in the Cabinet and the class of experts—who seriously held a different opinion, they ought not to have indulged in these irrelevant statements from their responsible positions. Thirty Day have rendered decisions not only their own responsibility but also that of other experts and officials. Recent advertisements which form part of the propaganda drive for conspiracy, are making the false use of these spurious opinions, supplemented with distorted paraphrases of their own. For example one of the advertisements says that "results showed conclusively that conspiracy is nutritious and wholesome." Another quotes Dr. Bhattacharya's older doctor. Another declares "conspiracy is wholly good. It is a wholesome for necessary to our daily needs." Still another "One of the doctors said that those who opposed the manufacture of conspiracy were in fact the friends of the risk and epidemic of the pest." All these are untrue statements. The

experts have said at the most that, "From the point of view of health the results indicate that conspiracy of melting point 57°C has no harmful effect as compared with raw groundnut oil." This means that its health value is neither more nor less than raw groundnut oil. There is no comparison with glam or any other raw or refined oil. We do not even know how it affects human health in comparison with refined groundnut oil. The experiments were made on rats. Even there, the utmost that they say is that "In comparative feeding experiments carried out on rats for three generations with raw groundnut oil refined groundnut oil and conspiracy oil of melting points 57°C and 45°C, the results indicate that there is no deleterious effect produced by conspiracy as compared with the raw or refined oil." We do not know if experiments to find out the respective value of conspiracy and pure glam and adulterated glam were made or not. We also do not know how conspiracy stands in comparison with raw or refined coconut, rapeseed and cottonseed oils. Be that as it may it can be safely asserted that conspiracy has not been shown to possess any special advantage over liquid oils so far as health is concerned. Its only specialty is its capacity to lure the eyes and the minds of the people with its garb of glam and to induce them to pay for it a greater price than what it should justifiably fetch.

There is not the only harm it inflicts. It has made the oil factories pedipropaganda. The reform that is left as a matter in the process of refining the oil is purchased by oil-refiners at a cheap price and is used as one of the adulterants of oil, while a itself serves as an adulterant of glam. In spite of all the expenses incurred for refining and subsidizing the oil, people get neither pure glam nor pure oil. This makes the people think that to avoid all this worry they had better use conspiracy itself wholly. Thus conspiracy captures the market for itself by detaching other edible oils.

Since the progressive decline of the glam industry oil-cakes too have become locally unavailable. The mill oil-cake is poorer in its oil content than the glam cake and has more impurities. Besides, it is exported and used also as manure. It means that an essential ingredient of soil-fertility is sent away across the seas or mixed with the soil. It is doubtful in what extent uncomposted oil-cake is a good manure to the soil. Thus both agriculture and over-irrigating suffer considerable harm. Of the corruption and demoralization which it leads to the less is said the better. Adulteration and black-marketing are resorted to without any shame. False propaganda has been made an art.

In view of all these things, the people—especially the constructive workers and other public-service institutions and municipalities and parishes—should differentiate upon this matter and forward their considered opinion

before the 31st August to the Paid Minister of the Central Government and the Speaker of the Indian Parliament. If they agree with the opinion expressed here, it may be stated in the following form:

"In the opinion of _____, the hydrogenation of white oils and tacking on hydrogenated oils should be prohibited at an early date, and so long as this is not done, all these hydrogenated oils should be coloured, so that it may become impossible to deceive the public by mixing it with pure ghee."

A copy of this resolution may also be forwarded to the Secretary, Government, Gopur Wartha.

Wartha, 10-6-50

K. C. MANGRUTHALA

I fully endorse the above

VIRASA

NOTES

Sans Gauraj

The sudden demise of Sans Gauraj on the 11th instant at an early age of 45 has naturally plunged the people of Maharashtra as also his personal friends elsewhere into deep sorrow. He was a great devotee, almost to the line of saints like Namdev and Tukaram, though his spirit of devotion expressed itself in the field of the service of the masses. After taking his M.A. degree he worked as a school teacher for some years and inspired his students in an indelible manner. Soon the struggle for Swaraj threw him into the political movements of the country, and he became a popular labour leader. His writings, which consist of stories, poems, articles, addresses, etc. run into several thousand pages. They are read by men, women and children alike. Perhaps he was the greatest popular writer of modern times in Maharashtra. His books have begun to be translated in other Indian languages, and if he had lived long enough very probably he might have earned an all-India fame as a great and inspiring author. And, yet authorship was not the object of his writings. He had a stimulating and ennobling message to give, and he wrote and spoke because he must.

Shri Ramakrishna, Rameshranath Tagore and Gandhiji were the three kiths of his life, and he assimilated some characteristics of each of these. He brought to memory the unphilosophical gnatcatcheriness of Ramakrishna and looked towards God as a fond child looks towards its mother. He had become so thoroughly identified with the mother aspect of God, that his own sentiments and depressions towards those whom he served took the shape of those of a poor, gentle-looking mother, heavily worried for the well-being of her children. He would literally weep like a mother when he could not bear to see the materially indigent or morally degrading condition of the people. His manner of speech and his soft tones reminded one of his second

son—Rameshranath Tagore. And he used his spirit of Satyagraha and concern for the have-nots to Gandhiji. He often took to fasting both as a weapon against and a penance for wrongs. The famous temple of Pandharpur was opened to Harijans as a consequence of his fast. He observed a fast of 21 days to atone for the murder of Gandhiji at the hands of a man who happened to belong to the same social group as he.

For some time past he was identified with the Socialist Party. But he was not a man of labels. His sole concern was the well-being of the masses and the moral and material regeneration of the nation.

May his spirit inspire all servants of the people.

Wartha, 14-6-50

K. G. M.

Short-hand Classes

Short-hand classes in Hindi, Marathi and Gujarati will be conducted under the auspices of Government Sanskrit College of Coimbatore, Wartha from 18th July, 1950. The Correspondence course will be finished within 6 months and the Reporting Course within 18 months. Besides, students will be trained in Nagari type-writing. All the students completing their course will be examined and the Diploma will be awarded to the successful candidates. All those who are interested in the Courses should apply to the Principal, stating their age and qualifications before 30th June. Printed application forms can be had from the College Office on sending stamp worth 5 paise.

The fee for the Correspondence Course will be Rs. 40/- for 'Shighra-lipi Pravin' Rs. 50/- and for Reporting Rs. 120/-.

Accommodation for a few students is available in the College hostel which will have to be reserved by paying Rs. 25/- in advance.

The speakers taught in the College is organised by a Committee appointed by the Constitutional Assembly of the Government of India. During the academic sessions 1948-49 and 1949-50 students from various parts of India like Assam, Bihar, U.P., Vindhya Pradesh, Bombay, Madras, Cochin, Madhya Pradesh and Gujarat were admitted to these classes and have received the diploma, 'Shighra-lipi Pravin.'

SHIGRA-LIPI,

Short-hand Classes,

G. A. College of Commerce, Wartha.

Swargaraj' Prashasthi Committee

The last date for submitting replies to the questionnaire, issued by the Committee is extended up to 30-6-1950.

Local bodies and social workers are requested to co-operate and send in replies at an early date.

P. H. KANAYANI

Secretary,

Swargaraj' Living Conditions

Swargaraj' Council for

Elimination

HARIJAN

June 24

1964

VILLAGE WOMAN'S CAUSE

The case of the village woman from the point of view of the amount of toil that would fall to her share by the Village Industries Programme had also been placed before Gandhiji by advocates of her own sex. A letter by one of such advocates was replied to by Gandhiji in *Margan* of 18th November, 1954. As it can be usefully read even today, it is reproduced in another column under the title "Why Not Labour-saving Devices".

I have an impression that another lady (Shrimati Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay *) had represented the same cause with even greater force than the one just mentioned. She said that there might be an element of truth in the argument that villages required to be industrialised to make them more prosperous and advanced, also in the statement usually made that the villagers had little or no work for about five months in a year and they badly required some supplementary employment.

But the statement of insufficient employment was not true so far as the village women were concerned. Village women of even well-to-do classes did plenty of domestic work even if they did not go into the fields or work for wages, and women of the poorer classes were definitely overworked in their double capacity of wage-earners and house-wives. Their work knew no Sundays, holidays or vacations. During the working season peasant women had to help the men in the fields in addition to the performance of their domestic duties. And in the off season, there was perhaps, even more work for them when the men stayed at home whiling away their time idly in company of equally idle guests. With cooking and card-playing if not also drinking and gambling, carried on for hours at a stretch spreading filth, infectious diseases and various other vices rampant among village men, the lot of village women was an extremely ghastly one. She wanted a programme which would give her some leisure and relief instead of additional work. And, the argument ran, examined from the woman's point of view, Gandhiji's Village Industries Programme was not in her interest. Keeping apart, items of that programme were what were usually regarded as woman's occupations as opposed to man's. It was the woman who plied the charkha, performed at least some of the auxiliary operations of weaving, if not the whole of it, ground the corn, husked the paddy, beat the pulp, treaded the cow and prepared the dairy products. All this was in addition to her duties at home as a house-wife and mother of children. The

spinning-mill, flour-mill, rice-mill, paper-mill etc., had given her a much needed relief, and Gandhiji now wanted to deprive her of it. This was cruel. She wanted Gandhiji to recommend village industries which would engage men rather than women.

The article of the 18th November, 1954 answers the economic aspect of the problem. The industries sought to be revived by (Gandhiji) were living village industries till recent times. Whether worked by men or women, the villagers drew did find time and energy to run them and they enjoyed better prosperity and joy of life than now on account of them. Their revival was an absolute economic necessity even if it entailed more time and labour to the village population. Improvement in the methods and implements of these industries was not ruled out and the question of time and fatigue must be solved by research work in that direction.

But the woman's grievance, at the root, is not an economic but a social and educational problem. The card-driver's wife, referred to by Dr. Lokanathan, was rather a poor representative of her class. Inasmuch as she had the good fortune of having a long-serviced husband whom she could easily hand to her widow. Unfortunately for the women of the revolution, of fortunately for most, all women are not so privileged and for them the apprehension was true that these village industries would have to be worked by them whether willingly or otherwise. Her complaints could not, therefore, be dismissed as puerile and petulant. Its weakness lay in being lodged against one, who was himself one of the greatest friends of women, and one of the most jealous guardians of their rights to equal honour, dignity and respect. He had long before laid down his plan to help them out of their difficult position. It was no less than a social and educational revolution, as great, if not as much so, as the removal of untouchability.

He had thought about it and started a revolution against it, from South Africa and continued it in India. Just as in several languages men have all sorts of conventional genders irrespective of the sex or awkwardness of the objects, actions and ideas denoted by them, so also our occupations are divided conventionally into occupations for men, women and both. And the further correction is that women may assist men in the latter's occupations, but men will rarely assist women in theirs. Thus spinning, grinding, husking, cooking, tanning the hides, looking after children's cleanliness, washing women's clothes or soiled clothes, fetching water etc. would not be done by men (except in the capacity of a servant), even if the housework was halved. A kind householder might allow all this work to accumulate until the woman recovered, but it would not easily occur to him to do all these things himself as a matter of course. Whether it is on account of man's sense of

kinship over women, or the effect of having been spoilt by women. This device is a moral test. Gandhi, however, did not record it. He felt with this sexual division of occupations and abolished caste and untouchability. And unashamed he prepared the people also for the change. He made the whole Congress do as a matter of duty what was regarded as solely women's work. I mean spinning. When it was first preached, men in villages did protest that it was women's work, which men would be ashamed to do. But when they saw veteran Congress leaders plying the charkha in public and spinning being made a condition of membership in the Congress and the prostitution of self-sown banks of purn growing into a country-wide fashion, it became an honourable occupation for both the sexes. Similarly, too, grinding, husking, weeding, sowing and the like.

I think that if the cartoonist and his wife had stood before Gandhi for a reconciliation of their domestic quarrel, Gandhi might have acquired into their daily routine work, perhaps, might have even suggested the wife side and asked the husband to do the husking himself. And if he had said that it was not a man's job, he might have asked them to go in as Ashrams for a short stay and see for themselves that it was no longer merely a women's work.

One of the thrusts of the Swarajya Revolution is the recognition of all work as equal in status and the removal of the false notion that particular types of work were to done only by women.

Other improvements are made by the people who have to do jobs to which they are not traditionally accustomed. When men begin to participate in women's jobs, they would know by co-operation the labour, time and care demanded in them, and being not habituated to them would try a hundred tricks to make the job easy. That is how so many improvements have been introduced in the traditional methods of village industries, since the A.I.S.A. and the A.I.V.A. were founded. Just see how many types of charkhas and other tools of ordinary processes have been invented or re-invented in new ways in the course of a generation. New types of looms, spindles, paper-making implements, husking machines, hay choppers, the sholes and the blagan hump are all everywhere of less than 15 years' standing. Some of them have more than doubled the productive capacity, some have made the work lighter, some have made it easier by removing such disturbing factors as noise and fatigue-producing postures. The cartoonist's wife would not hesitate to leave her husband, if he offered her co-operation and was assisted by a good technician and a practical teacher of thrift in their present handloom life.

Wardha, 22-4-40

K. R. MATHURALLA

WHY NOT LABOUR-SAVING DEVICES

By H. E. Gandhi

A fair friend who was enthused over the contemplated formation of the All-India Village Industries Association, on reading my previous message on the preliminary programme wrote:

"The very idea of the removal or abandonment of the hand husking of rice and chakki grinding even for villages has scared me from, and abated my enthusiasm for village work. It seems to me an enormous waste of men's time and energy not to take advantage of the labour-saving devices in the upkhi wheel. If the villagers and along with them the upkhi workers have to husk and grind, there will hardly be leisure left for them to attend to anything else for their improvement. Besides if the primitive methods were revived, the men will take up the work in the first flush of enthusiasm, but ultimately the brunt of the whole work, I mean husking and grinding, will fall on us, women, and there will be a setback to the little progress we have already made."

Underlying this argument is a fallacy. There is no question of referring to take advantage of the labour saving devices. If the villagers had enough to eat and to clothe themselves with, there would be no cause for horse grinding or horse husking assuming that the question of health was not of any importance or if it was, there was no difference between horse-ground flour and mill-ground, or hand-husked rice and mill-husked. But the problem is that the villagers become idle when they left off husking and grinding even for their own use, and made no good use of their idle hours, whether for upkhi or otherwise. A starving man or woman who has time for his or her hand will surely be glad to earn an honest penny during that time, for he or she will stress being allowed to save his or her labour when either can turn it into a few paise to alleviate starvation. My correspondent is wrong in thinking that the upkhi worker has nothing to grind or husk. He has certainly to learn the art and know the tools, so that he can suggest improvements and understand the limitations of the tools. He is wrong, again, in thinking that in the first flush of enthusiasm men will be called upon to grind or husk or will perhaps take tasks of their own accord and ultimately let the hand fall on the shoulders of women. The fact is that husking and grinding was the prerogative of women, and less of themselves made a thing out of this task which was both dignified and indispensable. Now they are poorer off, because the vast majority of them have not been able to find another employment in the place of these two which we have snatched away from them.

When the fair friend writes about the "little progress" that the women have already

made, she has undoubtedly the city-dwellers in mind for the village life is entirely untouched by uplift workers. The majority of them do not even know how the women at most live in the 1,00,000 villages of this vast land. We still know how they have deteriorated for want of nourishing food and protective clothing. And we still know how, being fed on poisonous rice or flour, which are their staple, they and their children, low "Lamas" and what little vitality they have.

I have no partiality, for return to the primitive method of grinding and baking for the sake of them. I suggest the return, because there is no other way of giving employment to the millions of villagers who are living in idleness. In my opinion, village uplift is impossible, unless we solve the pressing economic distress. Therefore to induce the villagers to utilize their idle hours in its useful solid uplift work. I advise the fair correspondent and those who feel like her to go to some villages, live there the same time as the model of the villagers, and try to live like them, and they will soon perceive the soundness of my argument.

Amrita (24.11.1944)

The Representation of Allpathy

The thoughts of the Government and the people are today directed on extension of medical facilities in the villages of India in the fight against disease. If medical relief is to receive its due place in schemes of national planning, it is necessary that a doctor should keep the interest of his patients above all other considerations. Every one is not in a position to pay for costly injections, patent medicines or expensive surgical operations. A poor man cannot go into debt for the sake of building bank balances for doctors and chemists or providing dividends for shareholders of medicine and vaccine. A poor man cannot be deprived of the right to relief from disease. It is for the Indian doctors to end the reign of expensive treatment. At least eight out of ten persons in India live in villages. How can millions of poor villagers afford expensive treatment of the European system of medicine? Ayurvedic Unani and especially nature-cure treatment of diseases (dragles healing) recommended by Gandhi and Shree are considerably cheaper and efficacious. Besides vaccinations and inoculations are useless and dangerous as Gandhi wrote:

Best prevention is better than cure, every one should observe the laws of health, described in Mahatma Gandhi's excellent book, *Key to Health*.*

ROHINI N. MEHTA

QUESTION-BOX

Congress Elections

Q. Looking at the newly opened at Congress election booths—free fights, burling of shoes, abusive language, rudeness towards women and many more ugly features—and the foul and ultra-constitutional means which candidates and even polling and returning officers resort to, one wonders what the Congress is coming to. What losses may the people take from an organisation, in which there is no discipline, no consideration of principles and the elections are reduced to a farce giving rise to corrupt bargains? We are either disheartening workers or corrupting people. We keep away from party politics and have no ambition for posts of responsibility. But we do desire that the Congress should be an honest and efficient political organisation. We have a very deep-rooted attachment to the elected political institutions of our country and we do not feel disposed to either destroy it or see it disappearing in this spontaneous way. What shall we do under these circumstances?

A. As I have said more than once before, I am definitely of opinion that if good men do not feel themselves able enough to set right a decaying organisation by entering into it, they must abandon it and dissociate from it completely. Congress is like the ancestral house, in which we were born and have been naturally proud of it. However if the house is dilapidating and no repairs are possible, then it is our duty to quit it and either to destroy it, ourselves or let it destroy itself. It may happen that thousands of people will take possession of it and control it for a time. But when it becomes patent that no decent man joins it or helps it, the Congress will come to a crash automatically, burying in its debris, also those who stubbornly cling to it. In the same way as those who do not abandon a crumbling structure.

If those who insist on party are anxious to take part in politics, let them form a separate organisation and build it up slowly and steadily with their exemplary character and unshakable nerve.

Those who do not want to participate in politics actively but are all the same interested in the political policies and problems of the country will do well to stay away from any political party. At elections let them exercise their vote in favour of the candidate whom they deem to be a man of high character and public spirit, irrespective of the party to which he belongs.

Believers in Gandhi's constructive programme should understand that at the present juncture, there can be no political party which can either totally adopt and implement it, or totally reject it. Therefore they should consider the following two qualifications in deciding how they should cast their vote.

1. The candidate should not be a communalist.

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3. He or she must be a person of irreproachable character and honesty.

If a candidate of this type is not set up by any political party or does not stand independently they had better not use their vote at all. If they can separate themselves they may declare by appropriate means their want of confidence in the declared candidates.

Wardha, 5-6-50 E. G. MARSHWALA

(From Hindi)

GOVERNMENT POLICY ABOUT VILLAGE OCCUPATIONS

Shri Satya Tarkatarkishish is an old khadi worker of Gandur (Andhra). Though old and ill, his main interest in life is the message of the shukras. He watches the khadi activities of the Madras Province very keenly and if he finds that the Government policy in any industrial sphere is hostile to the spirit and success of the shukras, he feels uneasy and writes long and detailed letters to the Chief Minister and the Ministers concerned explaining how that policy would work prejudicially to the success of khadi. He seems to do so under the belief that though the Government approach to khadi is the same as has owing to insufficient understanding of the khadi economy the Ministers adhere wrong policies and injure the very cause to which, he believes the Government is committed.

I receive letters from several other workers also drawing my attention to the omission or commission of various acts necessary for the encouragement of village industries and occupations e.g. regarding the encouragement given to hand-mills, reel-mills, oil-mills, soap-mill factories, motor transport, tractors, money crops, etc., or the negligence shown towards village products in regard to railway transport, management, tolls etc. Some of the correspondents wonder that Government do not only not still ban these industries through decrees or not only not disallow installation of new factories, but their Ministers themselves go to perform opening ceremonies of such industrial establishments. If village industry is to be the goal of India's economic order, they cannot understand the logic given to such large industries as complete with village industries, and being at a single word, they think that the Ministers are misled by designing people and should be forewarned.

I am understood the worry, which we "khadi workers" feel in this respect, but I am afraid that we make a mistake in understanding the mind of the present Government. I do not think that it is doing all sorts of things haphazardly and without any policy. Its long-term policy is clear. It is that of full-fledged industrialisation in every sphere possible. If it can be done in five years, it would not allow six years to work it out. Its progress in that direction is checked not for want of will on its part, but for want of capital goods, and means for their purchase or manufacture.

Village occupations can stay an artistic handicraft and relief measure and will be even encouraged in the same way as they are in England or U.S.A., i.e., as things of beauty and art and work-houses. The picturesque shukra of Kashmir and the fine muslin of Bengal and Andhra and some hand-knott weaving would have always a place in the same way as fine paintings, artistic vessels, jewellery, embroidery, artistic designs carved in stone, wood, ivory etc., particular kinds of hand-made paper and similar things of art and beauty. Such parts of even these things as can be made by mechanized industrial processes would be taken out of the handcraft sphere leaving only such things to be done by artisans as cannot be done by machines.

But complete industrialisation will necessarily take some time. Moreover, the transition to industrialisation will involve sudden unemployment of large masses of people. Just as migrations have created the problem of rehabilitating persons displaced from their homes so industrialisation will create a standing problem of rehabilitating people displaced from their vocations. Both are displaced people and they will have to be fed in some way. Western nations had to do so through their work-houses and almshouses. A work-house is really charity feeding (samskara) in the guise of temporary employment. It is like a sentence of hard work on political prisoners. The jail authorities are not very particular about the amount of work done by political prisoners. It is enough only as a symbol of discipline and as a stimulus for getting reconverted. Similarly the work in a work-house is just a stimulus for getting a man.

The Government will look upon the shukras organization more as less as permanent work-houses. Since India is so large and its problems of unemployment, famine etc. very great and scattered, for years to come khadi work may have to be carried on with varying intensity in the different parts of India. But this should not be taken to mean that the Government desires that people to be clothed by khadi as a normal way of life. Since even the small amount of khadi so produced will have to be sold, people like us who voluntarily become its propagandists will be treated with respect, and public bodies, who patronise it, will be kindly looked upon.

If we understand the Government mind this way, their acts and attitudes need not cause us surprise. Our way of thinking might be different but we must realize that if we want our way to be effective through Government machinery, it would require a Government of our way of thinking. This is not possible unless the people are also persuaded to our way of thinking. The conclusion is that we must work upon the minds of the people and not of the Government.

Wardha 1-6-50

E. G. MARSHWALA

CLEAN INDIA

Food and sanitation are two primary needs which require to be immediately attended to if true India is to prosper properly. One single thing done successfully will help solve this double-problem. Mahatma Gandhi once calculated if the Indians, that India was losing fifty crores of rupees every year by not utilizing human excreta by way of manure as was done in the neighbouring countries of Japan and China. In the context of present high prices, this annual loss of manure will amount to the astounding figure of at least 100 crores of rupees annually.

2. Just imagine the dry, arid, exhausted Indian soil hungering for organic manure and ask to, ask the whole Indian countryside rocking with filth and foul smells emanating from patting and piled human excreta being swept by the roadside and tossed, almost anywhere and everywhere a disgusting sight, and an ideal breeding ground for flies and germs of all kinds.

3. Is there no way of remedying this contrast? Yes there is if we all follow the example of our Chinese brothers and bury the "dirt" in pits of suitable depth and size and turn it into 'gold' manure. Because dirt is nothing but matter in a wrong place. Suppose we resolve to do this simple thing on a nation-wide scale the result will be simply glorious. Just imagine the fields along the whole Indian countryside enriched and fertilized with organic manure with flourishing golden crops waving their grateful, smiling heads nourished or enriched by mother earth, as if in joy and satisfaction at being fully fed. The annual crop yield of India will increase in value to the tune of 150 crores of rupees every year. Is this the dream of an idle dreamer? Or can it be actually realized?

4. Yes it can be done provided there is the will to do it. Let us then turn this so-called dirt into wealth throughout the length and breadth of Bharat from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal.

5. The question that next arises is can this be done on a voluntary basis? Swarnpati Dapal, Appabhai Patwardhan and Vinoba Bhave tried to bring this about in Maharashtra. But they could not make people reform their ways in this respect and have met with unfortunate success. The success is really infinitesimal. At this rate it may take decades if not the best part of a century to accomplish the task to an appreciable extent. Can we afford to wait that long? Or shall we have to give up the attempt as hopeless? I do not think that a poor nation like India can afford to lose national wealth to the extent of 150 crores of rupees annually and continue to remain filthy and insanitary into the bargain. But if voluntary effort is too slow to achieve the desired result can it be done just with the help of legislation

supported by propaganda through Press and Platform? I think that we would fail, without harnessing the active co-operation of the people. Legislation and efforts of conscientious workers must work together to bring about a speedy reform. Legislatures should without delay be introduced either in the Central or States Legislatures for providing the following things:

(a) It should be made a penal offence to defecate or urinate in any place outside a specially provided place, pit or receptacle.

(b) The Municipalities in urban and suburban areas and Panchayats in rural areas should be made responsible for providing sufficient and suitable places for all those who have no private pits, privies or urinals, as the case may be.

(c) The residents of rural and urban areas should be made responsible to the respective local Panchayats or Municipalities and they in their turn should be made responsible to the Government for providing raw or prepared manure from human excreta in a fixed proportion to the resident population.

(d) Local boards where necessary be locally raised for constructing the most economical type of pits, privies and urinals suitable for the locality.

(e) Failure to furnish manure both in cases of individuals and local authorities (the Panchayats and Municipalities) should be punished with a fine not exceeding 5% of the price of the deficit.

6. The public should be taught through Press and Platform the nature of this legislation, the class from which it comes into operation, the latest methods of constructing pits, privies and urinals of types suitable to the respective areas and of preparing the valuable manure. Special emphasis should be laid on the splendid result that can be achieved both from the agricultural and economic and sanitary points of view.

7. An expert and capable organizer with true missionary zeal should be put in charge of doing the work.

8. If this programme or a similar one is followed with zeal and enthusiasm a should be perfectly possible to make India a healthy, wealthy and clean nation within a short time that gladdens the people and the Government. We will in achieve that splendid result.

A. V. BASTI

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HYDROGENATED OIL OR VANASPATHI

Recently the question of the nutritional value of hydrogenated oil known under the trade name of vanaspathi has come into much prominence on account of the very vigorous but somewhat misleading propaganda carried on by the Vanaspathi Manufacturers' Association. The question is purely a scientific one and should be cleared from that point without any passion or prejudice. No one has yet suggested that nutritionally vanaspathi is superior to ghee or common vegetable oils or that it is even equal to ghee. So the problem resolves to this—(i) Whether vanaspathi is nutritionally equal to the common edible vegetable oils and (ii) whether vanaspathi has any deleterious effect.

Vanaspathi is produced from vegetable oils by hydrogenation. By this process these oils can be hardened to any desired consistency. Hence its importance. But what does this mean? To understand this we must go a little into the chemistry of vegetable oils and hydrogenation. Vegetable oils are glycerides of fatty acids some of which are highly unsaturated. The process of hydrogenation converts the unsaturated fatty acid radicals into saturated ones. What effect has it on the nutritional value is the crux of the whole thing. Now I quote from Prof Sherman, the famous biochemist. "The process hydrogenation has been enthusiastically developed commercially and large quantities of oil are now hydrogenated to the consistency of lard substitutes. It remains to be determined how far this is at the expense of the special nutritional value which food fats owe to the presence of some of the more highly unsaturated fatty acid radicals" (*Chemistry of Food and Nutrition* 5th ed., by Henry C. Sherman p. 381). He further writes "It is now generally regarded as established that some unsaturated fatty acid or acids are or are nutritionally essential in the sense in which this term has long been applied to some of the amino acids in connection with protein metabolism, i.e. these acids either are not synthesized in the body or not rapidly enough to meet its needs so that they must be furnished in some form in the nutrient. Of course these nutritionally essential substances need not exist free in the food, the nutritionally essential amino acids exist in the food as con-

stituents of food proteins, and the nutritionally essential fatty acid or acids chiefly as constituents of some of the food fats" (*ibid.* p. 382). So this process of hydrogenation removes the unsaturated fatty acid radicals which is an essential food factor. So vanaspathi, according to Sherman does not contain an essential food factor which the common edible vegetable oils contain and is therefore nutritionally inferior to them.

The experiments carried on in the Lancel- niger Laboratory proved that vanaspathi was deleterious to health. Later experiments carried on in India however proved that it had no deleterious effect. Assuming that Dr. Gilder is right in saying that Lancelniger experiments were not properly conducted, it proves nothing more than what the later experimental proved, that vanaspathi had no deleterious effect. These experiments were not conducted, so far as I am aware, by eliminating other sources of unsaturated fatty acid radicals in the diet. So they do not meet the point specially stressed by Sherman. Taking all these things into consideration and weighing a little about interpretation, it can be said that vanaspathi is not deleterious but is nutritionally inferior to common vegetable oils. Vegetable oils are much cheaper than vanaspathi. To ask people to buy vanaspathi is to ask them to buy nutritionally inferior stuff at a greater cost. I agree with Dr. Gilder that every body cannot afford to take ghee nor there is as much ghee in the country. But the alternative is not vanaspathi. The alternative is cheaper and more nutritious than vanaspathi i.e. vegetable oils to which our countrymen have been accustomed for generations. I had been a student of chemistry and used to take a lot of interest in nutritional science. I may tell my countrymen that it is dangerous to tamper with natural food-stuffs. Humanity has learnt it at great cost and suffering though it has led to many discoveries. Those who have got enough in their stomach can afford to be a bit reckless, but the vast majority of Indians who suffer from many nutritional deficiencies can ill afford to try the experimental.

There is the problem of adulteration of ghee by vanaspathi which has a far reaching consequence. I do not want to deal with that in this article. I leave it for others to do it. However, I cannot but take notice of the sprouts of

Dr Bhattacharya in that connection. He condemns adulteration as all right-thinking men should do. The Congress Working Committee recommended colouring of soap so that it might not be used as an adulterant of ghee. Dr Bhattacharya does not like that, as it is not done anywhere else in the world. He should remember that nowhere soap is so much used as an adulterant. If he does not like colouring, he must be able to find out some other scientific method of preventing this adulteration. Instead of doing that he has said that it is the least harmful of all adulterants of ghee and this is no satisfaction to the consumer who wants pure ghee. On the other hand the man who adulterates ghee with soap can shield his profit-consciousness with such remarks.

Now I must say a few words about the propaganda method of the Vansavali Association. Some scientists in India have proved that soap is a healthy source of fat. From that the Vansavali Association is asking the people to believe that it is necessary as a part of our daily diet. This reminds me of the saying that truth is passing from one truthful man to another truthful man who deteriorated. Nutritionally speaking, a substance is considered necessary as a part of daily diet if its place cannot be taken by another and if its absence causes some deleterious symptom or the other. By no stretch of imagination can it be said that soap is such a stuff. Neither nutritionally speaking, it is inferior to ghee and even to common vegetable oil. So to use a word language, it is a misleading propaganda.

(DR. PRATAPLAL BHANDARI, BOMBAY)

PLANNING THE ECONOMIC PLAN

Economic planning is once again very much in the air of India. About two years ago the Congress Planning Commission appointed an Economic Programme Committee to plan before the A.I.C.C. an outline of the economic policy which the Congress should press for adoption by the Government of India under the outline of the Economic Programme prepared by the Committee was accepted by the All India Congress Committee. It was, indeed, a very good programme in many respects; it had the cooperation of several prominent leaders besides the contribution of different shades of opinion within the Congress. But, unfortunately, the Congress did not press the work of the Economic Programme and the Government of India also did not like any concrete steps to introduce a comprehensive Economic Plan for the country. Only general policy statements were made by different Ministers of the Central Government from time to time without placing before the people any overall picture of a planned economic development for India. The Constituent Working Conference held at Madras last December prepared a four-stage Plan publishing it on the 26th January, the second India Assembly of Madras in 1954. This was followed by the appointment of a Congress Planning Subcommittee with

P. Panu as its Chairman. The Government of India hastened to appoint a Planning Commission on the 28th March, with Dr B. K. Chatterjee as its Chairman. Before the Planning Commission could start its work in a systematic manner the Congress President decided to convene a Planning Conference of Chief Ministers and the President of State Congress Committees in April on the 15th and 16th of last month. It gave its general consent to the Commission prepared by the Congress Planning Committee and adopted a number of resolutions bearing on the immediate economic problems facing the country. The Congress Working Committee in the middle of a month later passed an order in this regard that detailed power was for economic development recommended by the Planning Conference. All this good and commendable is very encouraging and hopeful. It is also extremely gratifying to note that the Congress Committee has finally accepted the goal of "a decentralised, co-operative plan and economy" for India's future development.

But what next? Will the recommendations of the Planning Conference be now placed before the A.I.C.C. and the primary mission of the Congress to be held in Madras in July? That is absolutely unnecessary because the All India Conference was representative not only of the State Congress Committees but also of the State Government Ministers. Moreover, the country does not wait for a formal endorsement of the programme by the A.I.C.C. The immediate condition of India needs quick handling and time is of the essence. The Working Committee in the course of its resolution of May 7 stated that "the Government, Union and State should immediately take steps with a view to giving effect to this programme to the maximum extent feasible." If the Economic Programme is not to remain a mere paper plan like the previous ones it is certainly desirable that the Government of India and the various State Governments agree to the matter immediately. Delay would be highly undesirable and even dangerous.

But what about the Planning Subcommittee appointed by the Government of India? Obviously enough it did not even lay the picture of all at the recent Planning Conference. Perhaps its members were invited to its sessions in "advisory" capacity. The Planning Commission was appointed by the Government of India to "make an assessment of the material, capital and human resources of the country", to "formulate a Plan for the most effective and balanced utilisation of the country's resources", "and a decentralisation of production, before the stages in which the plan should be worked out" and "decipher the nature of the machinery which will be necessary for securing the successful implementation of such steps of the Plan as all its aspects." The Planning Commission is not a Congress body, it is composed of members who have achieved prominence and national recognition outside the Congress ranks. Although it is supposed to make recommendations to the Cabinet and "the responsibility for taking and implementing decisions will rest with the Cabinet and State Governments." The recommendations of the Planning Committee also ought to be, more or less final. It is a whole-time Commission with salaried members and it will require a big staff for the successful working. If the recommendations are treated with great courtesy and are open spirit, accepted by the existing Cabinet Economic Committee it would amount to huge waste of public funds besides the waste of precious time and energy of the Planning Commission. Where then this Commission stand now? Will it be only an advisory body to the Central Economic Committee which, in turn is only entitled to make recommendations to the Central Cabinet? What will happen in the conditions of the All India Planning Conference? Will they be directly implemented by the Cabinet and State Governments or will they be forwarded to the Planning Commission for its opinion and recommendations there? These questions need immediate clarification and

this Nation if economic planning is to become an integral part of the national development process.

The urgent problem before the country, therefore, is: How to plan the Five-Year Plan? Is the Plan itself to be planned properly according to the government's development of functions? There will inevitably be confusion unless reinforced. It is better to make the following concrete suggestions:

(1) The main function of the Planning Commission is to "serve" full and all-round coordination in the process of planning and in the execution of the plan. No steps, inquiries or observations should therefore be taken by the Council or State Government independently of the Planning Commission, otherwise the very aim of the Planning Commission will be defeated.

(2) The Planning Commission should tend all its energies in preparing short-term and long-term plans for the country as a whole and for the respective regions within one year. The short-term plans should, in fact, be ready within six months if the Commission is not able to pass quickly. It will not quickly.

(3) In order to lend the necessary power and prestige to the Planning Commission, the Union and State Governments should develop the leading role instead of accepting the recommendations of the Commission as a matter of routine. Its recommendations should be accepted only in very exceptional circumstances and the country should be explained the reason for such refusal.

(4) The Planning Commission should actively promote various organizations, the resolution of the Planning Commission which are in the name of a member by the party in power. The idea of a development, cooperative movement is extremely vital for a predominantly agricultural country having a large population. But the Planning Commission should not be regarded as the "Planning power" for the development of the long-term development. It will also help the confidence of the public in general. The decision of the Commission should be able to maintain the respect and approval of different states of opinion in the country as a matter of course.

(5) The Commission should immediately appoint Board of Experts for different sectors of national economy. The functions of these Boards should be to guide and advise the Commission in preparing the detailed plans in the sectors of agriculture, commerce, industries, large-scale industries, transport and communication, public utility, education, health, etc.

(6) As suggested by the Joint Planning Commission, various machinery should now be developed by the Planning Commission to under the co-operation of the public in all wings of the Plan. Without non-official help and cooperation National Planning would be an impossibility. Methods of arousing public enthusiasm for the Plan at present in other countries should be carefully studied.

(7) Machinery for implementing the National Plan will have to be set up before long. This machinery should not be too centralized and autocratic; all encouragement should be sent to local initiative and resources. The States should appoint Planning Commissions for their respective regions. The main function of these commissions should not be more than five.

(8) In order to secure reliable information regarding the resources of the country for preparing the long-term plan there should be the closest coordination between the Planning Commission and the forthcoming Census operation.

The first step is to get a proper organization for the Planning Commission. It is to be set up as a permanent body. The Commission should be composed of the Union and the State Government and should also include the Commission or Committee to advise the Government on Economic Planning without a definite reference to the work of the Planning Commission. Otherwise there will be no end to the talk and plans made there.

These are only a few tentative suggestions. As one who has been closely involved in the work of National Economic Planning for a number of years I feel sure that these points would be taken into consideration while planning for the future Economic Plan of Five Years.

Y. N. AGRAWAL

A Wild-Goose Chase

Referring to your note on Shri P. C. Sen's article "Argentine Potassium", you are right when you say, "I am afraid that the belief about the actual adulterant used may be mistaken." Being a villager, I know there are not enough reliable (authenticated) plants for all the adulterants that are going on. It is being done even by the village (in Ghara sector), yet I have never seen any use in my village collecting Potassium used for this purpose.

The real fact is that the adulterant used is an oily substance produced in factories, available as easily as the "vegetable product" used is for the adulteration of salt. I am informed by one who has worked in a "vegetable-product" factory that after the refined oil has been converted into the "vegetable product", there is a residue left which is a thick oil containing all the impurities and dust of the crude oil. It serves a double purpose in the manufacture of the "vegetable product". By disposing of it in the market at a cheap price they are able to get money for a by-product, which perhaps deserved to be thrown away, if it had no non-official industrial use. And by making it easily and cheaply available for adulteration with the refined oil they create a market for their "vegetable product" as being thus made preferable to edible oil. For, they take the wind out of our sails when we advocate the use of fresh oil instead of its adulterated hydrogenated form by making it impossible for any one to get pure edible oil easily.

The Uttar Pradesh Government by issuing an ordinance against cigarette adulteration have not the public on a wild-goose chase. If the Government had made proper use of their C.I.D. machinery, it would not have been difficult for them to find what adulterant or adulterants were being really employed. It is my firm conviction that all the evil practices employed by Government officials who have a share of the immoral and illegal gains made by wire businessmen.

B. D. BHARADWAJ

Fatehabad, Rajasthan, 26-5-68

HARIJAN

July 1

1939

MORE WORK OR MORE WAGES?

Many of those who criticize Sardar Patel's theory do so merely from a feeling of something alien to horror for a return to life which they think to be as unpolished as the unpolished steel and as coarse as coarse cloth. But even where there is no such prejudice, there are several practical difficulties and construction workers are even more conscious of them than their critics. That they should be so is not to be wondered at, for the simple reason that they have no grounds for feeling complacent. They have not the happiness of witnessing a glaring misuse of resources attending their efforts though several of them have passed twenty or more years of their life in that sphere. So even now and then they examine themselves their own life, their objectives, the villagers, the village life and the methods of work and means of achievement employed by them and the villages. They are conscious of their own inefficient knowledge, want of technical training, inadequate physical strength and unhygienic atmosphere both at home and in the village. Owing to shortcomings in Government and commercial careers, it is difficult to attract first-class talent to the class of Sardar Patel. For talents are not always associated with the urge for a life of service and selflessness. Sardar Patel has, therefore, been worked out generally with men of great faith but not necessarily of first class ability. While the critics are mindful only of the economic aspect of Sardar Patel, the workers have to consider also the religious, social, educational, military and administrative difficulties in the regeneration of villages. These are indeed so great that unless a worker is fully conversant of the foundations of the Sardar Patel doctrine, it is impossible for him to hold on to the Sardar Patel programme for a very long time.

When a programme becomes extremely difficult, people engaged in it begin to compare even such parts of it as were shown assumed to be indispensable. Thus ten years ago, Mr. Prashant Gandhi who had been already working in a village for more than ten years, seriously questioned the correctness of the usual assumption that villagers are wholly or partly unemployed for nearly five months in a year. He produced arguments to show that the so-called unemployment was more imaginary than real, that in the so-called slack season also the villagers had to work to attend to several operations

and works of management which kept him busy, occupied and interested. Some who are so kind to do work for him but do not see that he needed better return for his work. They let Gandhi and the family Seth Singh to examine the question thoroughly. A few retired Harrow Officers also contributed studied papers. So far as I remember, the conclusion arrived at was that though conditions varied from place to place on the whole wherever agriculture depended only on the seasons, there was not only unemployment for about three to five months in a year, but also insufficient return for the amount of labour expended. It was also found that the unemployment period had the additional disadvantages of being discontinuous and unremunerable beyond what it might be for a few hours per day or for a day or two per month, or for a week or ten days continuously. The above applied to the cultivators who had a plot of land of their own. For landless labourers, the periods of unemployment were longer and more continuous but not still continuous enough. I do not think that the conditions have changed for the better since then. The solution needs not only more work, but work in the village itself, and of a nature which would enable the worker to expend it well and thus without loss. Along with this it must be better remunerated. It is hard facts such as these that have led the Sardar Patel workers to conclude that Sardar Patel needed self-sufficient village units and freedom from the entanglements of social functions.

We hear a good deal about attaining economic prosperity through electricity, petrol, steam, energy and small machinery. We are told of the achievements of Denmark and Sweden which are also rural rather than urban populations, to the intelligent application of technical science and the principles of co-operation. Even in the highly industrialized U.S.A. Ralph Borsodi presents a picture of a science-aided self-sufficient farm. These schemes are attractive, instructive and inspiring. They have much to teach us and cannot be belated. But we are governed only in accordance with our immediate factual circumstances.

Last winter, a young colleague from Bombay asked me if it was not a waste of time and energy doing things by hand when instruments which we might have electrically and power-driven instruments to do the same functions. It was even, he said, to reach the goal of self-sufficiency with labour using instruments than by hand tools and human labour. I told him there was electricity in his house. I told him that his mother or domestic servant had to spend a good deal of time in lighting the stove for cooking the food and heating water for bath also for grinding flour on the stone chakki or getting it ground in the mill. Why did he not

install an electric heater in the bathroom, have a gas or electric stove for food, a small electric wall fan, and even a small electric fan in the bedroom which would clean the house very perfectly and several smaller labour-saving appliances." He would be able to dispense with his traditional domestic servant and his mother and other members would also be more comfortable and self-reliant. He shook his head and said he could not afford it. His father's savings were not big enough for that. This settled the question.

It is the same with the villages. Even if it entails more work in village runs, women and children, they must do something to earn more, and they have to employ such means as they are able to go in for.

Whether the unit is a family, a village or a country, the fundamental rule of prosperous economy is -- work hard with whatever material is available, work in co-operation for the mutual benefit of the members of the unit and not each individual himself, acquire skill while you work, save something from what you produce and utilize the saving for making improvements. It was thus how the forefathers of the great farmers and merchants laid the foundation of their fortunes. Later on degeneration set in, leading to speculative methods and reckless borrowing, corrupt practices, fraud, money adulteration, false measures, over-indebtedness, slave-labour and the like. The native habit to credit from farmers is a good thing. But there are few families which have not come to grief by these methods. Generally in less than a hundred years (the average, I believe, is forty) they have brought ruin not only to themselves but to scores of poor people who reposed their trust in them. The same is the case with the countries adopting similar methods. There is no evidence as far as I am aware that any country has attained great prosperity or done so in a short time, by mere mechanized industrialization enabled by corrupt methods of politics, exploitation and fraud, leading ultimately to disastrous wars.

The Zarwadian philosophy is not merely a particular method of production, distribution and consumption of wealth. It is a whole view of life, correlated with philosophical, religious, ethical education and unity both at home and abroad. It, moreover, programme cannot be written and taught, even as any one of its items cannot be decided upon in isolation of others.

Wardha (1969)

K. C. WADSWORTH

GANDHIAN ETHICS

Dr. P. N. Gopal Rao

Pages 64, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000

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NOTES

"Gandhi's Religion"

Several years ago a merchant put on the market a brand of cigarettes called Gandhi Cigarettes. Gandhi wrote therein:

"Of all the abuses to which our race has been put, I have nothing so humiliating to me as the deplorable association of its name with cigarettes. A friend has sent me a label purporting to bear my portrait. The cigarettes are called Mahatma Gandhi Cigarettes. Now I have a horror of smoking as I have of wine. Smoking I consider to be a vice. It deadens one's conscience and in often worse than drink in that it acts unperceptibly. It is a habit which is difficult to get rid of when once it takes hold of a person. It is an expensive vice. It takes the breath, develops the teeth and sometimes even causes cancer. It is an unclean habit. No man has earned my recognition to associate my name with the cigarettes. I should feel thankful if the unknown firm were to withdraw the labels from the market or if the public would refuse to buy packets bearing such labels."

(Young India, 171 (1931))

Now Shri T. R. Krishnaswami of Tiruchirappalli (South India), writes:

"Now, that Gandhi is no more, it is not for us to make unclean things, yet clean."

"In the market, there have appeared what are called 'Gandhi's Religion'. This is an insult to the Father of the Nation. The world cannot afford to let it be so very much advertised. On the other side, there is a lot of public places in the town, displaying a lot of advertisements. It is not clean, much pain to the admirers of Mahatma."

I hope, the manufacturer will quickly withdraw those labels and can secure authorities to take action against him.

Wardha (1969-70)

K. C. W.

"Key to Health"

While addressing the Silver Jubilee gathering of Sir Murtizadeh Sarotomdas Hospital, Sarder Vallyabhai Patel said that many more hospitals and doctors were needed to deal with the vast amount of illness which afflicted among our people.

Would it not be a wise preventive measure if the Government compulsorily taught school boys the laws of health described in Mahatma Gandhi's treatise under Key to Health? so that young people practicing laws of health would never or seldom get ill and consequently would never or seldom require to go to a hospital or require the services of a doctor?

I suggest that a few copies of Gandhi's Key to Health should be given free to every poor village in India in its own regional language. Village school workers should read and teach village laws of health from Gandhi's book instead of their hospitals and more doctors.

"Published by the Navjivan Publishing House, Ambardad, (T.R.), P.O. Box 185, P.O. Box 185, Ambardad."

scholarly Indians should use their wealth for printing & distributing books for the Indian mass and for supplying such good books. Filthy translations and translations should not be circulated in villages. It would be a calamity for village—Thousands of copies of Gandhi's *Autobiography* should be republished for distribution among Indians.

(GURUJI R. SATHI)

ANGUL BASIC EDUCATION CONFERENCE

In April 1949 for the first time, the All-India Basic Education Conference sponsored by the Hindustani Taluk Sangh was held as an integral part of the Sarvodaya Sammelan at Angul. Now that it is over, and can be seen in some perspective, an attempt may be made to assess the value of this plan and to measure the gains and losses which may have resulted from it.

One of the most lasting memories of Angul will certainly be that of the wonderfully generous and gracious hospitality with which we were all received. Every visitor who had had any experience whatever of what is involved in the arrangements for a large conference must acknowledge a deep admiration for the wisdom and forethought, the leadership and power of co-operation, the goodwill, good humour and patient hard work which went to the personal comfort of the guests, the smooth and orderly functioning of every item of the daily programme and the spotless cleanliness of the whole enormous conference area. We owe a great debt of gratitude to our Orissa hosts, and therefore we ought to ask ourselves whether we did our part, whether the value of the conference for the (development) of our work is great enough to justify the enormous expenditure of time and labour which they put into it, or whether the same or better results could be achieved by any less costly method.

There are two distinct kinds of value to be obtained from a conference on such a subject as Basic Education. One may be called the propaganda or publicity value, and the other the consultative value. Basic Education is still in its infancy and there is still, as the chairman reminded the Conference, widespread ignorance and misunderstanding of what it stands for. Those who sincerely believe in its worth must do their utmost to explain to the general public what they are trying to do and why they are doing it. If the quality of the schools is to be maintained as the numbers grow, they must be backed by an intelligent and well-informed public opinion. A conference is a useful means of shaping public opinion. But for the maintenance and improvement of the quality of the schools themselves it is no less essential that the people who are actually engaged in the daily work of the long should meet and compare notes. Some schools are still few and scattered, and the results of work done in one place must be available to teachers in other places. There must be useful and detailed discussion among the

educators concerned. This is the consultative function of conferences, and most of our difficulties arise from the fact that effective publicity and effective consultation demand different techniques and are difficult to combine in one programme.

On the side of publicity there was one great advantage in organising the Basic Education Conference as part of the Sarvodaya Sammelan. It served to emphasise and publicise something that greatly needs emphasis and publicity—that is, the close and vital connection between a social and an educational programme. The presence in the Conference of representatives of many aspects of construction work, and the many cross-references in the discussions to the educational implications of this or that social or economic programme all served to make this clear. Without *Neti Paksu* the essence of Sarvodaya, the conception of what constitutes an honest, free, non-violent and truly human society will be impossible of realisation. Without Sarvodaya, without the will to transform society itself, *Neti Paksu* may make superficial progress for a time, but will wither at the root.

On the other hand, the fact that the Sarvodaya Sammelan was held in early April while the great majority of schools and colleges throughout India were still working, meant that one of the sections of the general public most directly interested in educational reform, namely the teaching profession itself, was not represented. Educational administrators were there, delegates from State schools were there, but the rank and file of ordinary teachers, who are in addition not representative at the attitude of the rank and file of ordinary parents, were not there. This was a loss to the conference, and it means that too little attention was paid to the means and stages by which Basic Education, during the next few years, may be integrated into the State system. Yet this is a question of great importance to the advance men with children to educate. Unless it is solved, the teacher may hesitate to send his own children to his own State school and if he does not do so, how can he expect the villagers to do so? They will naturally suspect that they are being put off with a "second best." This is happening already in some parts of the country.

The consultative side can be summarised by saying that in spite of difficulties, some good work was done in which the extremely organized exhibitors played a very important part. The standard of discussion in the general sessions was higher than in the previous year and many useful questions were submitted and answered. More interest was shown not only in the methods of Basic and Pre-Basic education, but in the plans and experiments for advanced education on *Neti Paksu* principles. Part of this was most valuable for publicity purposes, but one cannot help feeling that real consultation

would have been better advised if all the men and knowledgeable men and women who took part could have organized their discussions as regional study groups or round-table conferences on various types of problem, unhindered by the necessity of speaking through a microphone to a non-existent audience.

What is the solution? There is probably no ideal solution. One possibility which is worth consideration is that conferences should be on a regional rather than a national scale, using the regional language and addressing themselves on their publicity side to the ordinary people of the region concerned. The consultation and discussion side should be deliberately organized by holding small parallel meetings of those with specialist knowledge, where controversy can be cut out and informal exchange of experience and opinion can take place. In order to ensure an all-India outlook and to derive the maximum benefit from the experience of other regions, a limited number of workers with first-hand knowledge of the work in the various States may also be invited to participate both in consultation and in publicity. The overall effect of such a regional conference should be firstly to clarify the minds of the local public about the general principles of *Kshatriya* which are of universal application, and secondly to devise plans and discuss the problems involved for the development of *Kshatriya* in their own region. If this could have been used at Angkor the conference could have spoken directly to the village people who were in their thousands to see the exhibition. They could have been shown that Basic Education was something that matters to them. They and their like are 90 per cent. of our public, and in the end it is they who will judge our work.

Seymour

MARJORIE STONE

[Note: I think that regional conferences should have their distinct and separate programmes from the All-India Conference. The latter would have to cater to a particular region unworkably. Whether the conference of that particular region can be held simultaneously with the all-India one is a matter for organizers to consider. I am afraid that an attempt to do it will make both the functions less successful but my apprehension may be groundless.]

Wardha, 13-5-50

—R. G. M.]

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THE AMISH OF U.S.A.

The modern will be interested to know that in the present complex Atomic Age there still exists in the highly industrialized U.S.A. itself a sect the members of which are devout and hard-working and flourish and prosper by adhering steadfastly to the fundamentals in life, denying themselves the use of modern scientific equipments. The agricultural activities of this intensely religious sect of about 3,000 souls in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, U.S.A. rank with the best farmers in the world.

So far as the Amish are concerned, there was no industrial revolution. Their religion forbids them the use of electricity, the telephone, the automobile, and the gasoline engines except in some functions. They still use the horse almost exclusively, not only for tilling the soil but also for pulling fruit, hoist, weapons and upstony buggies which are their only church-permitted conveyances. They oppose too much education for their children and converse among themselves in a Pennsylvania Dutch dialect.

The Amish have managed to remain largely aloof from the main stream of life in their country.

Despite their doctrine their customs, customs and primitive farm methods, the Amish each year produce bumper crops of alfalfa, grain, fruits and vegetables and most important tobacco which may be considered odd since most of them don't smoke! Long before the Department of Agriculture (of U.S.A.) was established, they were practicing soil enrichment, crop rotation and natural husbandry. Today, Government farm experts visit them to see what they can learn. The 175-square-mile triangular tract east of Lancaster in which most of the Amish live, has a going market price of \$1,000 per acre and more. An average farmer earns between \$4,000 and \$7,000 a year.

To make each income, an Amishman works in summer from 4-20 a.m. and until around 9-20 p.m. His boys work right along with him.

As a rule the Amish avoid neighbours who are in difficulties. If a man's barn burns down, the community holds a "frolic" as many as two hundred people turn up on the farm in the morning, and by nightfall a new barn has been raised. Similarly, if an Amishman can't afford medical or hospital bills, he need not accept State or country charities, a church patriarch takes up a collection for him.

As a group, members of the sect have long had a reputation for high native intelligence.

During the war, most Amish boys were classified as conscientious objectors. Only three or four went into the armed forces over parental objections.

They face the future with the serene deep-seated philosophy that always has characterized them. They trust in the Lord. They know that He will help them strain His good servants.

(Reprinted from the *Editor's* of February 4, 1946.)

THE SARDHARATA SUMMIE, HYDRABAD

On the bank of the Sangam (Hydrabad) that under the stars, groups enter the responsible workers' camps to know about the Gandhian ideology and anxious to hear the message of Sardarji loved a commoner life, from 1931 to 1955 Age had

At the request of Shri Varsha who was unable to attend Shri Dada Dharmadikar kindly joined the Camp. This was a unique opportunity to learn about Gandhian ideas from one whose work, life is devoted to the spreading of Gandhian thought.

No condition of minimal observation was laid down for those who desired to join the Camp. This enabled persons of various ranks, such as farmers, pleaders, doctors and other specially qualified people as well as ordinary workers to join the Camp. They represented 13 districts of Hyderabad. Out of the total strength of 150 125 were men and 25 ladies. These comprised 75 Congress workers, 20 students, 12 non-affiliated workers and 38 would-be workers. Communitywork was included in the program, and was flexible.

The day's routine consisted of prayers and flag salutation, meditation work, manual labour, helping the kitchen, spinning and lectures. Prayers included recitations from the Quran and Arzashah in the morning and recitation of Shri Varsha's Marathi translation of Gopur in the evening. The latter was recited in the style of Hindu recitation and it filled the atmosphere with its sonorous vibrations. All sat in straight rows one behind the other presenting a disciplined and devoted assembly.

The meditation work did its work on every one. Several took the lesson for the first time. They rejoiced and felt honoured in handling the broom and the basket. Shri Nagar who was in charge of this department, besides taking guidance from Shri Vaidhyanatha's book on latrine, made his own contribution by presenting samples of two types of cheap latrines one of which cost only one rupee each and another needed the use of only one bamboo each. Although every care was taken to see that no one missed the job, there was no compulsion and every one willingly did the work, and did it with a view to carry the message to his or her home, in the city or the village.

Thirty carpenters took first lessons in spinning. Others already knew the art but few handled the wheel for the first time. They acquired a working knowledge in three days, and promised to continue spinning after the camp had dispersed.

Lectures. In addition to Shri Dharmadikar who gave ten lectures dealing with all the aspects of Sardarji and a comparative study

of other camps, Shri Dharmadikar (Shri Dada) 10-11. N. Law and others made up for the remaining 11 out of the total of 21 lectures. They covered a wide range of subjects.

On the eve of the termination of the camp a broom and a basket were presented to every district as a token of the social revolution and a gift to every worker as that of the economic revolution. Several workers gave up writing the programme they intended to follow thereafter. No workers expressed their desire to go to Wardha and Sevagram for further training.

The workers are eager to do their best in the constructive field for which the atmosphere was never so favourable before. The trustees in a resolution have expressed their desire to hold such camps every year in Hyderabad as well as in the three linguistic districts. Ward and village camps are now being organised on local basis by the trustees who attended the camp. The Vice-Chancellor of the University having realised the possibilities of the camp has expressed a desire that similar camps should be held in the last week of December for the University students.

Immediately after the dispersal of the Camp about twenty-five workers from Telangana looked under the leadership of Dr Chenna Reddy the campmaster, into a neighbouring village. They have been able to create confidence in the people. More such teams are being organised and a number of workers contemplate to go and stay in that area and to organize camps similar to this one. Many workers would thereby come forward to serve and identify themselves with the people and be thus empowered a way out from the depressing conditions, which doom them to live with loss.

Such are the possibilities of the Shikar movement, if consolidated and developed on proper lines. Hyderabad having remained untouched till now for reasons political or otherwise offers a vast and promising field for the speedy growth of many a constructive activity without which real democracy could remain an unfulfilled dream.

D. M.

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TWO ANNAS

PENALTY FOR TALENT?

The result of education here is most free-collapse—middle classmen without talent and others—because they taking to a particular section of the community is one of dividing the standards and lowering of efficiency. It would be tough if party is tried to be achieved in this way in India. The elimination of Brahmins or casteless discrimination against them may not only mean a setback in administrative efficiency which is a matter of serious concern but driving them to criminal activities. The growth of a genuine party can be brought about not by expanding a particular section but by widening the educational ladder and emphasizing work and by providing an alternative to the nature of training.

'Necessarily even to the conception not only that the will of the majority shall prevail but that that will shall include a proper consideration for the rights of the minority.' Non-Brahmins constitute a numerical majority in Madras. They can choose to disregard air currents but their own, and all their own interests along with the most immediate and obvious. By imposing a policy embodying that lack of regard, the largest, smallest, and people amongst a numerical policy and even the most over-look, concerned and moral interest is hardly served in the long run.

The policy of the authorities should be to reduce pressure on talents not by creating type belonging to a particular section thereby favouring the standards but by providing an alternative in other institutions different in the nature of the training they provide but not in its quality. The growth of a genuine party will come only when it is realised that only a small proportion of boys and girls will be better equipped for life by a college education and will be happy in the kind of occupation or profession which it opens to them. For the rest, the alternative provided by a good general education combined with a sound introduction to a career in industry, agriculture or domestic affairs must have strong attractions. It is an alternative which is suited to the needs of most boys and girls seeking employment in a complicated technological society and in the needs of the working class.

"One agrees that career and education should be open to all who qualify for it and desired to do so in competence. But the less reputable means of achieving it through the services of power should be made impossible. Success in professions and efficiency in administration require ability of a high order.

"On paper the Congress Ideal like the Communist is shallow and dry. But to practice the Ideal which is so dear to our religious heart the hard-pressed commission checking up his clerks and the hard-pressed Moral Congresses checking his head.

"It is not degrading education to live up to the words of Gandhi that is needed from the literature put in Government of students which of course

is to be available and of any education to be better dual structure. One again tempted to add that if there is anything resembling about the provision of Gandhi's principles it must be the education of students to live up to those principles which they do not observe.

—P. Narasimham—

I have retained the title which the writer has given to his subject with the addition of a question mark as I doubt the appropriateness of it. The writer's sentence (at which I heart out of a great part) may be accused. I take the policy complained against, as simply one of communal discrimination. It cannot be supported according to the ideals on which our (Gandhi) is based.

But the question is: What should be done to bring it line with the advanced ones those groups which on account of the social structure hitherto in vogue, have lagged behind? It is easy to talk of open competition. But it is not possible for the best carriage horse to race with a weak one-horse, because of the special capacities carefully nurtured in the latter for several generations. The Brahmins and Non-Brahmins of Madras bear to a certain extent this relation between them. If Brahmins willingly face themselves with the Non-Brahmins and help them to rise to their own level, this problem could be solved in a happier manner.

The need for the alternative training stands irrespective of the communal problem. Even Brahmins need it, and it is not impossible that even in these departments the Brahmins might beat the Non-Brahmins at the higher end. The reason is that in the Western type of training, even in technical matters, it is the administrative and scholarly talent which is paid better than the executive and practical talent. And in that sphere the Brahmins hold at present a position of vantage over the other.

If the talented Brahmin had remained also true to his Brahmin culture, he need not have been an object of jealousy. He became so, as soon as he began to measure and exchange his talent in terms of money. If the scale of measurements of the service posts was on the model of a typical Brahmin's life the Non-Brahmins would not have tried to elbow him out. So the discrimination of talent and emoluments and

lowering the standard of the latter at the highest end is another necessity for the solution of the problem.

I think the Hindians should regard this state as unavoidable to a certain extent. In their own interest and all-round development, they must themselves try to enter fields other than the traditional ones. Even if the non-Hindians are removed from the scene, these fields have become overcrowded and hundreds of their class are unemployed or under-employed, and live an unenviable life. On account of long waiting before a good employment is secured, a moral depression has set in, with the result that they resort to unlawful ways of getting money in the discharge of their duties. They must learn to be the Hindians whom one would love with respect.

Wardha 17-6-50

R. S. MANDREKAR

ARTIFICIAL FOODS

For some weeks we have been seeing a good number of advertisements describing the effects of consumption on consumer's health issued by the Vaidipati Mahasabhaswami Association of India. They quote the statements of ministers and experts to show that poisons against consumers are ubiquitous. Concern has been expressed on this issue by some of our legislators both in the Central and Provincial Governments, and a Bill is pending in the Central Parliament for prohibiting the manufacture and sale of hydrogenated oils.

Even in America the legislators face the same situation.

"Concern has been expressed about the ever-increasing food of chemicals prepared for use in food for reasons of convenience rather than of this conviction. There are hundreds of them, and of a great many the very total of knowledge of their harmfulness is probably nil. It has been estimated that it would probably take the lifetime of all the pharmacologists in the country to make adequate healthy tests on them. If the manufacturers refuse to accept the responsibility the Government must do the job. Of course all of them cannot be tested at once, the ones which seem most likely to be bad must now be selected with the hope that the guess is right and that the answer will be found before any one gets hurt, even a little bit."

"Two substantially identical resolutions have recently been introduced, one by Congressman Keefe and one by Congressman Belmont for the appointment of a committee to investigate and study:

(1) the nature, extent and effect of the use of chemicals, compounds and synthetic in the production, processing, preparation and packaging of food products to determine the effect of the use of such chemicals, compounds and synthetic,

(2) upon the health and welfare of the nation, and

(3) upon the statutory and existing of our agricultural economy."

(4) the nature, extent and effect of the use of pesticides and insecticides with respect to food and food products, particularly the effect of such

use of pesticides and insecticides upon the health and welfare of the consumer by means of toxic residues resulting on such food products as a result of such use.

Now turning to the oil and fat industry of America, we wish to cite a number of examples regarding the deleterious effects of the chemicals used in the manufacture, on the national health.

"Organic insecticides such as D.D.T. are being used for a long time on the potato crops. It is of course possible that here might be some contamination from D.D.T. ingested with the food or even sprayed on the skin. However, the contamination of supplies of milk and feed is being feared. For example, the fact that two cows found in milk could be characterised as a case. D.D.T. is no longer recommended for large crops and dairy cattle or farm supply. The contamination of such was checked across the country from the milk supply.

"We return to artificiality used in the fatty foods as a preservative. There can be no question of the desirability of these chemicals in food or in any other fatty food which has a tendency to become rancid or otherwise deteriorate with the lapse of time. But necessity to preservation is one thing, and preserving of food against that general corruption which is its birth right is something else. Thus there can be no tolerance for toxic preservatives, and all preservatives must be harmless. In 1944 the Bureau of Animal Industry has collected the whole lot of Hydroquinone into liquid form as an anti-rancid. But the Division of Pharmacology had some misgivings about the adequacy of previous studies upon the toxicity of hydroquinone. Indeed, quite low and acute of the chemical in terms of milligrams per kilo of body weight were found to kill half the group of experimental animals. As in the laboratory studies they used several species of experimental animals as follows: rats 400, white mice 400, guinea pigs 100, pigeons 100, and 100 dogs 100. It is also found that the solutions produce quite hydrolytic and systemic were very weak were to rats. As a result the Government has banned the use of half a dozen of chemicals as anti-rancids in the butter food and fatty food industries. But all these chemicals look perfectly harmless externally.

"At least one can never be sure that a chemical is harmless even if it has enjoyed long use. Take the alkyphenyl hydrocarbon process for bleaching and making clear the example. This has been in use here and abroad for some thirty years with no evidence of toxicity. Late in 1948 Dr. Edward Mullenbach an English scientist of international reputation, was reported that this had an effect on bleached, developed what is commonly called rancidity. The findings were confirmed in America also. While no evidence that humans are affected was obtained then, or later, actually wanted to wait another thirty years to find that out. The use of alkyphenyl hydrocarbons was promptly abandoned. Can any one wonder that pharmacologists are inclined to be profoundly pessimistic? Rather than being optimistic about the harmlessness of a chemical they agree with the man whose physician who looked at it over on a mountain side and said, 'Well, there's nothing on this job.'

R. MANIREKAR

Active Member

American Oil Chemists' Society, Chicago

and

1951 IN PULLMAN, WASH. D.C.

(Hindustani Association) Trust

(Bombay India)

(Adapted with necessary changes from a pamphlet)

INDIA'S SOCIAL REVOLUTION

(The first article by the author appeared on his return from the World Council Meeting and an extensive tour of India.)

Social Revolution was inevitable when India gained her freedom and took over the reins of Government on August 15, 1947.

The inevitable question, which still remains undivided as to what is to be the nature of that Revolution in India's economy is to be founded on self-supporting or largely self-supporting villages, or on mass production in heavily populated highly industrialized towns and cities which are to be led by the villages?

According to the Gandhian interpretation—and with which I am personally in complete agreement—if India chooses the second course, which is the line of Western industrialism, there will inevitably follow all the evils which have lately descended on the Western world, and which are at the moment beating the gates West in catastrophe and destruction of a rapidly accumulating pace.

They would invade India and foreign are looking upon the Indian scene with longing eyes. When a ripe field of starving laborers (the exploited population) who are human slaves become of value events the enlightened western explorers, the physicist, the mathematician, the engineer, and also the psychologist, who in the West has found the art of exploiting the mass mind as the mass man to the processes of technological, industrial functioning in the interest of cheapness and profit coming through the capture of markets.

Old Arguments No Longer Valid

In India, with the aid of American and British capital develop mass-production industry on a gigantic scale with the object of raising the standard of living of her unemployed millions of misery-stricken to an order as high as the standard of America. It will not be long before the Indian market in consumer goods dries up and the West is challenged in storm of world markets with prices also will be unable to meet.

It is remembered too, that Japan and China will also have to be satisfied with its this contention.

The old argument that raising the standard of living in the East would increase the latter's purchases of Western appliances such as airplanes, motor cars, electrical appliances, etc., is no longer valid.

Every country in the Far East is out for self-sufficiency and each that goal is reached will severely curtail the importation of consumer goods and use all her internal wealth in developing industry to the utmost, in order to check the raw spending power of the people to a degree.

Moreover who can estimate the dependence which will follow the increasing of the 400,000,000 people of India, China and Japan in mass production machinery? A collection of 1,000,000,000 individuals living on money finds the majority of them dissatisfied and alienated by repetitive labor, will quickly run amuck, in crime, turmoil and blind revolution.

In the meantime the fear of Communism which is presented in America and reaching menacing proportions in India, may lead to an American lineup in the East, as it even more gigantic scale than the American lineup of the Atlantic Pact and Marshall plan Truman aid.

The alternative to this nightmare is the natural economy based on the return to Indian villages of which there are 100,000 and in which dwell 95 per cent. of the Indian population.

Ending Village Poverty

Most of these villages have been miserably exploited to absolute impoverishment by money lenders by foreign capital and by an imperialism which deprived thousands of villages of half their income by forcing into the country machine-made goods with which the hand workers were unable to compete. Deprived of half their livelihood, they have been in dire poverty ever since.

It was the liberation of these villages in which Gandhi devoted his chief attention. His concept of Basic Education arose out of the necessity of teaching the Indian villages how to accomplish their own material gain, how to rebuild their villages, and free them from the numerous superstitions, fears and foreign, who have brought down the land of their subsistence to a condition that is too deplorable to be described, and too painful even to make the attempt.

I am unable to see how the British Government has interested, accepted and sustained a rule which provided the depth and extent of the misery which reigns among the starving millions who comprise the Indian villages. Is it not possible that British rule made more profits of exploit the labor power of the past, and of goodwill for India's future in a fitting gift to their followers of Gandhi who have shown the way of non-possession of goods, and are devoting their whole lives for the salvation of India by way of restraint of creative energy and the attainment of economic self-sufficiency and spiritual independence above specially in her villages?

India is at the parting of the ways. One section of Gandhi's followers see in these days only the beginning of freedom and with their leaders are in complete unity in the reorganization of the villages through a kind process of spiritual regeneration and economic self-sufficiency.

The other section are attracted by the materialism and the material standards of the West, and are being urged by the fear and greed of Communism to see in Western civilization the one hope of spreading material standards of a betterment to make the villages of Communism in India.

A Fool's Paradise

The latter are living in a fool's paradise. They fail to see the major effects of industrialism, that it creates more creative power, destroys spiritual values alienates the appetites and the demand for goods and services, and thus for an ever increasing share of the earth's resources, whereas India runs and international trade.

Industrialism engenders all values which cannot be reduced to monetary terms and so lowers the quality of world and personal life. What that happens with materialism reigns and, in fact a Gandhi's term, violence reaches its maximum strength within a society.

The art of ending war is the art of discovering the readiness of a general society.

WILFRED WALLACE

(From Peace Meet at 28 April, 1950)

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NAVJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE

Post Box 805, AMRITSAR

HARIJAN

July 8

1950

CLARIFICATION ABOUT TANASPATI

On 18th June last two representatives of the tanaspati industry came specially from Bombay to discuss with me the subject of tanaspati. Shri Radhakrishna Daji, Secretary, All-India Gossara Sangh, was also present at my request. We had a long discussion embracing several points but the point on which the representatives had the greatest stress was what our attitude towards the industry would be if it was agreed between the Government and the industry that tanaspati should be so made that it does not resemble gossara ghee in colour or aroma and is rendered incapable of being adulterated with it. I was also informed that while the selection of a suitable colour presented difficulties not perhaps capable of quick solution that of getting in an unmistakable different aroma might be effected without delay, and, in fact they were already working upon it.

I have to answer this question. There are several grave objections to the hydrogenated oils. They have been dealt with at length by several writers heretofore and so without giving any arguments I may only recapitulate them in brief.

(1) Oil extraction is fundamentally a village industry, i.e., capable of being carried on in the widest decentralised manner.

(2) As a village industry it (a) supplies to the consumer fresh oil which does not require to be refined or deodorised to prevent rancidity, (b) gives for the cattle an article which is richer in fat and poorer in dirt, (c) solves the problem of distribution, (d) reduces the necessity of transportation and packing and cost of this, besides etc., (e) preserves the village wealth and gives employment to villagers, (f) reduces considerably the possibility of adulteration by adulterating oil with lower oils, and (g) does not in any way conflict with cattle keeping or the dairy industry.

(3) Hydrogenation having grown out of oil-mill industry and as a corrective of the evils arising out of it, it is not an essential part of the country's economic system.

(4) It has not proved its superiority as an article of diet (a) over fresh oil, or (b) even over raw or refined oil of the factories, for purposes of health.

(5) The experiments hitherto conducted are negative in result even so far as they go, besides, there are grounds to believe that they were conducted in an unsatisfactory and inconclusive manner.

(6) It does not stand comparison with pure ghee, which is the article needed by those, who would not eat oil or tinned tallow etc.

(7) People—mostly of the poor middle class—may make its unnecessary expenditure on a showy material and are deceived or helped to deceive themselves into believing (a) that they are taking and feeding their family and friends with ghee or (b) at least with something better than oil.

(8) It has been observed that the false colour and taste of hydrogenated oil, or their complete absence creates when its use is prolonged, a loss of interest in the consumer of the taste and colour of genuine ghee. Consequently, when he happens to be served with pure home-made ghee at any place he actually thinks that the ghee stinks as it does not taste and smell like tanaspati to which he is used. This is a permanent injury (a) to the senses of taste and smell of the consumer, and (b) to the cause of ghee, even even if its production were increased and it were made available in larger quantity than now, the artificial tastes and smells of the various brands of hydrogenated oils would have set artificial habits, which it would become difficult to correct. It is like producing and popularising designs of the Deivada Temples and the Taj Mahal on cement slabs or iron sheets by a mechanical process, and permanently injuring the whiffles of marble, the aptitude for appreciating real human skill, and the capacity to distinguish between artificial (mechanised) beauty and artistic beauty.

(9) The hydrogenation business prospers by producing not only an easy adulterant of ghee, but also of refined oil in the form of the waste residue of the oil-mills.

(10) The vice of adulteration has spread over the entire ghee and oil trade, and has permeated into the villages. It affects the morals of the nation. Even if all the other grounds did not exist, it would be sufficient reason for condemning tanaspati. The demand for education is now pressing before the Government and the industry for at least the last three years, but nothing has been done. The experts are unable to find any colour and possibly do not even believe in getting it. Dr. Shastri has held out that vegetable ghee is the least harmful of all the adulterants commonly used in India. We do not know if he has, therefore, given up his search for a colour and, if so, who else has been entrusted with this task.

Under the circumstances a mere assurance that attempts would be concerted to find a colour will not, I think, be acceptable to the people as

satisfactory. The question of taste has become vital. But if the hydrogenated oil is immediately given a colour and an aroma so distinct that it would be impossible to use it in any event as an adulterant of olive the last objection to it namely, that it is a species of people's business morals will have been met, and the question would have to be considered on the remaining grounds. I believe that they are sufficiently strong for banning this industry altogether. But I can conceive that some of them might be regarded as debatable, or considerations might be urged, which might make the legislators and Government hesitate to take the extreme step at one bound. So time might again be sought. For this, the change of colour and the aroma is the most urgent of the demands on behalf of the people. Hydrogenation must not be allowed in any case unless and until these conditions are fulfilled. But sooner or later such artificial product should go altogether, and people must be given, and if necessary, trained to prefer pure fresh wholesome oil or other fluorocarbonation and reformation must not be taken as an end of the matter.

Before concluding I wish to make an appeal to the Government, the industry as well as the experts and specialists. The three might appear to have been written in the style of a person bent upon destroying this industry. May be they will be generous enough not to attribute to me any base motive for it, and regard it as a sporadic zeal for a pet theory or cause, perhaps out of a sense of loyalty to Gandhi, who had his share in it, I fear. E

My humble request is to look at the question impartially and with an open mind keeping apart the opinions of Gandhi or any other person or considerations based on mere sentimental grounds, also to put aside materialistic considerations of the amount of capital invested and the great profits or revenue accruing to the industry and the Government and to regard the whole question as affecting the morals, health and safety of the nation—the nation—and take only these as the most important decisive factors. Let us apply the parable of the three slaves. What is its contribution to the moral uplift of the people, to the health of those who are its greatest consumers, having regard to the fact that their diet is generally very deficient both in quality as well as quantity, and to the safety of the country, in case of sudden breakdown of any of the huge factories on which its production, transport and distribution depend? It entails the destruction of the method of producing oils and gives by de-centralised methods hitherto pursued. It also involves at every stage the concentrating of huge stocks of seeds, liquid oil and consumers in small areas. A single accident or an act of sabotage can seriously which is unfortunately on the increased means permanent destruction of huge amounts of food. Its having been suffered with insurance helps only the insurer of the capital

To the extent so much food is lost for good. On the one hand, we spend crores of rupees for getting more food grown; on the other we temper with natural foods in various ways removing some of their essential constituents, reducing their bulk, then in the attempt to restore the loss, seek to reintroduce them artificially through synthetic products. We want to bring down prices, but take every step to make the articles of food more expensive, we preach economy and spend lakhs on advertisements and other propaganda, full of exaggerations and misstatements of facts. Why is all this? If this is all in the interest of the nation it is necessary to know how it is.

Wardha, 23-6-38

K. G. HARRISWALA

NOTES

Caution Against Vasantha's Propaganda

It is possible that the public might see hereafter poems and other propaganda for vasantha dressed in various forms, such as cinema-film articles, short stories, dialogues, hints for cooking etc. They will extol the virtues of vasantha in actual ways so that they cannot be detected as advertisements. The services of doctors, scientists, graduates, story-writers, poets, teachers, editors and others might be recruited for this purpose. The people should not take these as evidence of disinterested persons. It is a part of the modern business methods.

Criticism Against Tree-Planting

I have received letters criticising the tree-planting programme of Sri Masani. Two grounds are urged. Planted trees are not taken care of and most of them die for sheer negligence. Thus it becomes a wasteful exercise. There is no doubt a good ground and must not be allowed to exist.

The other ground is that for every new tree planted people destroy recklessly several good young and fully grown up ones, and Government does nothing to prevent this criminal waste of the country's tree-wealth. Where is the need of planting new trees if all the time a greater destruction goes on simultaneously? This is a true description of the people's conduct. Unfortunately it is done so widely and even by officials that it is difficult to put an effective check upon it. To a certain extent, the people cannot be blamed very much for this. They have no alternative means of getting their essential needs. So I regard this to be all the greater reason for popularising the Vasantha-trees. When people begin to plant and rear trees with their own effort they will appreciate the value of the tree much better than they do now. A man who earns wealth by his own hard labour understands the necessity of thrift better than one who gets it in inheritance or by speculation and lottery. I am persuaded to think that tree-rearing might prove to be a good means of developing the potential sentiments in a person. A cattle-keeper will take care of his cattle and

parents of their children with greater tenderness and affection if they have a previous experience of rearing trees planted by themselves.

Wardha 36-6-50 R. G. M.

PROBLEM FROM THE HORNDAKE OF MONEY

Secretary of a house at a hotel-book binding centre at 404, East, Chicago, on April 20, 1949

The Chariba Singh has been running classes for many years for the teaching of the various operations of Akshat production. It has prepared several courses of study in that connection and what is popular in them. Originally the teaching of Akshat had been carried on at the Mahawasi and Wardha ashrams. But it had come to a standstill after the freedom movement of 1939. The Singh thereafter tried to organize the manufacture and sale of Akshat but did not provide for the teaching. This was carried on in 1947 at the very place where we are now, today. I can vividly recall on memory these days. The Congress had been placed in power in the Province though as it turned out later, only for a short period, and it made a good use of it in pushing ahead the constructive activities such as Akshat and production. Gandhi had just then imported into Akshat the central theme principle of the living wage. A dozen young men full of the spirit of socialism had gathered at this very place and you, in hand, began to the learning one to learn the science of Akshat. That was how we made a modest beginning of the Akshat Yojana. In those very months, Therochar Akshat Vidyapeeth was started here in Sevagram and many other places.

Twelve years have passed since then, and time has changed. The hope of living is fulfilled, but, alas, that of Akshat is withering. It is in such a critical moment that we are waiting when at this historic spot is made a fresh effort. The present class has a significance. This is clear from the great number of applications received from many corners of the country. We began for want of sufficient accommodation, we could not accept all of them. However, it is clear from the number of Akshat, who have come and who wanted to come, how eager the workers and the lovers of Akshat in every part of the country, are to learn weaving.

You will put in strenuous efforts here to satisfy this eagerness. You will do your weaving for several hours every day. But hard work by itself will not serve our purpose. Before you do that you must have a clear comprehension of what we are doing and along with Indian literature there must be a thorough knowledge of the technique. At the very start you must understand the why of it and then as you proceed you should learn its technique at every stage. Examine thoroughly whether the technique is appropriate to the fundamental idea. Do not think that the technique and the method followed here are final. Only accept as much of it as is conducive to the achievement of our aim and cooperate with us in remedying the defects.

We shall discuss the technique later. Just now let us see briefly why these classes have been opened and why you and the Chariba Singh will spend so much money and labour after them. I am conscious that it may not be possible to explain it fully in the short time at our disposal. Hence I advise you to read our booklets on the topic. In the last days Gandhi spoke frequently and with increasing emphasis on the fundamental principle and aim which I am just going to lay before you. There is formed a long series of conversations between Jagaji and Gandhiji lasting for seven days. A report of these conversations is published in Akshat in a book entitled Chhatra Bapubhai Nara Mahatma (Reverence of the A.R.A.). The talks are so deeply pregnant with meaning that even those who were present on the occasion and heard them and participated in them discover new meaning hidden therein at every fresh reading. There has unfolded in it the whole philosophy of Akshat so much so that we can call this valuable book

Akshat Bible. While you are here, do read it during your leisure for solace. It is not a story which you will read once and you will. It is a book which you will do well to meditate on again and again, and profit by reflecting over it.

Difference between Doing and Fringing

We are at a stage when rich and educated people feel prompted to engage themselves in some useful activity. Their feeling is laudable and there is in their hearts a concerning and for the realisation of certain ideals. But somehow they are unable to imagine their entry in the role of active workers doing things with their own hands. They plan to get them done by others. I shall illustrate the point. There are demands for workers for Akshatwork from many places. The thought had and capable men of the locality do not come forward to undertake the work themselves. The result is that the work cannot progress. There are so many nations building activities which are awaiting to be done. The trouble is that working rather than doing has become a part of our nature, and we have reduced ourselves to the helpless position of a man with broken legs who has to be carried. This tendency has run its vicious course on Akshatwork too.

There is no dearth of Akshat-lovers in our country. Even many of those who do not wear Akshat have respect for it. But the pernicious distinction between doing and wanting things to be done by others has been weakening the way. Akshat is regarded as belonging to the second class, a thing to be got done. That was why when Gandhi introduced the yarn machine and made it obligatory on every lover of Akshat to produce a part of it, many protested against it. If such was the approach when Gandhi himself was the sponsor, we should not be surprised to see people looking askance at us when we suggest self-weaving. But you have now discovered in the things with your hands. You know how the progress of Akshat is blocked without self-weaving. Now it is difficult to derive self-satisfaction from the workings of another machine.

Gandhi wanted an attempt to be made about the creation of unemployment. Whatever Akshat work we do as he had had the effect of sending back some money to the villages. Gandhi himself expressed his satisfaction over this return of money — return of capital — into the villages through Akshat. But he continued to say that this would not fulfil the purpose and aim of Akshat. He called this kind of Akshat production as "Relief Akshat". The other kind of Akshat which would send the villages from the clutches of industrial economy to that of Akshat (Bharat) is the Akshat which will give the poor the strength to stand on their own legs. This cannot be achieved with the relief Akshat or Akshat for sale. It can be achieved only through self-satisfaction.

Just consider what things carry money to villages and what carry it away from them. You will see that according to the position of agriculture every other thing has the effect of carrying money away from the villages. Only when this medium of money is stopped, there can be satisfaction in their condition, and progress can come about. This drain of money is so huge that all the money that we collect there through Akshat sales is like a drop in the ocean. The only way to fill in this drain is to stop the outflow. It is not possible to land an income is up by bringing money in from outside.

Now if you let that you will not that a solution which will apply equally to all villages. Moreover, these few villages which will benefit from it will tend to lose their moral character and change slowly into cities. And then they will begin to exploit the villages in the other do today. The only effective way to end this exploitation is to reduce the outflow of money to the villages.

The present drain is caused by cloth. Since village is sending out money worth thousands of rupees in the way of cloth. It can be stopped by self-satisfaction in cloth. Hence it is that self-satisfaction Akshat is more important than relief Akshat.

The people have not yet understood this aspect. They would understand sooner or later and as a working instrument was set in motion to stop the flight of silk threads of various or foreign countries. Weaving was restricted so that people had to learn to understand that it is equally necessary to stop the flow of huge amounts of money from the villages to the cities. It is a new idea. Even the villagers have not accepted it. The day they understand it there is bound to be a revolution. They will not let the city cloth go from the villages. The forces of vested interests might try to push it into the villages. There might be a conflict, but as for this idea has not caught the imagination of the villagers. We have to understand this purpose behind the cloth and work for it.

Imagine what would happen if we started to give nothing like this to the villages and an awakening follows. A new situation will set in as everywhere. Ultimately we will have to produce the cloth. It is just life in itself. It will be every village and produce cloth. Even if it were possible there will be silk come from it where cloth we get the money, needed for it. It is not necessary in our country the machinery for the silk. The pleasure can they within a few years they would get all the silk they needed from foreign lands and from there will give us more cloth. Even if we assume that we may be able to manufacture self-sufficiency in the country, the flow of money from the villages without will continue. Moreover a silk thread is accompanied if it only serves a silk as small as a village. Therefore we have to create a plan whereby a village could provide itself with all its cloth. And how are we to prepare villages for the adoption of that plan? How can we occupy all the available labor, how could we bring into useful service the hands of even the child and the aged? How may cloth be produced in every home? And what should be the implements and processes in accordance with our object of stopping the flow of money from the village? It was this approach which gave rise to the idea of home-weaving. Experiments were conducted in daily work at one, and now the stage is reached where we can build these houses.

There was then when every home did its weaving even as we do our knitting today. Even today in Japan many families do their own weaving. The knowledge of weaving is a part of a girl's education for marriage. If weaving could be introduced in every home in this way, the idea of self-sufficiency in cloth could be easily popularized, and made economically sound. A man's requirements of cloth today are greater than what they used to be in other days. We cannot therefore copy the old days. But we can draw on it and develop our own modern home industries and adopt them to reach our goal of self-sufficiency in cloth.

Now you will learn a new technique of home-weaving. But this technique has its limits. It will not teach you the art of weaving a suit or a shirt. You will be able to weave cloth of short widths such as will meet your needs of every other clothing occupying the suit and the shirt. This may not give you full satisfaction, but if you master it it will certainly make it easier for you to weave the suit and the shirt. Either you yourself will be able to weave it or get it woven at your place. Today we are forced to send yarn over long distances. The weaver in our neighborhood refuses to accept it. Why is it not? It is because we do not know home-weaving. If we get to know in the weaver will gladly accept our work and do it more efficiently. He will no longer work as before we shall understand his difficulty and help him to overcome it.

His difficulty arises from the defects in our yarn. At present we do not even know what they are, though they must attend ourselves in the weaver. If we produce preliminary weaving, these defects will be eliminated. We shall learn the importance of first joining, not allowing loose ends to rub, and the yarn to get into work. We shall not tie the different sections of

the hank in a wrong manner. There is a good deal of spinning being done, but not being selected we experience all the difficulties which beset a person who tries to correct bad habits of long standing. At times, we feel that before enlarging the number of spindles we had better work on improving the quality of the yarn of the present spindles. Every one of you should find out the difficulties of weaving your yarn and should improve it so that it might be easily woven. The training in hand weaving will help you in the effort.

Apart from the improvement of yarn, there is one more aspect of this question which we will do well to reflect over. If you have seen the skilled and professional weavers, you will find that only a very few among the farmers are able to weave the single thread of even good mill yarn. They usually weave four double threads. At times they are generally unable to set the single thread for the warp. When we have to solve the problem of weaving cloth we must adopt a method which can be easily practiced by all including the unskilled and the inexperienced. The method ultimately depends on the kind of yarn selected. So you will see that in these classes we shall use the double thread for the warp. In order that the warp may be of equal strength with the weft instead of keeping the number of warp and weft threads equal for an even, the former has been reduced, while that of the single-thread weft has been increased by 25 per cent or more. This has the further advantage of making the cloth look more even and attractive. In addition to the number of threads in the weft is generally greater than that in the warp.

You need not be frightened by the double thread. In the early days of cloth, we had to begin with double of even it is 1 to 1. As the handlooms were confined to beyond every other cloth, they shranked more rough than the. Their restriction made it possible for us to go forward and reach the stage of the present single-thread fine cloth. The present double-thread cloth is much better and finer. This you will find if you look at some fine specimens of the double-thread cloth which we have just done. If you proceed once again with the same first teacher we are able to manufacture the fabric of double-thread cloth also. And furthermore, we shall have more weaving work ready.

Before we get rid of the use of money at every stage of clothmaking, from Japan to weaving. Perhaps all the auxiliary processes powered or by manual cooperation within your group. Then you will have found the purpose and also the art of cloth which these classes have been opened to teach. We have to acquire the strength that comes of a firm determination to be self-reliant and not of the habitual preference to realize that determination. But, these classes are at least a start in that direction.

The idea of eliminating the use of money may appear hard to you. But it has a special importance for us and we must think over it seriously. We have freed ourselves from the political and military domination of the British. The military power is now in our own hands. We have taken this as 'freedom'. But we have not freed ourselves from the domination of money which today holds the whole world in subjugation. The whole world is struggling to break free from that bondage. Just think how disastrous has been the effect on the life of the masses and especially of that of the village-folk. Every day that passes, it is spreading the tentacles to bring in the whole of our life, every department of it under its sinister influence. All the things, which only a century ago were done by individual or co-operative labor now need money for their fulfillment. Every thing is measured in terms of money, and much more the measure changes frequently. Moreover, the masses have absolutely no control over it. The control has somewhere far away, from there is some center which they cannot see. The only way for the village-folk to get out of it is to produce self-sufficiency in respect of the primary needs of life. Cloth self-sufficiency is representative of that self-sufficiency. But even there we have not yet

A great mass of the government papers are often lacerated with bludge of redneutrals, as before for their manifestations on governmental and industrial developments. They can publish and broadcast anything which is opposed to their political interests. They were once forbidden to write against corruption, or against licensed gambling, the races, cross-country games etc. false and exaggerated advertisements, obscene pictures and the like. They are not at all free from all restrictions against drinking or if the film is already censored. A race, cross-country games and other types of gambling are prohibited, or bogus medical advertisements are forbidden. But the editor may not protest against restrictions on his own freedom by his own employer. Does Freedom of the Press mean freedom to propagate evil? Or does Freedom of the Press mean freedom of a lacerated man to become an employer's mouthpiece?

Words: 4-7-30

Opinion on Vasegati—A Correction

It was announced in the Press that public opinion on vasegati should be forwarded to the Parliament Secretariat and the Food Minister, New Delhi on or before 31st August, 1930. This is a mistake.

The opinions or resolutions about vasegati should be sent to the Secretary to the Government of the State to which the matter belongs and when the date fixed by the State Government. Thus the Bombay Government has notified that duty on the last date for receiving such opinions. It is not known which States have been fixed by other governments. It would be safe to forward the opinions without delay, and in any case before 31st July. If any one has sent his opinion directly to the Parliamentary Secretariat or any Ministry of the Central Government, he will please send another copy of the same to the Secretary of his own State Government.

Words: 3-4-30

S. C. M.

Korea

Korea is a land of some 35,000,000 souls, divided into two parts—North Korea and South Korea—along the 38th Parallel (i.e. 38th North Latitude) after the Japanese surrender. The capitals of the two parts are Pyongyang and Seoul respectively. After the Japanese surrender the Northern part was under Soviet occupation and the Southern was occupied by American troops. The north is an industrially developed area possessing coal mines, iron and steel mills and hydro-electric installations while the south is mainly agricultural in its economy. The north has 60 per cent of the territory and a population of seven to eight millions, while the south contains as many as seventeen to eighteen millions. It is, therefore, most obvious that the country has been partitioned in a most irrational manner, for the slightest friction between the two parts produces untold suffering for the Korean people as a whole.

Of all the political parties the Communist party of Korea was the most organised and clear as to its aims. The end of the war saw the emergence of the Communists as a major political group under the patronage of the Red Army.

The division of Korea along the 38th Parallel was an arrangement dictated by military necessity after the Japanese surrender. The Korean nationalists naturally thought that the partitioning of their country would in course of time be replaced by a unification programme. In this, the Reds and the Communists were one; the methods, excepting talk, however, being entirely different. To the Reds the unification of Korea meant an extension of Communist domination throughout the country. The Democrats, on the other hand, was in the fulfilment of their nationalist and democratic aspirations.

(From an article by Dr. Subodh Chandra in The Sunday Post of India, July 1, 1946)

Mahadeo Desai (Bombay) Memorial Trust Terms for the Mahadeo Desai Memorial Prize Competition

1. The Mahadeo Desai Memorial prize will be awarded to the students whose essays have been declared to be deserving of the prize by the judges appointed in this behalf.

2. The essays are to be written on the following two subjects:

1. "Candidate—Statesman and Saint".
2. "Candidate—as Mahadeo Desai saw him."

3. The essays may be written either in Hindi or Marathi or English.

4. The essays must be written on one side of the writing paper with proper margins and should not be less than forty pages and not more than fifty pages in length.

5. The Competition is open to all School students who have not completed the age of 20 on 10th August, 1946.

6. The Competitors must attach a certificate of age signed by the Head of the School, where they are studying along with their essays.

7. The essays must be submitted on or before 31st January, 1951.

8. A sum of Rs. 300/- each for each of the three languages, viz. Hindi, Marathi and Gujarati will be distributed in three prizes as under:

1st Prize	Rs. 200
2nd Prize	Rs. 150
3rd Prize	Rs. 100

9. The prizes will be awarded either in cash or in the form of books.

10. The award of the prizes will be final.

11. The copyright on the essays for which prizes will be awarded shall vest in the Trustees of the Mahadeo Desai (Bombay) Memorial Trust.

12. The Essays should be sent to the following address:

MARTIN DEBBI MEMORIAL COMMITTEE,
C/o The Shareowner N. Narayan,
"Sankha House", Ballard Estate,
Bombay

EDUCATION AND VILLAGE SELF-SUFFICIENCY

(This is the second article of Wilfred Wallock in continuation of his previous ones.)

In a short article in his paper *Harlan* (July 14, 1949) entitled "In considering the problem of education in poor rural India,"

I have made bold, even at the risk of being all regarded as reactionary, to suggest that education should be self-supporting.

By education I mean an all-round training out of the best in child and man—body, mind and spirit. Literacy is not the end of education, not even the beginning. It is only one of the means whereby man and woman can be educated. Literacy, in itself, is no education.

"I would therefore begin the child's education by teaching it a useful handicraft, and combining it in practice with the manual it begins its training. Thus every school has to make self-supporting the child, this being that the State takes over the maintenance of these schools."

"I hold that the highest development of mind and soul is possible under such a system of education. But every handicraft should be taught not merely mechanically as it does today but should really, i.e., the child should agree the why and whereof of every process."

This was the beginning of one of the greatest revolutions in education, and at the same time it was a social revolution of the first magnitude.

Should not India aware of this, as the following quotation shows:

"My plan to impart Primary Education through the medium of village handicrafts (the spinning and carding etc.) is conceived in the spirit of a class social revolution fraught with the most far-reaching consequences. It will go a long way towards eradicating some of the worst evils of the present social system and towards liberating the masses from their chains. It will show the peasants the way of our liberation and lay the foundation of a juster social order in which there will be no artificial division of labour and 'increased' and every one will be assured of a living wage, and the right to freedom." (Gandhi, 4-10-1930)

The Spinning Enthusiast

I have seen this system of education at work in India's villages including entire classes of children from 4 to 14 years spinning with spindles and doing this to a spinning song which gives them infinite pleasure.

The little three children spin to it automatically even now. (The village I visited had a mass of dirt which had been swept from the feet of children had spun. One of the school-keepers came forward to take my measurements and make two holes I was presented with a hand woven Gandhi shawl made from yarn spun by children between 6 and 8 years.)

Wondering it underneath he says any time after about 15 years of age. One evening in a South Indian village, when I was being shown round, we discovered a box of eleven spinning spindles in an otherwise empty building.

"Is this for sale?" I asked. "Why not?" the holder said. "This is part of his newly acquired skill, and perfect as perfect it. Why should we waste his education?"

There is no attempt to learn the craft to mastery. This is left until the child requires the knowledge that it contained in books when it will want to read. Even then the child does not start with the alphabet, but with reading as letters and writing down the names of the trees connected with spinning, cardmaking or what not.

The aptitude and intelligence of these children is amazing. The number of things that they can do and

put their hands to (and remember) while they are able to explain the why and whereof of every process.

I was assured by teachers everywhere that the need with which children learn to write and read by this method is remarkable.

I once attended a school which is widely praised in the education of city slum children. The head told me that they had not been very successful with Basic Education and he attributed this to the much lower degree of aptitude which their children possessed compared with village children.

The first aim of Basic Education was to adapt it up to the eighth standard which meant up to 16 years of school years of age. But it is now being applied to other standards, and means are being worked out for Basic Education at the College level. It is intended to carry University education to the masses.

This order of education applied in the village has an immediate economic value. The year which the children spin is seven less than would the village at first, but when the spin returns, and there is only a small wearing charge to pay for it, the desire for a few looms in each village grows, and leads to education in the ways and means of producing them.

This carries us on to the problem of village economy and the part the Gandhi scheme are playing in its development.

These schemes, as previously explained, are staffed by devoted workers of Gandhi and very few make their way. Almost invariably they set up a Basic Education School for the education of the children in one or two nearby villages. But their main work is to train teachers in Basic Education and workers to carry on some social service in the village.

Take the case of village G. G. (Gandhigram). It is surrounded by a block of about 75 villages. It is now administering at least one service in 12 of these villages as a clinic and maternity center, a voluntary health club (spinning, cardmaking, knitting and cardmaking), a primary school, before this, through the women's method (the use of hand looms), education (the use of hand looms), carpentering, electricity or a multipurpose cooperative society.

Gandhi's Dream Will Be Realized

I have seen all these activities go up in the midst of unbelievable poverty and misery, and witnessed a response which has kindled in me a belief that Gandhi's dream not only can but will be realized. I have been in a village of untouchables which produced a hand spun cloth to be sold in the nearest market of their village and a necessary service and ground cloth to be spun, washed in the porch doorway. These poor families gathered before their temple and offered in contribution one rupee per family to build a house for the use of four untouchable young women who had come to seek work to their needs. The villagers are building to house themselves and buying the necessary materials they do not possess with the Rs. 200 which they have collected.

Every year, again, a fair is held and 15 beds of money will be given to each class. Then a fair market will open in the village center and the village will be able to do with things will improve and comfort and health will improve by co-operative trading. Before long they will co-operate in building better houses. Then will follow music, drama, dancing, reading and books.

There is South India in a three month pilgrimage, I have witnessed a beginning of India's social revolution. These Gandhian Gandhi said. The people are responding magnificently. A new light shines in the darkness of the revolution in India way.

Moreover, it is the true service to civilization for here it is not theory, a higher standard of living but a higher spiritual standard also. This is the most simple basic form, is the revolution which the world

OFFICE AND THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF THE OFFICE
COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

WILSON WILCOX

Communist News of May 12, 1950

Editor: Mr Wilson, has given me one paragraph to suggest. I hope you will think that it deserves to be a short feature as to work so that it may become one of the regulars.

—R. G. H.

HARIJAN

July 13

1950

UNHAPPY KOREA

Imperialistic ambitions of powerful countries have made Korea an unhappy land for about the last half a century. First Manchuria showed it no peace. Then Japan conquered it and tried to people brutally and exploited its resources for its own benefit. Japan's defeat brought the Koreans under the subjugation of the Chinese without any fault of their own. These nations, for their own selfish ends, divided the country into two and established two mutually incompatible systems of government in the two parts. All this was done without the consent of the Koreans. If this conquest had left a place in the last century, most probably the United States would have agreed Japan and South Korea to itself in the same way as it had done the Philippines. Similarly North Korea would have been annexed with Soviet Russia. But in the course of the present century new moral ideas have grown up which do not approve of territorial extension. They have become more popular than what would not be acceptable.

Under Mussolini and Hitler the democratic governments are unable to reject these ideas with brutal frankness. They have, therefore, taken recourse to hypocritical wars instead of straightaway annexing parts of Germany, Japan and Korea to their several realms, they were placed under their several "mandates" until such time as they would find it convenient to leave them to their own people.

When Germany and Korea were partitioned it must have been evident that it was responsible for these countries to which the division of their respective countries into small bits. There were such a single people, with common language, religion and ideas. They were one before the conquest and wanted to remain so together after it. So far as the Koreans were concerned, they were never a willing party to the War. They were involved in it because of the mistakes Japan. It was also perfectly well known that Russia and the so-called Democracies held totally different conceptions of the way in which human good could be achieved in this world. It was also perfectly well known that through Hiroshima and the democratic countries had opposition made it convenient to unite in defeating Germany. Italy and Japan, they were naturally as hostile towards each other as they were towards the supposed enemies. Indeed, it was like the alliance of the serpent and the

mongoose for devouring the monkey. The defeat of the monkey has left the serpent and the mongoose to resume their old bitter enmity.

The hostility between the Democracies headed by U.S.A. and the Communist countries headed by Russia has long more become an open matter. Soviet Russia feels that it has a mission in the world. Like the early Christian missionaries and the early Muslims, the Communists believe that humanity can be saved only by making the world accept the Communist way of life. And like all religious fanatics they do not believe in the purity of the means, but sacrifice all kinds of tactics to achieve their purpose. On the other hand, the Democracies feel that the spread of Communism is bound to affect their own happiness. Of the Democracies, those which are very rich and advanced have raised their standard of living to so high a level, that it is impossible to maintain it if they have to share their riches equally, not to say equally, even with the poor of their own country. Sharing them with the poor nations of the world is inconceivable. And the spread of Communist ideas ultimately means both. They are, thus, like priests and supporters of an orthodox religion, who would find their vocations gone, if people accepted a new Master's teachings. They know that their present position is morally unjustifiable. But they want to maintain it and feel that they should use all their strength and resources while there is still an opportunity of crushing the new trend of thought. They are, thus, no simple about means. They are tacticians and hence organized and feel that they have destructive weapons superior to those of Russia. So, before the latter get too strong they are anxious to pick up a quarrel with the Communist powers. Then there appears to be a will on both the sides to bring matters to a head. An excuse was awaited both Korea and Germany passed the opportunity for it. Korea has already provided one. It may not be long before Germany does the same. On the defence of South Korea and Japan might involve the necessity for an aggression against Soviet-controlled Germany.

Before the Second World War the Democracies had made an unholy alliance with the Russians and the Turks against Russia. At the commencement of the War, the Axis powers entered into an unholy alliance with Russia to crush the Democracies. During the progress of the War, that unholy alliance was broken to be replaced by another unholy one between the Democracies and Russia against the Axis powers. The War saw a crash of the Axis powers leaving the Democracies and Russia free to resume their old hostilities. One sin after another has been perpetrated against mankind by each of the three groups and none is still repentant. Each is willing to repeat the same crime.

Where do the Asian nations including India, stand in this picture? We are too much preoccupied, too busy going, too very illiterate, too

much divided internally. We have slept too long and have been unresponsively and unaccountably exploited during our sleep. We are just getting out of our slumber and are not yet fully awake. We feel confused about what will save us. Some look to the Democrats, others to Russia to help them. A few are unable to believe in either, but at the same time they do not know their own mind and their independent course. In India, Gandhi tried to show them a definite course. But they still waver.

But the Gandhian way apart, this much is certain, that if the Democrats mean the present capitalist order and the liberty and freedom to raise one's standard of living as high as one pleases without a thought for the condition of the masses, the people of Asia will not tolerate it for long. If the capitalist order does not take rapid and progressive steps to liquidate itself, it will be impossible for any power, however strong and Fascist-minded, to stop the tide of Communism from spreading over the whole of Asia. With the whole of Siberia and the whole of China, as also North Korea, gone red, and with India and the South-East Asia not free from its influence and possibly getting increasingly under it. How does U.S.A. expect South Koreans to be satisfied with the imposition of an exploiting order under a so-called democracy? The Democrats, I feel, would labour under a serious mistake if they think that Communism spreads in Asia simply by reason of the misdeeds of the Russians, or that it can be stopped by merely giving them large loans and weapons. It spreads because Asia is poor starving has been ruthlessly exploited is densely populated and has become conscious of that condition, and at the same time witnesses that in the midst of its appalling poverty there are in their own countries a handful of people who are rolling in riches and are heartlessly selfish and control their governments.

It may not be impossible for the Democrats of Europe and America to crush Russia. But that will not be an end of the trouble. The amount of truth which Communism represents will make its appearance in their own countries. The only true answer to Communism is voluntary liquidation of capitalism, economy, and raising their high standard of living and making people of densely populated countries to spread in the vacant regions of the earth.

But apart from this, why should U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. put off the disposal of one or another group over funds, weapons and technicians? If they really mean Peace in the world, the first thing each ought to do is not to trade in destructive weapons and not give their technicians to any outside country. Let both Russia and U.S.A. withdraw from Korea and Japan, along with their weapons and technicians and trainers. Let Koreans decide their future without the

interference of a foreign power. It is hardly sufficient that the two Korean powers should stop inside their artificial border line. What is necessary is the abolition of the border line altogether by the unification of the country. If the Big Powers bear real goodwill towards the people of Asia (which, of course, includes India) let this policy of hunting and breeding every national regional war be once for all abandoned. Pakistanis, Punjabis, Bengalis, Kashmiris, Indians, Indonesians, Koreans have all had enough of partition. If the Big Powers cannot use their talents to foster unity among the people of these lands let them leave the people of each region to their own fate and resources. Let these people commit suicidal warfare if it is the only thing they are capable of. The U.N.O. must strive not to maintain a moribund peace but to create real unity among the people of national regions. If that is not possible, the second best thing is to allow violence to be confined within their national regions. This is possible only by the Big Powers clearing out of Asia, and refusing to sell their arms and talents to the fighting countries.

Wardha 5-3-56

K. C. MARSHWALA

BREATHFUL TRAFFIC IN MONKEYS

Mr Wilfred Tyklesley, Secretary, of the British Union for the Abolition of Vivisection, 47 Whitehall, London, S. W. 1, England, writes:

"It has been reported in Indian newspapers that an American is visiting your country in order to arrange for 1000 monkeys to be sent from South to the U.S.A. for experiments regarding leukaemia parasites. It has also been reported in British newspapers that American research laboratories intend to import about 500,000 monkeys during the next three years. The large number no doubt indicates some great battle and the researcher from other countries, many of the monkeys were found by air via Britain. A few days ago it was reported that thirty monkeys in one cage died of dysentery. These thirty were brought for the others will really reach more in the research laboratories of the U.S.A. The poor monkeys also suffer greatly during road transport in India, especially in the hot season and many of them die."

"This dreadful traffic has been going on for years, except the many protests of humanitarians in India, Britain and America. I was a member of a protest about a year ago in French Switzerland, Milan, but received no reply. I wrote that six months of National Council has not taken on his concern."

"Despite the years of protesting on monkey monkeys that is mention after monkeys on parades or even for leukaemia parasites has been discovered, now in these grounds of war. Even if a cure could be found for artificially induced leukaemia it is most unlikely to be of use in curing the disease in humans. The only successful treatment known is that developed by Peter Huxley and this had nothing to do with experiments on animals."

"I do hope that India will rise to voice its protest against the cruel traffic in monkeys. If any of your readers would like to have information on the dangers and sufferings of thousands of thousands taken on animal experiments I shall be pleased to send it."

Might I reproduce myself with the almost perfect truth and accuracy of such statements as the master of Mahatma Gandhi has not fallen on his knees to me. In the first place, such remarks are hardly helpful. Mahatma Gandhi himself was so big that no single person could attempt to manipulate the whole of it to himself. Gandhi himself is for the matter of that, to the best of my knowledge any one else never pledged himself to carry out Gandhi's ideas in every detail, and even while the Mahatma was alive they often differed with him on many matters. Every one found in Gandhi's teachings some very clear new and important ideas, and accepted some of them whole-heartedly. They try to act upon them honestly, though necessarily to the extent of their own capacity. At the same time it must be realized that every one of them also dared to reject some of his teachings. One cannot be blamed for not implementing an idea which one never accepted.

A great part of the rejection of Gandhi's ideas is due to the influence which modern industrialism and science has cast upon us, as it has done upon the people of every country. In this respect the Western nations have given us the lead, and they have a strong hold on the Indian mind, in spite of the fact that Gandhi and the Indian event of the past had very clear ideas about the sins perpetrated in the name of science, wealth and industry. Consequently some of us at present are mentally constituted that it is possible that we may have to rediscover Gandhi's ideas through a lead given by the West. Perhaps this might be a good process for the development of humanity on both sides, and for the salvation of the World. The Western countries will acknowledge their gratitude to Gandhi and Gandhi's countrymen who stand rebuked in the West for helping them to rediscover Gandhi and other great masters. This requires that our strenuous efforts should be made to create a sense of religion in the minds of scientists and industrialists for indulging in such traffic and scientific experiments. The call of non-violence must spread its struggle in the West as to affect the policy of the nations. Its implementation throughout in India might yield greater results than ever before. Let us learn lessons from the West, we might relish them better just as we used to relish British textiles made out of cotton exported from India.

The tragedy of this lies in the middle stage, which attracts thousands of innumerable innocent lives. It is distressing, but not surprising. Man has always been the cruellest and darkest animal in the world. He has learnt the bits of goodness after perpetrating mass heinous and reckless deeds. The universal saying about King James I of England applies perhaps to most of us, as called intelligent and learned men.

INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION TO PEACE AND GOODWILL

The Village Formed IV

The 'sterial village' of India managed to interfere affairs through the caste system, and through the same system it dealt with any opposition from the ruling power or powers (M. K. Gandhi, *Essence of Speeches*, Navajivan Trust, p. 45). 'India is really a republican country and it is because it is that, that it has survived every shock hitherto delivered. Prisons and poisons, whether they were Indian-born or foreigners, have hardly touched the vast masses except for collecting statistics.'

The Indian village was only a social political autonomy. It was also economically self-sufficient. It was 'a self-supporting and self-contained web exchanging only such necessary commodities with other villages as are not locally producible' (Ibid. p. 3).

This twofold independence is the secret of the sterial life that the Indian village has lived for thousands of years.

Describing the Indian villages as they were about 125 years ago 'Mr. Charles Metcalfe, an English official in India, who gave moral offence to his masters in England for 'his abolition of the restrictions on the press' (Florent. Smith, *Defunct History of India*, p. 471) wrote: "The village communities are little republics, having nearly everything they can want within themselves and almost independent of any foreign relations. They seem to live, where making the best of them, after domestic troubles done, revolution succeeds to revolution. Hindu, Muslim, Rajput, Maratha, Sikh, English, are all natives in turn, but the village community remains the same. In times of trouble they arm and fight themselves, an hostile army passes through the country, the village community collect their cattle within their walls and let the enemy pass unprovoked. If plunder and domination be decided against themselves and the force employed be unreasonable they fly to friendly villages at a distance, but when the storm has passed over they return and resume their occupations. If a country remains for a score of years the scene of pillage and massacre, so that the village cannot be inhabited, the scattered villagers nevertheless return whenever the power of powerful possession relieves. A generation may pass away, but the succeeding generation will return. The sons will take the place of their fathers: the same site for the village, the same position for the houses, the same lands will be occupied by the descendants of those who were driven out when the village was depopulated, and it is not a trifling matter that will drive them out, for they will often maintain their post through times of disturbance and revolution, and acquire strength sufficient to resist pillage and oppression with success. The wives of the village communities, each one forming a separate little state in itself, has, I conceive,

unhindered more than any other made to the preservation of the people of India through all the revolutions and changes which they have suffered, and it is to a high degree conducive to their happiness, and to the enjoyment of a great portion of freedom and independence" (*Illustrations History of India*, Murray, 1841, p. 133).

The condition of Indian villages deteriorated in every respect during British rule, but even so it charmed the foreign observer, as witness the following description from the pen of a British journalist H. R. Parnall, *Illustrations*, contributed by him to the *Morning Post* in 1893 (London, February 5, 1905, p. 684):

"The life of India is essentially the life of the village. The people of India are in overwhelming proportion a village people, and their communities are, or at least were, the most attractive, the most complete, the most contented in the world. Within their self-sufficing confines trade is no vulgar source of profit for which men scheme and strive, but a calling, often a holy calling, handed down from father to son through the generations, each with its own unchanging ideals, its religiously-guarded craft. At the entrance to a village street, beside his wheel, which is only a wooden disc weighted with mud and spun on an axle, the potter sits, with dreamy fingers squeezing the clay to the shape of his fancy: on one side of him a brown heap of earth, on the other the frail children of his fancy waiting for the fire which shall fit them for use, type, since man made pots of the archaological authority and sentiment of the British Potter. Further down the street, past the green and orange and white-pink piles of the grain sellers, raised but a foot from the ground, open to all that care to lounge and look, are the workshops of the brass and copper smiths, ringing all day to the sound of the hammer, and with the red breathing of a furnace in their depths. Hard by is the tannery, slowly grinding its amalgam in a mortar, while farther on a woman with a sore drawn across her face watches the silversmith, with no tool but a hammer and nail, giving some shape of god or beast upon the bracelet cast from the silver she had brought him. He has wife as the poor man's bank and on her, against the evil day, he hangs his earnings, a burden to which she does not object. (Here or there) the village may be distinguished by a special craft, by carvers in ebony or ivory, blackwood or stone, by some famous maker of swords or weapons in lacquer, or a stall may glimmer with the brightness of glass beads and bangles. Behind the houses the looms will be at work, gay spaces of blue and purple and maroon in the shadow of the green trees, on which the flowers are hung and from which, as the shuttle is thrown to and fro, the scented blossoms fall upon the weaver's fingers, while farther on the dunes swing from side to side across the width of the sunlit street some length of intense and dripping colour.

"As the afternoon wears on, the women make their way to the well (not when such as ill-mannered ladies, brown and grey, upon their heads, there to loiter and gossip, till the colour-eyed kins are down looking down the fields with a silver trail of dust behind them). Then the sounds of the hammer begin to enervate a film settles on the colour-eyed themselves: the dyer hangs his hat damp over his eyes, the looms are covered and put away and the village elders gather in the shade there to hear the latest news, read out to them from the cheap daily sheets which circulate everywhere, to discuss recent judgments which have come to their hearing, and to shake their heads at the crops, till the lights begin to show in the growing darkness and the sound of songs—songs straight from the Ramayana or Mahabharata—rises from round the cooking pots upon the cooling air. That is a picture of village life all over India: a picture whose rustic and contented charm cannot anywhere be belittled, but a picture of a life which is gradually ceasing to be, as the work of the hand craftsman is undermined and displaced by the cheaper, squalid products of the machine-driven West."

T. C. B.

ASHRAM ACTIVITIES

(By F. E. Goodell)

(Presented from Calcutta, July 1, 1930.)

IV

Education

This word is here used in a special as well as the current sense. The Ashram experiment in education was a total one as nothing else was.

We saw at once that the women and children in the Ashram should be taught to read and write, and a little later on that there should be similar facilities for even the illiterate men, that came to the Ashram. Those who had already joined the Ashram could not undertake to teach. If capable teachers were to be attracted to the Ashram the role of *brahmacharya* had to be retained in their case. The Ashram was therefore divided into two sections, the teachers' quarters and the Ashram proper.

Harmon beings cannot overcome their weakness all at once. As soon as the two sections came into being a feeling of superiority and inferiority poisoned the Ashram atmosphere in spite of all our efforts to scotch it. The Ashramites developed spiritual pride, which the teachers could not tolerate. This pride was an obstacle in the attainment of the Ashram ideal and therefore an aspect of antirash as well. If *brahmacharya* was to be observed in its perfection, the division was inevitable. But the *brahmacharya* had no reason to think too highly of themselves. It may be that the *brahmacharya* who aimed mentally in spite of themselves were retrogressing while those who did not claim to be *brahmacharya* but liked *brahmacharya* were making progress. This was clear to the intellect but it was not easy for all of us to put it into practice.

There again there were differences of opinion as regards the method of education which gave rise to difficulties in administration. There were better discussions, but at last all agreed down and learned the lesson of forbearance. This was in my view a triumph of truth, the goal of all Ashram's endeavor. Those who held divergent views harboured no evil intentions in their minds, and were indeed grieved at the divergence. They wished to practice truth as they saw it. Their unwilling for their own standpoint came in the way of their giving due weight to the arguments of their opponents. Hence the quarrels which put our charity to a severe test.

I have my own perhaps peculiar views on education which have not been accepted by my colleagues in fact, and here they are.

1. Young boys and girls should have co-education till they are eight years of age.

2. Their education should mainly consist in manual training under the supervision of an educationist.

3. The special aptitudes of each child should be recognized in determining the kind of work he (or she) should do.

4. The reasons for every process should be explained when the process is being carried on.

5. General knowledge should be imparted to each child as he begins to understand things. Learning to read or write should come later.

6. The child should first be taught to draw simple geometrical figures, and when he has learned to draw these with ease, he should be taught to write the alphabet. If that is done, he will write a good hand from the very first.

7. Reading should come before writing. The letters should be treated as pictures to be recognized and later on to be copied.

8. A child taught on these lines will have acquired considerable knowledge according to his capacity by the time he is eight.

9. Nothing should be taught to a child by force.

10. He should be interested in everything taught to him.

11. Education should appear to the child like play. Play is an essential part of education.

12. All education should be imparted through the Mother-tongue.

13. The child should be taught Hindi-Urdu as the national language, before he learns letters.

14. Religious education is indispensable and the child should get it by watching the teacher's conduct and by hearing him talk about it.

15. Nine to sixteen constitutes the second stage in the child's education.

16. It is desirable that boys and girls should have co-education during the second stage also as far as possible.

17. Hindu children should also be taught Sanskrit and Muslim children Arabic.

18. Manual training should be continued during the second stage. Literary education should be allotted more time as it is necessary.

19. The boys during this stage should be taught their parents' avocation in such a way that they will by their own choice obtain their livelihood by practicing the hereditary craft. This does not apply to the girls.

20. During this stage the child should acquire a general knowledge of world history and geography, botany, astronomy, arithmetic, geometry, and algebra.

21. Each child should now be taught to sew and to cook.

22. Sixteen to twenty-five is the third stage during which every young person should have an education according to his or her wishes and circumstances.

23. During the second stage (9-16) education should be self-supporting, that is, the child, all the time that he is learning, is working upon some industry, the proceeds of which will meet the expenditure of the school.

24. Production starts from the very beginning, but during the first stage it does not still catch up with the expenditure.

25. Teachers should be paid not very high salaries but only a living wage. They should be inspired by a spirit of service. It is a deplorable thing to take any Tom, Dick or Harry as a teacher in the primary stage. All teachers should be men of character.

26. Big and expensive buildings are not necessary for educational institutions.

27. English should be taught only as one of several languages. As Hindi is the national language, English is to be used in dealing with other nations and international commerce.

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MURATHA GANDHI)
EDITOR, H. G. KARNATWALA



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AHMEDABAD—SATURDAY, JULY 22, 1944

TWO ANNAS

INVESTMENT IN VANASPATHI INDUSTRY

It is said that about 3½ crores of rupees have been invested in the vanaspathi industry. There are 42 factories in operation and 17 under construction. They produced 1,55,000 tons of vanaspathi in 1943, but are expected to produce 4 lakh tons by the end of 1950. They produced for the Government an income of more than 4½ crore rupees in 1943, and will certainly produce more hereafter. They employ more than 15,000 workers throughout the country and support over 10,000 middlemen, besides office staff of various establishments. Can such a big industry be, in good conscience asked to wind itself up?

I have taken these figures from a pamphlet published by the Vanaspathi Manufacturers' Association. The pamphlet does not give the amount of profit which the investors have made. ~~It is a pity that the pamphlet does not give the~~ the fact that about 7 lakh rupees are said to have been set apart for propaganda purposes only. It is safe to assume that it must have already paid back to the investors all the money sunk in it. My information is that on a modest estimate the profit on 4 lakh tons (expected to be reached this year) would be about Rs 1½ crores.

But more important than the amount of capital invested is the amount of extra annual cost to the consumer for getting his oil hydrogenated. The difference between the price of oil and vanaspathi is said to be about Rs 500 per ton. If we reckon only 2 lakh tons to be the actual consumption of vanaspathi for food, it amounts to Rs 10 crores annually. This saving more than compensates the loss of Government, assuming that it will all have to be sacrificed.

Another fact which deserves to be borne in mind is the contention in that vanaspathi is made at present from edible oil only. However, all the vanaspathi is not consumed as food, but is also used in the manufacture of soap, which too is a growing industry. Another pamphlet published by the Association points out that "it is estimated that our average daily per capita consumption of fats and oils of all kinds is about $\frac{1}{4}$ lb as compared with the estimated dietary requirements of about 2 oz." Yet this article

of food is taken away from human diet, and consumed for the manufacture of soap, which might as well be made by using non-edible vegetable oil. Not only is the oil so refined but also the oil cake. The latter also is an edible article, and essential for the food of cattle. It may also be used by man. But 50 per cent of it is compulsorily mixed with earth. (I give the figure for Madhya Pradesh.) Let the agriculturist might eat up the cake or give it to his cattle, the Government will take the trouble of mixing it with earth and makes it inedible!

Soap, too, has the risk for carrying on the industry without reducing the fat diet of the people or making it more expensive, and without injuring the village khadi industry, the diet requirements of cattle, and loss to the plaster trade. If the vanaspathi manufacturers will turn their attention to non-edible oil-seeds, extract their oils and process them to hydrogenation, they will start a genuine soap industry which will not only not conflict with any village industry, but will give new employment to hundreds of villagers usually for collecting several kinds of non-edible oil-seeds which go to waste now. These hydrogenated oils will manufacture soap and rubber needed by the country. Some of these are of great medical value. It is possible that more non-edible seeds might be discovered than are hitherto known. The refining process might yield some good volatile oils also, or the refinements might make some of the oils edible. Their oil-cakes would make as good manure as those of edible oils. Industrialisation should not mean just destruction of a thousand small plants to build a big factory. It should involve intelligent enterprise, research, creation of an original line of productive activity, in fact, production of new wealth.

They say that if vanaspathi is prohibited it would mean a loss of 3½ crore rupees. Let us calculate how many plants have been destroyed by the oil-mill industry, and the total amount of capital so lost. Was it not squandered simply because the owners of these one-bullock-power factories were the voiceless poor? At the time the oil-mill industry was started a phera and a bullock might have cost about a hundred rupees, at the present rates they would cost not less than Rs 500. Taking Rs 250 as a middle figure,

Rs 250 crores is equivalent to the price of 5 lakh ghans. Nine lakh ghans would not be needed to feed the whole country with ghansol. In no case the total expenditure would be greater than that employed in ricepots. It would employ as many lakh ghans-men and the members of their families. People would get fresh oil, several of them from their own seeds, produced in their own gardens so that there would be no fear of adulteration. The class of middlemen would almost disappear, so also difficulties of transport and distribution. Consumers would get oil free from income tax, railway freight etc. There would be no fear of loss through sabotage, and of a middle or trick like the one perpetrated by the Sugar Industry and Government. There would be no unequal distribution of profits, and no employer-employee disputes, so far as the article of diet is concerned. There would be no need for wasting seven lakh rupees on advertisements with false promises of the staff. The time and energy of amusee experts need not be wasted to find an artificial colour and aroma, of considerable expense on experiments and travels all over Europe and America to report at the end that no colour was available and some need be discovered. And, if as suggested, the industry will take to non-edible oil-seeds, it need not collapse and the Government need not lose its part of the revenue. Incidentally the conchop industry proves the uneconomic method of our programme of industrialising the country. All scientists and politicians are now agreed that it is high time that industries should be decentralised even if power is to be employed to work them. Still we start new industries on large scales, sinking considerable capital in them, and making it extremely difficult afterwards for small factories to stand against them. Village industries are ruthlessly destroyed to start a big industry and in course of time they will block the way of decentralisation.

Wardha, 11-7-32

E. C. MANGRUTWALA

Second Year of Sarvodaya

Sarvodaya, the Hindi monthly, published under the editorship of Acharya Vinoba Bhave and Dada Dharmadhikari, is entering upon its second year of publication from August, 1933.

Subscribers are requested to register their names as early as possible so that they may get all the issues from the beginning of the year, as it may not be possible for us to supply back issues later on. To ensure your report please send in advance the annual subscription, which is Rs 2/-.

Sarvodaya Karyalaya,
Bachchan Road,

L. N. BHASINERWA,
Manager

Wardha (M. P.)

DISABILITIES OF HARIJANS IN SOUTH KANARA

(The following speaks for itself—A. C. M.)

The editorial article in *Karyana* dated 20-3-1934 "Why is the Hindu Hated?", deserves the thoughtful attention of every Hindu. Many a time the same thoughts had occurred to me and I had desired to discuss them. But for Mahatmas I would have put my thoughts into action. Mahatmas has given us hope and our faith in him makes us restless in the Hindu fold.

In the villages in the South Kanara District, the Harijans are still given tea in coconut shells and they are made to sit on the roadside or fields outside the tea shops. In some towns, separate seats are kept for the Harijans in the tea shops and they are offered tea in separate cups which they are made to wash themselves. The Muslims and Christians are treated as brothers while the Harijans are considered as inferior beings by the caste-Hindus. The caste-Hindu barbers shave all people including Muslims, but the poor Harijans are denied admission in their saloons even today. The Civil Disabilities Removal Act provides for punishment for those who discriminate against the Harijans in public places. But the Harijans are too weak to assert their rights and they have no local sympathisers to help them.

The Harijan Day is celebrated with meetings and ceremonies with feeding of Harijans, but no serious attempt is made to remove their civil disabilities. Even in towns like Mangalore and Karwar there are separate elementary schools which are attended by Harijans only. These children have no opportunity to mingle with caste-Hindus. They can be taken to the local temples occasionally so that they may feel that they are also Hindus. But the headmasters of these Harijan schools are Christians who cannot do this work. Recently I noted that Harijans were served meals separately from other children in one of these Government schools. Even the Marjapet Welfare Inspector desired that non-Harijans should not be polluted by Harijans during meals. The headmaster would not allow the Harijan children to take water from the well which Muslims are permitted to touch. One feels disheartened with the sorry state of affairs. We are expecting action to be taken in this matter.

We are thankful to the present Government which is keen in the enforcement of the C. D. R. Act. Though the Government is sincere and sincere, it is sad that some subordinate officials attempt to undermine the Government policy. A case against a village owner in South Kanara, who did not allow Harijans to enter his village court, was dismissed by the Sub-Magistrate because of some mistake of the Sub-Inspector of Police. The offences under C. D. R. Act are not treated seriously and so the caste-Hindus continue their old attitude towards the poor

Harmar: I was housed in a village when I tried to take the Bhagwan into the tea shops. We have never before taken the spirit of Mahatma to be guiding us and so we do not mind the hardships and sufferings in this non-violent crusade against untouchability.

Payson, 20-6-59. SHANTI SHANTIRAM MA,
Member, Harpur, West Bengal, India.

GROUND-BREAKING FOR SHANTI SENA

The idea of Shanti Sena seems to have appealed to many workers. Some have written to me expressing their willingness to join it and others in no doubt. They are ready to start whenever I call them.

It would appear that they are under the impression that the Shanti Sena we have formed here is intended to be a central organisation for the whole of India. It is not so. A Shanti Sena should and can be conceived merely as a local organisation. Each place should have its own separate Shanti Sena.

The conclusions which we arrived at after deliberations held at Wartha about the nature of this organisation are expressed in Shri Sirtmanarayana's article and my speech. Both of these have appeared in *Pravasi* dated 4th and 11th May, 1959 respectively. The workers, however, are free to make such alterations in the details of the plan as might be required to suit local conditions.

The workers who met in the Angel Centre were also agreed about the need of the Shanti Sena. After a full discussion, they decided that experiments in this direction should be made in various parts. Some appear to think that they should wait and watch its development at Wartha, and then extend it elsewhere. But our country is so vast and the work so important, that it is unnecessary to hold it up by observing the Wartha experiment. Though the experiment may be new, the idea is clear enough. Harpur had discussed it fully, as will be seen from his various writings collected in the book *For the Parvata*, published by the Navajivan Press, Ahmedabad.

The main difficulty in starting any new scheme is: How to set about the work? The work gets going once it is begun. Yashu experienced the same difficulty as he began to write his great *Mahabharata*. He did not know how he should name the first canto of his epic. *Gita* (his doctor's name) said, "Why do you worry yourself about the name? Call it *Arjuna* like the Indian Christ, and I shall myself make the beginning by writing *Gita* so that you may now proceed further." This solved the difficulty. The ground was broken and the *Mahabharata* ran on merrily for eighteen long cantos. The idea is that the beginning has to be natural and very modest, so that it can be developed to any extent later on. The same principle would apply to the Shanti-Sena work. Make a very natural beginning. Take a day off in a week and go out as if for an excursion. Go

to a village about 10 miles from you and members of your family, travel by rail - bus. Take your food with you for the day. It will may be with or without previous permission to the village. Both have their advantages. Mix with the people there, make friends with them. Interest yourself in their joys and sorrows. In this way make your acquaintance with a few villages in the neighbourhood one after another, and then repeat the cycle. The time would soon arrive when the village-folk will learn to look on you as their friend who does not make any demand on them other than that of love and co-operation.

Now I may recall what happened in Wartha twenty years ago. The inmates of our Ashram used to circumscribe all the 385 villages of the Wartha taluka once in a month. This went on for a year or two. They used to be on tour for 25 days and for the remaining 5 days they stayed at some centre and compared notes. Finally the touring came to an end, and we settled down to regular work. Those days are long past but people in the villages still remember them longingly. The upshot of our experience was that we need not bother overmuch about what work we should choose. The people themselves will take service from us once we have proved our credentials as qualified and willing workers.

The *Tridos* say: "The sleeping man is in *Kali* (the Dark Age), when he sits up, he enters the *Deepansu* (the Age of Semi-awakening), when he stands up he is in the *Tejas* (the Age of Reason) and when he begins to walk he enters the *Krita* (the Age of Action). Therefore, they counsel: Move On, Move On." Moving among the people is the initial stage of the programme before Shanti Sena. To move on without stopping as it was said of Wartha. The rest will follow automatically.

Harar: let him, who is ready for work, take to it without delay. Collectively if fellow-workers are forthcoming enough if he is alone. Collective co-operative work is to be welcomed but there is to be no waiting for help.

I should like every worker of *Sarvodaya* to attach himself to this actively and work for it and send an account of his work to the Secretary, Shanti Sena, Wartha.

Payson 9-6-59

WARSHA

(Abstracted from the original in Hindi from the *Sarvodaya* of June 1960)

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HARIJAN

July 22

1949

CONDITIONS IN EAST BENGAL

My article "War Means" (15th May), brought me a few angry letters accompanied with some useful information. I was accused of being untrue to the sufferings of East Bengal Hindus and the sufferings of Bengal Hindus in general. I before enthusiastically expressed my opinion for the more migration of Hindus from the East Bengal to West Bengal. I should have put myself in the position of a Hindu householder actually residing in East Bengal and to evaluate its worth after knowing how it would affect him. In the absence of any such endeavour my satisfaction must not have been more than that I was just a selfish man. East Bengal are de-Hinduised Hindus, in whom the safety of the life, property and honour of the Hindus of East Bengal did not disturb much, his sole anxiety being that the country should not be moved from being plunged into a war, which might cause dangerous proportions and put out of gear the safe course of his own life. I was asked to examine my creed of non-violence and justify to me if it did not hide cowardice under its cloak.

I am grateful to my correspondents both for their challenging criticism and the information sent by them. It led me to make further enquiries from sources I could trust for impartiality and sound outlook and to study statements and reports of public men.

I must confess that the impression created upon my mind is that the conditions in East Bengal are not yet such as can create confidence in an average peace-loving Hindu, with women, children and property to safeguard, to return to East Bengal without repugnance. It must be remembered that East Bengal Hindus have not migrated or want to migrate to West Bengal or other parts of India, because of any prospect of greater benefit in India. They came to India as refugees, homeless shelterless, with no definite programme as to where they will have to stay and what they will do to earn their living. They lost much of their property during the migration. Nothing could be more delightful to them than an opportunity to return to their old home and live there honorably. But they are unwilling to do so. They are more prepared to put up with privations here than go back to East Bengal. It is essential to enquire why this should be so. Their answer is that their main consideration is that the honour of their women is safe in India, added to this is that now will mark them in India for being Hindus, that they will not have to do anything against their own will to prevent themselves from being marked out as Hindus. Will they see such change in

the attitude of the Muslims of East Bengal as will create confidence in them on these points, they—more so their women—must be induced to return to their homes.

When an evil is confined only to a handful of men in a large society and the general public not only takes no part in it but disapproves of it in an unmistakable manner, it is possible to denigrate that small number provided even if that small body is so strong that the Government finds it difficult to curb it effectively. But when the evil takes the form of a hostile mentality permeating large numbers of people, with a history of government backing in the past, so that only a small section of rather ineffective citizens are left to condemn it or help its victims, the evil must be regarded as general public opinion, even though actually only a handful of people are actively involved in expressing the evil mentality through a series of deeds. The actual perpetrators of crimes will generally be only a few. But whether their crimes should be regarded as the offences of those individuals and their kinsmen only, or should be attributed to the people in general, depends upon whether the general people approve or disapprove of such crimes. We might take the instance of a war. A majority of Americans have never seen a Korean in their life, and will not be able to distinguish between a North Korean and a South Korean even if they see them. They will never kill a Korean, but will mind their own associations even when the war is very intense. Yet if they carry a feeling of hostility for the North Koreans and their hosts are gladdened on reading reports of their reverses and destruction, it would be natural to stir into a feeling of enmity towards North Korea to all the Americans in general. No doubt such feelings are not inherent in them. They are nourished in them by the propaganda of war-minded politicians. But the evil of an inhuman making counts is the fact that an evil trait once nourished persists even after the political reasons have themselves come to a settlement. Thus in course of time the political leaders of U.S.A. actually responsible for the war might come to terms with North Korea, but the feeling of hostility for the North Koreans nurtured in the mind of the average American will persist for a long time even after the war, and if he accidentally happens to meet a North Korean somewhere he is likely to experience the instinctive feeling of the evil at the sight of a Korean.

We know how intense communal propaganda was carried on for years and years by the Muslim League, helped by the counter-propaganda on the same destructive lines by the Hindu Mahasabha and accompanied with serious and prolonged religious disturbances from time to time. It has created this evil and worse feeling in the average Mussalman of East Bengal towards the Hindu. That Pakistan was to

be an Islamic State — a term interpreted by the average Muslim as meaning a State for Muslims only — and that Hindus should have no place in it was the goal preached by the Muslim League for such a long time both before and after the birth of Pakistan. But even if the Pakistan Government now interpreted the word Islamic State very liberally, it now becomes difficult for the average Muslim to think of a Pakistani Hindu as one staying there as of right. Not that the average Muslim will, therefore, punish upon a Hindu as a rat poisons upon the mouse, or will rob him without his women, or commit rape upon them. Not only that he will not himself do these things, he will even protect a Hindu victim seeking his shelter. But a feeling of hostility might still persist, disabling him from creating a public conscience against such acts. He cannot denounce them emphatically. After all, he feels, why should Hindus insist upon staying in Pakistan? Why should not they migrate to India as quickly as possible? They know that the Muslims do not like them, and they create embarrassing problems by their obstinately staying on. Like the conscientious objector of America and Europe, the active and sincere friend of the Hindus in Pakistan has to work more or less in an apocryphatic atmosphere.

It seems to me that this feeling persists without much change even after the Pact. The Pact is looked upon as an affair between the two Governments. The machine behind the Pact is their respective executive machinery. The machinery itself is not wholly manned by officers whose mentality is different from that of the people. And since the mentality of the people remains what it was before, the Pact lacks the sanction of the people, who will ultimately decide the fate of the East Bengal Hindus. It is clear that until the East Bengal Hindus feel that they can stay there with the goodwill of the Muslims, and that they would have the closest help of the Muslim officers and the co-operation of the people against any stray fanatic incident, they cannot muster courage to stay in Pakistan or to return to it. And it would not else be possible to advise them to do so.

Is the evacuation of East Pakistan by the Hindus then the only solution? I do not think so. But it will be best to postpone this discussion till the next week.

Wardha, 11-3-50

E. G. MANSURWALA

By Mahatma Gandhi

NON-VIOLENCE IN PEACE AND WAR

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CHARAKHA JAYANTI

According to the Hindu Calendar, Bhadradev Purn 12th (which falls this year on 1st October next) is observed as the birthday of Gandhiji. Although Gandhiji is no longer in our midst, he has left for us his precious legacy of the spinning wheel. Shortly after his death, I had expressed the wish to observe this legacy by creating one crore of spinnets — this being the most fitting memorial of Bapu.

The Charakha Jayanti is the suitable opportunity to work in the direction of this ideal. In this plan of one crore spinnets throughout India, the share of Saurashtra will come to one lakh spinnets.

With this aim in view, the whole country and particularly Saurashtra should observe the Charakha Doodhaki, and propagate the message of the spinning wheel.

The National School (Punjab) commenced this movement in 1935 by observing a sixty-day programme. A day was advanced every year, and it became a favourite programme elsewhere also, the Charakha Sangh also having adopted it, so that in every province throughout the country, this programme is observed every year. Bapu used to give inspiration to make this programme successful from year to year. It must be carried on earnestly in his honour.

On this occasion Gandhiji wrote to me in 1942:

"The charakha to the very end is political, economic and social freedom. But it is clear that the masses have not adopted it. If the people had adopted it as the symbol of non-violence, the tragic condition which prevails today would never have come. What shall the believers in the charakha do in this atmosphere? Bhawanji teaches that when the surrounding atmosphere is adverse, the faith of the devotee becomes brighter. How many such may there be? My spinning continues. I do not miss half an hour daily."

This year the spinning term commences from 21st July, Friday, and the programme begins at 7:30 a.m. with a prayer.

Every one should resolve to spin for 50 days with full zeal. Thus they may do with full understanding of the deep implications of the charakha and intimate their resolution to the undersigned.

Those who subscribe every year to this fund are requested to pay eighty notes this year.

Constructive work in Saurashtra needs its extensive activities to this fund. The subscribers are requested to fill the *Devdas* newspaper's box with a liberal hand as usual.

It is expected that an actual some prominent leader of the nation will be made available by

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VANASPATHI C. RAMANI

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VANASPATHI AND HEALTH

The Bombay Health Minister is reported to have said that the present medical opinion is as follows: (1) Vanaspathi is not the only vegetable oil which is devoid of vitamins. (2) It is not as indigestible if the hydrogenated oil melts between 35°C to 70°C. (3) Even if traces of nickel are found in the vanaspathi, "It is an element which is required in the body in minute doses and it is rather good inasmuch as it prevents cancer and there is no case of nickel-poisoning that ever known, of from the use of vanaspathi glyce."

But pure glyce contains vitamins A & D in addition to its remarkable nutritional value. Vanaspathi is devoid of vitamins. So urbanization and catalytic poisoning due to vanaspathi must sooner or later produce grave results on the health of the consumer. About the effects of the traces of nickel we shall speak later.

It is also stated that feeding trials carried out on human beings indicate that vanaspathi of melting point 37°C has no harmful effect as compared with raw ground-nut oil.

No mention is made regarding the effect of vanaspathi melting at 43°C over the health of human systems, not also regarding the diet employed in those feeding trials, whether it was a Bencell, W.P., or Madras diet. The comparison is only with raw or refined ground-nut oil, which is considered to be the worst fatty oil as food for human consumption. If the expert medicalists have used a more nutritious diet than the diet used in the previous experiments the harmful effects of vanaspathi will manifest themselves after a longer time. The same results observed in the longevity experiments within three generations over rats might have been seen in this case also if experimentalists had put the rats to eat up to the tenth generation. Similarly, we shall see the same deleterious effects of vanaspathi on the human systems also in course of time. Therefore time alone will prove what vanaspathi is to our Government, also must be cautious like the Americans who said that the experiments of this nature will at least take the full span of life of the present scientists and pharmacologists.¹

Digestion of Hydrogenated Fats

Human systems will easily digest the unsaturated liquid fatty acids of lower melting points than the normal temperature of the human body. The shorter the carbon-chain length of the constituent fatty acids of the oil the lower the melting point of the fat and easier the digestion and assimilation into the human systems as in the case with pure glyce, gingelly oil, pressed oil, mustard oil etc. When these fatty

acids are hydrogenated they become saturated and consequently their melting points also rise above the body normal temperature and become difficult to digest.

Dr. Hinkle and Dr. N. N. Hathole (Chem. abstracts 20 5342, 1936) made a study and melted linoleic acid and (Cia Hia Oa) which melted at 18.5 to 20°C from the ground-nut oil in solution. The Indian ground-nut oil is classified as a non-drying oil. So when this oil is hydrogenated the remaining unsaturated acids also get saturated and the finished product will definitely become much difficultly digestible than even the original oil. Even the raw ground-nut oil is stated to be digestible with difficulty, probably due to the presence of this linoleic acid and melting at 70°C. We wish to mention that there is another variety of vanaspathi melting at 41°C and naturally it is not very easily assimilated by the human system. Therefore the hydrogenation makes the oil indigestible to a large extent.

Deleterious Effects of Nickel Catalyst

The Health Minister of Bombay himself admits that there are traces of nickel in the vanaspathi. It is pleaded that the nickel present in some of the vegetables is not causing any deleterious effect, and so also in the case of nickel present in vanaspathi. But we disagree with this opinion for reasons mentioned below. The vegetables containing nickel are not so constantly and daily taken in as vanaspathi fat which is used every day for cooking food and thus taken in constantly. So the nickel in the vegetables being not a constant supply does not produce any cumulative poisoning whereas vanaspathi which is used for cooking purposes both morning and evening will definitely tend to produce "cumulative poisoning" of the metal. Moreover, the metals that are generally found in vegetables and fruits will help the formation of blood, unlike the nickel present in vanaspathi.

The Bombay Health Minister says that he has not seen any case of nickel-poisoning due to vanaspathi. Nickel is a heavy metal. And pharmacologically "Heavy metals when they are taken in even in small quantities over long periods will result in cumulative poisoning. Chronic poisoning by some of the metals may follow the reported use for a long time even if the dose be very small" (Text Book of Pharmacology). Therefore it may take a longer time than what the Bombay Health Minister thinks to show the deleterious effects of vanaspathi. After all he may have to change his opinion some time later which time alone will prove. Such instances have occurred even in America where the deleterious effects have been proved very recently, as in the case of nitrogen trichloride which has been in use as a bleaching agent for edible flours for the last thirty years.

Harmful Effects of Vanaspathi on Human Beings

As these de-colourised deodorised and hydrogenated oils contain no vitamins they

produce xanthomas especially in the case of the average poor who may not afford to have pure ghee and are compelled to use the vanaspathi in their daily diet and consequently may be affected with intestinal and eye troubles.

"The presence of a notable quantity of vitamin E (anti-haemorrhagic vitamin) in the vegetable oil has been shown by H. J. Almquist and E. L. H. Stokstad (*J. Nutrition* 235, 1957). And palm oil is reported to contain from 44 to 128 International units of vitamin A per gram (Circular 528, U.S.D.A., May 1942). Several vegetable oils have been reported to contain vitamin D, but a critical examination of the literature indicates that coconut oil is the only one containing demonstrable quantities. Vitamin D is produced from ergosterol when this compound is exposed to ultraviolet rays. Coconut oil probably acquires some vitamin D potency when exposed to the sun during the drying process." (D. S. Jaisankar Ph.D., U.S.A.) During the hydrogenation and deodorisation process of these vegetable oils all these vitamins will be destroyed.

"Unless these alkali-refined oils are skilfully deacidified their flavour rapidly developing a characteristic fishy taste upon standing a short time." Some cases of bad flavour reactions have been observed in some of the vanaspathi soaked rice.

The Bombay Health Minister has also remarked that he has not seen any case of rickets **pointing due to vanaspathi. He may ask whether there are any cases of rickets** can be due to human system, regarding the deleterious effects of rickets poisoning. We say it is not possible and not even generous. When we have found out the results on rats we can safely take it as granted that it is equally deleterious on the human system. In America, the Division of Pharmacology has laid down this rule: "Where adequate knowledge of similarity between man and the tested animal is not available it is safest to assume that man is at least as sensitive as the most sensitive species of animal tested." So we need not maintain any doubts that in course of time human beings will have the same fate as that of the rats tested at Language Research Station with vanaspathi. The same Bengali or Madras diet is being consumed for generations together in the respective provinces without any evil effects. And so the bifidness of the rats tested should not be attributed to this diet. These deleterious effects are only due to the poisonous nature of vanaspathi.

Adulteration of Pure Ghee with Vanaspathi

We have already given our frank opinion that colouring the vanaspathi will not improve matters and as such the manufacture and sale of vanaspathi should be totally banned. We full well believe that it is very difficult to secure any non-toxic, non-removable and non-separable colouring material for vanaspathi. The aim

of adulteration is to check the adulteration of pure ghee with vanaspathi. We suggest that the Government may request the manufacturers to supply alkali-refine the oil without further process of de-acidification and de-colourisation etc., and put it in the market as alkali-refined oils in the place of hydrogenated lard oils. These ordinary refined processed oil will make the adulteration of pure impossible. Then the lay public will very easily detect the adulteration from the natural colour and colour of the oil used for adulteration.

Our Suggestions

In South India, the people consider the fresh-drawn phosphorated ghee (d'gingelly) oil as a better source of fat for the body in the absence of ghee. So also in Northern India the common people believe that fresh-drawn heated oil or mustard oil is a safe and easily assimilable source of fat. We must note that all these vegetable oils mentioned above belong to the drying or semi-drying oil classification. For any article of food, freshness counts much. Rural and agricultural households consume fresh products of food, whereas the centralized and artificial food-manufacturing concerns will only result in stored and rotten change for consumption and thereby deteriorate the national health gradually. So the popular Governments are requested to encourage the rural and cottage industries of our country, by offering the subsidy to all fresh-drawn phosphorated vegetable oils in the place of vanaspathi, which is an artificial food product. The Economic Planning Committee may also chalk out a plan for the coming five years to improve the village ghee industry on the basis of a sound and balanced method of economy. They will have to plan for the improvement of the cattle wealth of the country, and thereby increase the production of pure ghee which is termed in Ayurveda as life

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B. ANANDKUMAR
Active Member
American Oil Chemists Society Chicago
and
INDIA S. PILLAIAR, M.B.B.S., T.D.D.,
(Thioketone Specialist,
Tamil Nadu India)

Revised with necessary changes from a pamphlet entitled *Vanaspathy or Hydrogenated Fat* (1961)

NOTES

Fumes for War

The enthusiasm which seems to prevail among the politicians of U.S.A., Britain and France since the outbreak of war in Korea shows as if they sagaciously realised an opportunity to fight it out with Russia, as if the Second World War had not in their opinion completed its objective, having destroyed only one of the two sets of enemies of the so-called democracies. There is something devilish about the hectic activity of U.S.A., the antics of the Tories and the recommendations of the Anglo-French Committee "to prepare an atom bomb and bacteriological offensive capable of laying Russia waste in a few hours". The measures taken by U.S.A. with reference to Formosa indicate as if it wanted an excuse to launch an offensive against the Communists for the conquest of China. All this makes it doubtful that the alleged invasion by North Korea was an unprovoked surprise attack on the innocent South. The U.N. Council might have been deceived into believing that it was so. Any way it is clear that the enemies in view are not North Korea, but U.S.S.R. and China, and there is a hellish passion for repeating the crime of Hiroshima somewhere in this devastating spasm of imperialist politicians.

Will the U.N. Council be able to localise the conflict? Will it be able to prevent the adoption of the recommendations of the Anglo-French Committee? Will Russia also abandon its interference in the affairs of other nations, and allow them to work out their respective problems in their own way? Will the vital nations of the U.N.O. be able to overcome and resist the domination of the big ones in the matter of supreme importance to humanity? What will India and Pakistan do?

Wardha 12-7-50

Opinion on Varnaspati

I am informed from two or three provinces that varnaspati manufacturers have sent a number of forms to their dealers along with a notice that they would be assigned a particular quota of varnaspati, provided they returned those forms duly signed by a stated number of signatures (50 or more according to the strength of the shop). One correspondent, who is a worker in one of such stores, says that customers are induced to write down the names of every member of their families, including children six months old. Another correspondent says that the shop-keeper takes pains-by to be good enough to sign the 'petition'. The form purports to be a declaration by customers that they have heard varnaspati "voluntarily, wholehearted and economical working medium", that they did not "see any justification for its ban" and that the

Government should "continue the production of varnaspati".

A few correspondents nervously enquire what chance there is of the success of the objective to campaign against such organised effort, and suggest that similar methods should be adopted by the objective. This is neither possible nor necessary, and does not deserve to be opened. There is no need to be nervous. There is neither hatred nor selfishness in our objective to varnaspati. It is a question of morals, health and sound economy of the nation. This is not to be decided by mere counting of heads. It is to be decided by convincing the governments, legislatures as well as the individuals themselves. We must not lose hope of being able to do so.

Wardha, 12-7-50

E. G. M.

Governs Sangh, Wardha

Merge into Sarva Sarva Sangh

The recent meeting of the Executive Committee of the All India Governs Sangh, Wardha, was held at Wardha on the 8th and 9th of July, 1950. Several workers from various provinces as also Shri Yasho, Jagad and others were present by special invitation. The question of the constitutional relation of the Governs Sangh with the Sarva Sarva Sangh was discussed. The Executive Committee came to the conclusion that in order to better achieve the programme of Sarva Sarva (fully integrated service of the people) and the ideal of Sarvodaya, it was desirable that as many Sanghs as possible should merge themselves completely in the Sarva Sarva Sangh and subject to ratification by the General Body of the All India Governs Sangh expressed its willingness to take steps for its merger in the Sarva Sarva Sangh, if the latter was prepared for the change.

Varnaspati Prohibition Bill

The meeting also passed a resolution supporting the Varnaspati Prohibition Bill of Pt. Thakur Das Bhargava in the Indian Parliament.

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HARIJAN

FOUNDED BY BALYASA GANESH:
EDITOR, B. G. RAMSAYALLA



VOL. XIV No. 12

AHMEDABAD—SATURDAY, JULY 29, 1939

TWO ANNAS

QUESTION BOX

Government Help in Constructive Activities

Q We appreciate your advice that constructive workers should keep themselves away from all political parties and group politics, squabbles and electioneering campaigns. But our governments have initiated several activities for the benefit of the people and set apart funds for such purposes, e.g., the welfare of Kinsas, promotion of culture health, Agriculture, adult education etc. These activities form part of our own institutions also. The situation facing us (in Rajputana) is one of serious friction between two political groups. Our regard for the Shastri (Government) group and Vais group is even. But the atmosphere round us is such that if we accept Government help, we are looked upon as pro-Shastri and if we decline it there is no doubt, that our capacity to serve the people decreases for peace of minds. May we accept Government aid?

A In my opinion constructive workers and their institutions should forget which party runs the Government for the time being. If under Government rules, it is possible to accept aid without being bound by unreasonable conditions or understanding, there is no objection to do so. The obligation to maintain proper accounts and to serve all people united to service under the great impartiality is a reasonable condition. But if it is expected that the workers in the institutions would vote for the Government group or assist it in election campaigns or allow its officers to interfere in its day to day work, or carry on their activities strictly in accordance with official policy or regulate their conduct whenever called upon, or refrain from expressing their opinion upon or criticising any Government act, would be unreasonable stipulation.

In an atmosphere saturated with power politics, misunderstanding is perhaps inevitable. It has to be put up with. Our own conscience must be clear and we must not be prepared to sacrifice our freedom of action and expression of opinion. We must not be partisan either of the Government group or any of the opposite ones. If not, there can be for none. But offering truthful and non-violent resistance to evil is our bounden duty.

Wardha, 24-7-39

(Translated from Hindi)

Vedic Rituals in Government House

Q The newspapers give an account of the ceremonial of tree-planting in the accompaniment of Vedic rituals in the Government House at New Delhi. Is it proper for a secular State like ours to allow all that? Our State is pledged to do away with caste distinctions and to represent all communities equally. Was it right for the President in the context of this pledge to perform a religious ritual in a State function and in accordance with his individual Sanskrit Hindu Vedic faith?

A We do not seem to have correctly grasped the meaning of a secular State. A secular State does not mean that no religious rites of any particular denomination can be held in the Government House or in a State function. The only condition should be that they should not be such as must necessarily bear the responsibilities of the members of some other community. If the President is a Sanskrit Hindu, should he suspend as long as he is the President, the performance of religious rites in his family in his own ancestral way? However, if at present there is a recitation of the Vedic mantras in the Government House in the event of a Parsi or a Sikh or a Muslim becoming the President, there will have to be a salubrious change in the form of the ritual. A Jain President will do it in the Jain way; that is, there will be equal regard for all religions, and no particular religion will be given the status of a State religion or be patronised by the State. Shri Rajendra-prasad can celebrate Dusshera and Navaratri in the Government House at New Delhi, Shri Hansi Modi the Purni and Jambhik Navaratri at Lucknow, Shri Asaf Ali Ali in Calcutta, and Shri Mahatma Gandhi the Christmas Day in Bombay. Not only that, if Shri Rajendra-prasad believes in the performance of the Satguru's Pooja and performs it on any occasion of public rejoicing, or Shri Hansi Modi observes a Jambhik, it cannot be objected to. A secular State does not mean that holders of office in the State should be restrained from observing their religious ceremonies. If it is so, when otherwise the Government House will become a rallying place for the follower of a particular religion in public functions where the person asked to perform a function and the congregation or host

organizing it belong to different families, a form acceptable to both would have to be followed.

Wardha, 22-7-55

A. C. MANNIRWALA

THE MAIN OBJECTIVE OF VILLAGE INDUSTRIES

I read Principal S. N. Agarwala's interesting note on the "Re-orientation of Cottage Industries" in the *Harjan* of May 27.

I find that in most discussions about cottage industries, whether for or against, a very important aspect which is usually lost sight of is with regard to the objective. What is our slogan in desiring to promote village or cottage industries? What do we want village industries for? These questions, I think, are more important than any discussion as to the degree of decentralisation or the lack of mechanisation. If we only want village or cottage industries to produce goods for the market or to feed large-scale industry plants as in Japan or some other westernised countries, we would be creating a body without a soul. If we produce for the market, all sorts of questions, like protection from the competition of mechanised industries, reduction of costs, increase of so-called 'efficiency' etc. crop up. In my humble opinion village or cottage industries cannot survive in this context.

We must make it clear that we want village industries not simply because India happens to have a large unemployed population at present, not simply because decentralised methods of production in themselves are preferable to centralised methods, not simply to produce goods indiscriminately for the market but because we consider organising production for self-sufficiency to be of paramount importance in order to minimise the chances of exploitation and thus not get violence from society. We want to relate production to direct consumption and not, mainly to the market or to sale. We want village industries in order to be able to build up society on the basis of non-violence. All questions about the extent of mechanisation, the nature of the tools or raw materials, the so-called technical efficiency and competition from mechanised industries etc. must relate themselves to this fundamental objective.

Unless we emphasise this aspect of village economy, namely, the achievement of self-sufficiency, we will not be able to reproduce the same for the establishment of a non-violent society. The example of Japan is handled about, day in and day out, as one of successful organisation of village and cottage industries. But we know that the so-called village or cottage industries of Japan were nothing more than a different type of economic organisation from the one prevalent in western countries and one better suited to the temperament of the people and to the exigencies of the situation. The ultimate objective was not different. All small-scale indus-

tries of Japan were as much the props of a militarist regime and of capitalist economy, as the large-scale and highly controlled industries of other nations. They could not prevent the defeat of Japan or save the country at a time of crisis from economic ruin. This I think very clearly illustrates the truth of the point brought out by Shri Yasho in his article on "The Freedom of Disarmament" in the same issue of the *Harjan*, namely, that it is not necessary that "where there is village economy, there will definitely be non-violence."

Then, if we want village economy and village industries for the purpose of organising a non-violent society, we must emphasise every time the objective, namely, that of organising production for direct consumption, i.e. for self-sufficiency. Unless we do so, we are likely to drift from our path and fall a prey to attractive slogans like the one of "new orientation" for cottage industries coined by Dr S. P. Mukerjee, the then Minister for Industry and Supply, or the one of "increased production" coined by Dr T. T. K. S. "expert." We need not close our eyes to the advantages conferred by science or mechanisation. But we must relate all these to our main objective, namely, reorganisation of society on the basis of self-sufficiency in order to minimise the chances of exploitation.

Jalpur

KISHORRAJ SHARMA

THE MISSING LINK IN ECONOMIC THOUGHT

A very stimulating discussion went on for a few weeks in the columns of the *Harjan* since its issue of June 10, on Economics or Gandhian economics. The discussion was much more fundamental and material than what might appear in the eyes of industrialists and orthodox economists. The pathetic short-sightedness of these people is born of self-emphasis on merely the economic or material values of life, almost to the neglect of or blindness to the human and spiritual values, which being not material, are immaterial to them. But as all history shows, these values can be ignored only at the cost of peace and tranquillity of the human world and the individual. What is immaterial becomes really the material factor as mankind does not live by bread alone. The orthodox economic and industrial view of life and economy misses this very vital point.

In India we have at present to solve the problem in an economy of want. We as a people are underfed, underclothed, underworked and undereducated, ill, violent, morally lax and ignorant of the dignity of labour. The economy of want that sets in upon us in its wake is, therefore, nothing surprising. We have to remove this condition of want, illness and poverty. The call of this immediate need is more pressing and looming before us. But the call of the ultimate good is none the less there and always speaking to us in its audible though

very material way the human heart can never cease to beat it. It may be we as a people should first see the plenty before we feel this inner need as a group.

The machine is believed to remedy the conditions of want. Is the belief well-grounded? Is it true? The modern machine, while it produces more goods thanks to modern science and technology, displaces still more hands at work, creating the problems of unemployment, markets and the tug-of-war between trade and tariff both in and out of the country. The unemployment or under-employment that follows the use of the machine is often named "leisure", which is allied with the needs of culture and progress, which again is either a product of machine and warrier than art, skill and peace of mind. The machine in short establishes a vicious circle wherein the position of man is all its own, and the satisfaction of human needs culture, progress, etc. grow entwined in its wheeling gear.

Again, it helps grow conditions in which wealth and economic power is totally lodged in the hands of a small number, whether they are owners, capitalists, financiers, experts, administrators or managers. The economic life of the community is handed over bag and baggage to these few, who create an order very aptly described by Tolstoy as the "Slavery of our Times".

The psychological and cultural problems created by unearned or not-well-earned and idly gained leisure are patent to our age; and the machine surely never satisfied them, which has solve them. These machine-manufactured plenty, on the one hand, goes with the economic rule of the upper few, and on the other, with the human condition and an inwardly denigrating insatiety which seeks endless palliatives in drink, gambling, prostitution, free love, modern crime, etc. This is the price that human beings have always to pay if they want what I have described as the ultimate good as against the immediate goods. This is not to argue for an order of want and poverty. Nor do I suggest that it is more at one with the "missing link" in the creation of a truly happy economic order. Crushing want or overpowering plenty are but the two sides of the same coin. Not merely the first, but the second also is a problem demanding solution, as ultimate human satisfaction lies in realizing an economic order which is not unworldly of the ultimate human good. Not to see this is the peculiar blindness of our machine age and the social and economic order of the governing few.

In word contrast to our country America stands an one which may be very well said to be the heaven of the imagination of the industrialist and the economist. Can it be said that the Americans have, through the machine, solved the problem? They are in the clutches of the economy of the new-fangled plenty. And how do they feel under it? I may better quote an

American writer, who very clearly defines the issues:

"Every culture has its contradictions. In ours the technological emphasis has been pronounced. We must possess quantities of goods and desirably we must well being by material affluence. Progress comes to be measured by the advance in material output in civilization, and in the sale of refrigerators or of bottles of cologne. We tend to judge other peoples by the standards which we emphasize and temporarily fail to recognize that there are different ideals of attaining a good life. Consumer education must face the problem of the divergent nature of consumer wants."

"We when asked should ourselves be satisfied? To what extent material accumulation? To what extent religion? Should married men cut for the education of wives and the crowded groups or smaller families? What place should be given to consumption and to conspicuous display as a symbol of achievement? How should energies be divided between work and leisure? Should our societies encourage or discourage great inequalities in income?"

"This fact is one which has not been often adequately by the social sciences. Our education has constantly assumed the validity of our culture and has not sought to probe into its content. We want more goods, and even more complex goods. It has been deemed the function of the economic order to provide these."

"The rule of consumer education must include that of fairly presenting the alternatives facing the consumer in the hope that the individual will be less influenced by the traditional patterns and the strong conflicting influences that surround him. If as Thorstein Bunde Veldin alleged, we are spending our lives in a fruitless attempt to realize some of greater affluence, it is essential that true values be discovered."

"While we cannot dogmatically say that we need a steady advance of all goods and services, we can try to discover how the economic system may afford a minimum of servitude goods so that the population will have at least a level sufficient to allow an assessment of the value that it is offered in terms of consumption. Moreover, we can enforce rules of equity which will correct gross inequalities."

The machine, at best, can give more goods and nothing more or nothing better. This creates an order for which the machine is surely responsible. The problem is how to square the machine with this deignly by-product? Or is it a problem of squaring the circle? Or fitting in a round peg in a square hole?

And more the economy born of the machine is really and ultimately not the economy of prosperity, as the upper few in power fondly led us to believe, but it is an Economy of War. The world today lives and groans under that economy, and bankers to have out of real peace. That is the ultimate good which is really missing like the missing link of biology, that is also a missing link in the economic and social view of his today. Will the upper few in profit and power bend to it?

19-4-50

MACHINERY (PDA)

¹Consumer Education (p. 140) Ed. James H. Marchant and Henry Hayes, 1941, D. Appleton-Century Co. New York and London.

HARIJAN

July 28

1950

HINDU EVACUATION OF EAST BENGAL*

After my last article was sent to the press, I received a letter from Shri Satishchandra Dasgupta not to take an alarmist view of the situation in East Bengal, assuring me that I need not have been scared away by the politicians on my article, "War Mania", which in his opinion erred rather on the side of mildness than otherwise. It should be remembered that Shri Satishchandra does not speak like a man living in a safe fortress. He lives and works in Noakhali, one of the very difficult districts of East Bengal. He now works alone with his own assistants, —all these from other provinces who had been working with Gandhi having returned to India for one reason or another. And Noakhali boasts of some dangerous and influential Muslim communalists too strong to be curbed by the East Pakistan Government. Some of his co-workers were harassed and persecuted in various ways. Still he believes that the situation has improved. There is also similar news from a prominent advocate of Dacca. Of course, there are difficulties in the way. They cannot be minimized. The greatest difficulty is how to make the middle-class Hindu adopt a bolder attitude. It must also be remembered that all his fear does not originate in East Bengal alone. The behaviour of the Hindus towards Muslims in Bihar itself is a factor which cannot be ignored. Who can assure him that nothing will happen in Bihar to excite the Muslims of East Bengal? It is not possible for the people to take a strictly judicial view and judge the Muslims and the Hindus apart, making each community responsible for its own acts, irrespective of the behaviour of the other in Bihar or Pakistan. For, deep down in the heart there is a common conviction that partition of no partition, the whole country is one.

So I shall consider this problem on the assumption that the situation is still very unsafe for the average peace-loving timid Hindu householder to live in East Bengal and that the average Muslim has taken it for granted that Hindus must not remain in Pakistan, except on very humiliating terms. Even then, I strongly feel that the evacuation of East Bengal by the Hindus is my solution of the problem and should not be thought of.

I would like to apply three tests to a solution suggested for an intricate problem. Is the suggestion in accordance with Truth, or the spiritual law? Is it in accordance with Good, or the moral law? Is it in accordance with Utility or the material happiness of the people for whom it is offered? Evacuation of East Bengal by the

Hindus whether accompanied with a similar transfer of the Muslims to Pakistan or unilaterally, is not in accordance with Truth or the spiritual law. If the term spiritual law is interpreted in its natural law or its highly evolved and best form. One can understand enterprising men leaving their ancestral homes in search of better material prospects and welcoming elsewhere. They would be natural voluntary migrations. But to be compelled to leave the ancestral home because of the adoption of different forms of religious, social, economic, or other man-made institutions, is an indication of a departure from Truth somewhere. There must be something unspiritual and demoralical, extremely artificial and unwholesome in the system, organisation and training of either these competing migrations, or those compelled to migrate, or of both. If Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims feel that they cannot live together and become a harmonious organic society, and if they think that it is so because of their religious and social expressions, Hindus, Sikhs and Islam must all be deemed to be infected with seriously false principles, ideas and customs and their basic principles must be regarded as requiring a thorough revision. They must be deemed to have failed as deliverers of God's message, if as the result of accepting them with and their followers have become enemies of one another. Either their messages have lost something in their delivery or have been vitiated with false interpretations. Migrations have brought to light in a very unambiguous manner the defects of all these religions and the social institutions based on their authority. For this reason, if for nothing else, no state must be founded in the name of any particular class creed, race or culture, and the mere fact that the majority of the people in one are Hindus, in another Muslims, and in a third Sikhs, should not be made a reason to develop it into a state based on or dedicated to the culture, religion, or principles of that majority. The principle of evacuation or expulsion of any community offends against the fundamental law of the unity of mankind and therefore it is not a solution but a wicked and wilful play with the fortunes of the masses. Thus, the suggested solution does not satisfy the first test.

The suggestion fails also to satisfy the second test of being Good, that is, in accordance with the principles of equality. The migrations have been accompanied with murder, rape, abduction, arson, loot and other barbarous acts perpetrated on both sides, and with displeasure towards not those who have excelled and encouraged such acts, but towards those, who have worked for peace, unity, patience, and unity. They reveal the utter reasonableness of the idea. I beg my critics' pardon if my language appears harsh when I say that in the matter of migration, several members of the wealthier and upper classes of Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs of Kashmir, the two Punjab, Sind the two

Bengals, U.P., Delhi, etc. sought their own safety or better political and economic prospects and let down their masses. Speaking as a Hindu to Hindus, we proved ourselves cowardly in a two-fold manner. We committed crimes, which for several centuries the Hindus were regarded as never capable of. In fact, on several occasions we would the Muslims of whom it is usual to speak as if they were always capable of them. Gandhi's gospel of non-violence had not in the least acted as an inhibiting factor. And still, —and this was the second form of cowardice, — we fled without offering the least resistance. Let us realize that — even if in a minority — our numbers were still considerable, and we had greater stakes in the provisions advocated by us than the principle of "safety first" for oneself, and the caste mentality which has created in us a colossal disregard for the fate of the poor and the lower strata of our society made us flee at the sight of danger. Our conduct shows that however much we may talk of Hinduism and take pride in its great principles we are not a society, but a crowd of individuals hardly better than ham-fisted. And the flight showed that the middle-class Hindu is capable of being easily outraged, and so those who remain behind become special targets of attack in a subsequent disturbance. If there had been sufficient spiritual and moral urge and fellow-feeling in us there need not have been the partitions and the hostile acts and feelings thereafter.

Let us then see if the evacuation passes the third test, namely, the material good of the displaced persons. No one can say a word in its favour. The problem of rehabilitating them is still standing defiant. Only a handful of people have become tolerably rehabilitated. The physical moral and economic condition of most of them is pathetic beyond description. To in the further batches of them is as cruel as to ask them to plunge into the Padma with a stone tied to their neck. It is easy to express sympathy for those who are still in East Bengal, but as a blunt critic wrote once in the *Eastern Herald* of Bombay, it is lip-sympathy. He pertinently enquired, to what extent have the different provinces and particularly the Hindus there helped the refugees assigned to them to be rehabilitated? Are they not regarded by the local shopkeepers and others as a nuisance rather than fellow-beings in difficulties? Is there an appreciation of the fact that they are victims of the Independence India enjoys?

So the suggestion does not pass the test even of utility or the material happiness of the immigrants.

To my mind a spiritually and morally right solution is the only one which should be sought, even if in the immediate future it means material losses, unhappiness, even fear of extinction. Even if the Pakistan Government were as hostile and the Indian Government as weak as they are depicted, the Hindus must stick to their

place and resist their expulsion — even at the risk of being exterminated in a war in the attempt. If those East Bengal Hindus who have migrated to India have the courage, they might also return, determined to stay there even at the risk of their life. Non-violent resistance would be better, quicker, safer and, being more moral capable of winning the sympathy of the world — including the Pakistanis themselves. But if somehow it appears difficult or of doubtful edge, violent resistance would be preferable to cowardly submission to humiliation or expulsion.

It was a breach of the spiritual law to have made the partition, it was a double breach to have partitioned the Punjab and Bengal along with India, it was a breach of the moral law to have migrated and compelled migrations in a brutal manner, on the practical material side it was purely invitation to and reflection of unnecessary misery on innocent masses. Both India and Pakistan have to accept the truth. It is no use Pakistan asserting that Indians are not reconciled to the partition, or India being afraid to enter that word, but Pakistan may take it ill. But, at the same time, India cannot over that word as long as within India herself there are strong communal and linguistic forces asking for all sorts of partitions and divisions. I cannot but reiterate the eleven principles enunciated by me in my article, "All India Unity" (March 15), and developed in subsequent articles in the way to the right solution of this labyrinthine problem.

Wadhwa 17-7-50

E. S. MANSURWALA

FLOOD MAYHEM IN CATCH AND SARAKSHIRA

Heavy rains during the last week have wrought a havoc in parts of Catch and Sarakshira. When waterbats visit a family, it is the women who have to suffer the most, in a community belabouring a people, it is the poor who are worst hit. They live in mud or grass huts generally built on low level grounds which cannot resist heavy showers. Even if they do not actually collapse they get filled with water wetting their few clothes, damaging their small store of food, and leaving no dry place to occupy. They have to take shelter on trees, or on isolated high-level grounds, which become small islands, and pass a number of days without food and sleep until monsoon ceases or the water recedes sufficiently enough to enable them to return to their former place.

At the time of the Bihar earthquake, Gandhi had the timidity to express the unmodern opinion that such great upheavals in nature are the result of man's sin, and he was rebuked for having said so. In an air-plane crash or a railway accident it is readily accepted that man had committed a fault somewhere. Either the controller of the movement or some other person had made a mistake or played rascally somewhere or there had been a defect in

the main feature of the Machine. But when such a station is made in connection with a major or minor station, even men of religion shake their heads incredulously. Is man in any way susceptible for such natural calamities?

Perhaps there are still regions in the world, where people have never heard of the atom bomb and its destructive capacity. If a bomb were burst upon them from a height beyond the clouds, the people would take it as a natural calamity like the falling of a meteor. They would never suspect that man had anything to do in the matter. But we know that their acquittal of man would have been the result of their ignorance.

In the ultimate analysis, all creation and every movement in the universe is the outcome of the will of the Spirit. The capacity to will is inseparable from the Spirit. It would not be Spirit if it would not will. "God said, 'Let there be light, and there was light,'" says the Bible. 'The Sat (Satan) tempted, and said 'Let me be made light; and it produced light' and so on, says the Gospels, and at another place adds 'Jesus (the Spirit) is righteous and righteousness (What it desires and wills comes true)'. These are not mere flights of poetic imagination. They are conclusions reached after close scientific observation and study of the Self and the world.

We cannot say when and in what form or manner a particular form of will is first manifested in the physical universe. Some one gets the first glimpse and if he is also the first to reveal it to the world, he is regarded its author. But very often more than one person have seen it simultaneously or independently in the beginning it looks like a wild wish impossible to be realized in the physical world. But gradually it does seem realizable and is ultimately achieved in the world of reality. Take for instance the modern scientific achievements. We read in the Mahabharata descriptions of weapons of warfare as powerful and strong as the modern ones. They speak even of the Kalshara (the tree which gives what you will as soon as requested). Even if it cannot be proved historically that such weapons existed at the time, there is no doubt they had entered the realm of man's conception and desire. And in every age, there were people who made earnest efforts to make these desires take concrete shapes. Their efforts necessarily followed the methods of achievement then known. The achievements of modern science are fruits of wills and desires conceived several thousand years ago.

Similarly there have also existed such wills as "Truth shall triumph", "Evil shall bring destruction", "When the load of sin becomes too heavy, the world will drown in water, a doom sure will beat the world simultaneously, there will be twelve years of continuous drought,

followed by an equal period of incessant rain, Earthquakes, fire, heavy dust storms, typhoons and floods will constantly drive themselves up as divine punishment for evil". These meaningless thoughts are fancies, which, too, have their influence on the universe. They gather momentum when people are in despair and see no way out. The belief that gradually they have their effect on the material energies of nature may not be discarded as a mere superstition. Law, i.e. the rationalized explanation of any phenomenon, is ultimately will—whether good or evil, wise or crude, regular or sporadic.

It has been often observed that in an atmosphere of ill-will and heavy moral degeneration, men of intense religious and moral inclination lost the desire to live. The master of Sarai Gurdaj is a recent instance. Even the ever optimistic and dauntless Gandhi lost his long-cherished desire to live for 125 years after the partition and the communal killings. It was impossible for him to consent suicide. But the desire that he should no longer remain a witness to the evil which surrounded him fulfilled itself in a manner befitting his whole career and conceived by him years ago.

The point to emphasize is that evil acts and unwholesome and unhealthy desires of men have the capacity to bring the destructive forces of nature into action. The correctives against these are cleanliness of life and dealings, repentance and proper concentration of healthy and wholesome desires. Sorrowful and servile acts of the victims of calamities generally are the outward symbols of return to clean life and repentance.

Let no one believe that since Dutch and Saurashtra have been hit by nature, it must be only these regions, where evil has increased and that charity and penance must therefore proceed from there. God knows no such partitions and political divisions. With him the entire world is a unit, or a tiny part of a unit, and the good or evil in any corner of it is the good or evil of the whole world. The reform of life and the aid to the affected is a responsibility of every one.

Against On which I include Saurashtra and Dutch has a reputation for largeness and on such occasions. I hope, it will keep that reputation.

Wardha, 22-7-50

B. G. MANDREWALA

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CATTLE-KEEPING IN CITIES

I take the following from the fourth annual report of the Bombay Suburban District Village Industries Association:

"The work of removing carcasses of dead cattle of the Pandit Devdas was taken away from our hands in 1953 but it has been concentrated to us during the current year. We are now entrusted with the work of removing the dead cattle of the Ase Milk Centre. The latest work has just begun. Having regard to the modern methods of work and sanitary and medical facilities set up in this centre, we are pained that the cattle mortality here would not be very great. But we find that it is not less than elsewhere in proportion to the cattle population. Besides the death of grown up cattle, that of calves is still greater. At times no calves as many as 10 to 20 calves every day and the general average is estimated to come to between 5 and 10 per day. In view of the heavy expenditure money incurs incurred in establishing this centre, the heavy mortality of the calves must be regarded a great matter for consideration."

These figures must be regarded as shocking. Thoughtful people have urged from the very commencement that there should be no cattle stables in cities. Traps one crore and a half are said to have been sunk in the construction of the Ase centre. Several people who had made a study of the problem opined that this was a huge waste. No satisfactory explanation was given for persisting with the scheme. The maximum number of cattle that can be kept here is said to be 15,000. Even if the average death rate of calves comes to 4 per day, and that every cow or buffalo yields a calf every year, it means that not a single calf born in the centre will grow up to be a full animal. Those who sell beef slaughter the cattle for food. But the citizens of Bombay kill cattle and calves for simply milk. This is an instance of infamous brutality man becomes guilty of, when the supply of every human need is made a part of industry and commerce.

Does not this condition suggest that the Ase centre must be removed from Bombay at once of the heavy amount spent upon it?"

The soft leather slippers and purses made from calf-skin are undoubtedly very much appreciated by the fashionable men and women of Bombay. And perhaps they compliment themselves for using them without incurring the sin of cow-slaughter. But I doubt if these articles should be considered as made of ahimsa (non-violent) leather. Millions are not taken in one of the Buddhist vows, but it must be of an unslaughtered goat. So, they say, the poor follower ties up the mouth of the goat and allows it to die of suffocation after a few minutes of intense pain. The articles made of the leather of the above calves are not more ahimsa than the rest of such a goat.

K. C. MANDREKAR.

(Translated from Gujarati)

OFFERING OF YARN HANKS

(Last December when Shri Haridas Gandhi was at Sevagram to attend the meeting of the Trustees of the A.I.S.A., there was, among other topics a discussion about the ways and means to meet the expenditure of the Ashram. Until now the Ashram has run on donations and gifts of Gandhi and working people who had deep regard for Gandhiji and his Ashram. Never was any public appeal made for it by Gandhiji.)

It is not impossible to maintain it in the same way hereafter. Moreover, the Gandhi National Memorial Trust can also shoulder the responsibility for it, it being one of the responsibilities expressly imposed upon it under the Trust. But with a view to make the Ashram a self-supporting institution, it was suggested that it should go in for some additional land in order to run its hospital. There was also a suggestion that the crops of some of the Ashram cottages might be retained. But among these suggestions the one placed by Shri Haridas Gandhi before Shri Vinoba Bhave and members of the Ashram was an original and important one. The idea is capable of being adopted by similar other institutions doing public service. It will serve in a way to the disciples of getting tea from the leafage of every economy. Under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi an experiment was made in yarn economy at Sevagram. But an account of the 1952 experiment I had to be shortened. The present suggestion of subscriptions in the form of yarn hanks is a further step in the same direction. I reproduce below the main principles of the scheme.

—R. C. BH.

To meet the requirements of the Ashram,

(1) No donations in the form of money should be accepted;

(2) No contribution in money form even from the Gandhi National Memorial Trust should be accepted;

(3) The Ashram should not increase its landed property, even for becoming self-supporting.

(4) No activity that is now being carried on in the Ashram in accordance with the original objects, should be wound up without a special reason.

(5) Voluntary presents of yarn hanks from friends and well-wishers of the Ashram should alone be accepted for the requirements of the Ashram, and the Ashram should meet its expenses out of such presents only.

Looking to the present requirements of the Ashram about 50 to 60 thousand yarn hanks would be needed for the yearly expenses of the Ashram. There is absolutely no doubt in my mind that looking to vast numbers of friends and members of Gandhiji and the Sevagram Ashram, so much yarn would be easily forthcoming from the public. But with me the question of meeting the expenses of the Ashram is not so important as the deep implications and significance of the idea of carrying on public institutions on contributions of yarn.

Gandhiji called the spinning wheel the symbol of non-violence. It was considered as the Sax round which other constructive activities revolved. The practice of gifting yarn hanks will not only spread the message of the Ahimsa in the villages throughout the country, but tie the hearts of millions of people to the Ashram.

with the thread of love and imperish upon them the message of the charities as nothing else will.

If a man spins for five minutes only every day, he can easily spin 12 hanks per year and obtain the lateral satisfaction of having labour set out of love for the Ashram. Of course it is not obligatory that the minimum donation should be 12 hanks. One can send even one hank. A village, an institution, or a nation can also collect the yarn and send it to the Ashram.

I believe my suggestion has appealed to the inmates of Sevagram Ashram but it might take time before they finally and fully accept it. In the meanwhile I appeal to all the workers of the Sarashira Constructive Committee to resolve from today and upto the same time daily for the Sevagram Ashram. And they should not rest content with spinning personally but move to the villages and ask others to do the same.

I hope the people of Sarashira from the Premier to the peasant will contribute their share in this sacred game. Those who make a resolution to spin for the Ashram may please send their names, addresses etc. to the Sarashira Constructive Committee, National School, Rajkot.

19-4-50

HARSHADA K. GANDHI

(From Gujarat)

COLOUR FOR VANASPATHI

Shri Satishchandra Dasgupta is as great a scientist as he is a great Sarvagya worker. In the midst of his manifold activities, he took up the challenge of finding a suitable material for colouring vanaspathi. He has made two substances which satisfy the conditions of health, easy digestion and difficult removability.

One of the colours suggested by him is carbon ground to a particular fineness. An addition of 1-14,000 (or 1 grain in 2 lb. of vanaspathi) gives the hydrocarboned oil a faint grey colour. The colour is less dark than a new corrugated iron sheet. It can be got rid of only by passing the mixture through a filter-paper—a process which cannot be done on a large scale. The Ministry was satisfied that it suited the prescribed tests, but thought that the colour was not pleasing to the eye and would be unacceptable to customers.

Thereupon Shri Dasgupta experimented again and suggested another colour—and oxide of iron, a substance which is cheap and easily available in the market. An addition of 1-1,000 (7 grains to a pound) gave the vanaspathi a red tinge, as if a little dry chalk powder had been mixed with it. But an addition of only 1-5,000 (7 grains to 2 lb.) would also do. This gave to the vanaspathi a light rosy tinge, such as is often given to ice-creams. It was in no way repulsive to the eye. Shri Satishchandra claims the same qualities for it as for carbon. The opinion of the Food Ministry on this is awaited.

Thus is an answer to the opinion of the experts that no satisfactory colour was available. On the merits of the question Shri Satishchandra says:

Government should have the courage of meeting the pressure of the 4 errors, in the interest of public health and to save the tax. Otherwise the losses of Rs. 4 crores will be more than counter-balanced by the loss of the new industry in the loss of milk, ghee and the Indian and, as food and agriculture also.

"But we have lost the capacity of right thinking and have become victims of inertia. For instance it is very important to make use of new scientific ideas, but we have no effort in that direction. Instead of looking at it in new terms of creative thinking, Indianism has made us fatalistic. This fatalistic Indianism, the spirit of inertia, if given the needed thrust, is a very convincing proof for itself. It also has done inside the domain of the management. It can be taken over by man after giving it a good thrust. But we do not feel interested in such experiments."

Shri Dasgupta argues that to the extent vanaspathi is needed for soap and other industries, the manufacture might be permitted provided it is made unfit for human consumption.

A red oxide of iron in the proportion of 1:100 is added it cannot be mixed with ghee. Its presence discolors the ghee.

I too have heard about adulteration of vanaspathi. It is possible to adulterate it with cheap paraffin oil. It is also used as an adulterant of coconut and other oils. Vanaspathi can be made so as to melt at 100° or less temperature as desired. It is possible to get some vanaspathi made which melts at a higher temperature and also white oil in it when it is a liquid form. This can be done by Graham's test.

We have rightly objected to the giving of an artificial colour to vanaspathi. Doing so would lead to the deterioration of the consumption of ghee."

The writer further,

"A strong propaganda is being carried on in favour of vanaspathi. Agents have been asked to take quantities from people in forms which say that when vanaspathi is cheaper than ghee, its manufacture should not be prohibited. One of the advertisements says that if vanaspathi was prohibited, ghee would become more than twice more costly. I wonder how the Food Ministry allows such false advertisements to be published. Please refer to this in 'Service'."

I do not know how the calculation has been arrived at. That price is not the essence of the question. The important thing is Truth. What should the people eat, and what should the Government and the Industry make them eat? This is the question they have to answer.

Wardha 17-7-50 E. G. MARSHWALA

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY BHARATMA CAMINI)
"Editor: K. G. MANSURWALA"



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TWO ANNAS

HOW TO KEEP OUT OF BLOOD

Raja said: "If you want to convert your opponent you must present to him his better and nobler side. Work on, round, upon that side. Do not dangle his faults before him." *Gleanings, p. 1727*

This golden rule holds good as much for nations as individuals. The continual dangling by one nation of another nation's faults before the whole world is the surest way to provoke dissensions, and finally war. Yet this is exactly the process indulged in now-a-days.

Supposing, instead of this method, Raja's way had been adopted, the international atmosphere today would have been totally different.

To work on an individual's or nation's better side does not mean that one has got to shut one's eyes to surrounding dangers. On the contrary, it means that instead of feverishly concentrating on the bad side only, one quietly and patiently opens one's eyes to the whole situation, with all its possibilities, both dangerous and hopeful.

The present-day habit of international nagging is quite intolerable, and can lead only to one result—mutual destruction, with each side worked up into a mad hatred of the other. Indeed this hatreded hatred is like a deadly infection which the world cannot throw off, and it bursts out again and again as an epidemic in ever more rapidly recurring world wars.

Ever since the world has become so-called one through modern methods of communication, the leading nations have taken to behaving like unscrupulous party politicians, forming blocs, and each trying to entice or force the rest of the earth's nations on to its own side.

The outbreak of hostilities in Korea has thrown a glaring light on this intolerable world situation. It is to be hoped that India will be able to maintain her own independent judgment and position. It seems clear that she wants to, but how is she to manage it unless she rejects all vital dependence on, and commitments to other nations? Never were Raja's ideals more desperately needed to be put into practice. A nation which wants to be independent and self-respecting, and to have honourable relations with other nations, must stand on its own legs, however humble its standards may be. Let us then get to these standards which will enable us at least

to tackle independently, and to look all the nations of the world straight in the face with an honest and helpful smile.

MUNSHI

OPINION ON ANTI-VANASPATI BILL.

Several workers have written to me saying that the time for communicating to the several State Governments the public opinion on Pandit Thakurdas Bhargava's Vanaspati Prohibition Bill was too short and should be extended. There is truth in this complaint. There was confusion in the public mind both as regards the final date as well as the channel through which the opinions were to be communicated. The State legislatures were hardly known to the public. Confusion was also caused by means of erroneous instructions issued by propagandists working in support of the Bill. I hope the Parliamentary Secretariat and the various State Secretariats will concede the general demand by extending the final date to 31st August.

In the meantime those who have not still forwarded their opinions might send them to Pandit Thakurdas Bhargava himself as soon as possible. Being the author of the Bill, he will see to their being brought to the notice of the Parliament.

Public Opinion and Referendum

Owing to frantic efforts made on behalf of vanaspati manufacturers to obtain signatures in favour of vanaspati, several people seem to believe that this matter will be decided by counting of votes cast by the people in favour or against the Bill. This is an erroneous view. Elimination of public opinion is not a referendum. The Bill will not be passed or thrown out by just counting the number of popular votes in favour or against it. It is possible that much will be made by the supporters and opponents of the Bill of the number of opinions collected in their favour, when they argue the Bill in the Parliament, and the figures might cast their influence on the minds of the members and the ministers. But it is not numbers of votes of the people, that will decide the fate of the Bill, but that of the members of Parliament who will do so. It is the ministers and the members of Parliament who have to be convinced of the merits and demerits of the Bill. And the best way to do so is to present them with solid arguments based on grounds of ethics, health, economics, politics etc. Questions of public bodies like epidemics, sewage,

Congress Committee. More organizations, traders, merchants, postoffices, municipalities, district boards, of doctors, engineers, scientists, economists etc., and of the Press will carry more weight than mere signatures of the general public. Even then opinions of such bodies will not be decisive by themselves, they would just help the legislators to form an estimate of the public opinion.

Besides, in the modern set-up of party governments, even the opinions of legislators become often a mere farce. However deeply a member might feel convinced of the merit of a Bill, he has to vote not in obedience to his own head, but to that of his party's head, that is to say, as the whip of the party might direct. So, the present Bill will most surely fail as would be decided by the present ruling party in the Government of India. Perhaps its need is already made up. But the expression of public opinion is all the same important. For, it will give us an idea of the degree of the concordance or discordance between the people and their representatives in the Government.

Wardha 25-7-30

K. G. BHAIRAPPA

MACHINES MEAN THE AMERICAN WORKMAN

RAILWAY engine-drivers are threatening to stop work on four of the major rail networks in the United States of America. The union is insisting that the railways must hire two drivers to work on each of the new diesel locomotives. The present crew, consisting of one driver and one fireman, has no trouble operating the diesel, which are very nearly automatic anyway. But the union argues that the three men is needed for reasons of safety. Suppose the engine-driver should fall or slip or have trouble while his fireman is working; danger was involved due to a slip at the other end of the plant ash. In such a case, the union says, an extra fireman ought to be standing by to take over the throttle.

There is some plausibility in this argument since many engine-drivers are elderly men, and one of them might drop dead some day on the point of full throttle. The American union behind the union's demands, lay over is quite different. The railway workers are afraid of technological unemployment. The new diesel engines can operate over longer distances with fewer men. That, indeed, is one of the chief reasons why they are pushing into such widespread use. It may be regrettable but it is hardly surprising that the union should fight to create unnecessary jobs rather than let its members be thrown out of work.

Labor-saving machinery of all kinds is coming into use at a scale without precedent in our history. The normal forces of competition to scientific development are partly responsible, but the process undoubtedly has been speeded up by the high wage rates which the trade unions have achieved during the last twenty years. One spectacular example is coal mining when John L. Lewis has won the United Mine-workers the highest hourly wage rates in American industry. As a consequence it has become worth while for the mine-owners to invest heavily in a new kind of retooling machines. This new-age looms resembling like a coal digger sweeps up coal-miners' traps, it hauls down the way into the coal face, breaks the lumps into proper size and then loads these into electric cars which haul the coal to the surface. With a crew of three it can do more work than others were employed with the old-fashioned drilling and shunting loads.

Our heavy physical labour, in fact, has already been eliminated from the major industries. Cans, bottles, food tins and fish systems have been doing the tedious lifting and heating for a long while. In the typical modern factory, the main job for human beings is simply to guide the machines and keep them working to correct tempo like the mechanical spinning wheelers. Now, however, even the work of supervising the machines is being eliminated to a growing number of industries. We seem to be on the threshold of a new industrial revolution brought about by the invention of electronic devices which work on the mechanism on the right manner, helped by work more precisely than the human eye could do. It is now made of people to make and stop the work process if anything goes wrong. In a plant now, purely equipped with such automatic instruments—a glass factory, for instance, or a new oil refinery—there is very little for the people to do except to stand by in case something gets out of order.

It was this sort of thing which the Marston, Whelan of Massachusetts Institute of Technology had in mind when he made a rather startling prediction recently. He suggested that we may be facing a considerable displacement of workers by automatic machines, and that many of our industrial sites may be heavily dependent on a crash. Within the next decade he said, new machines controlled by electronic brains would completely wipe out the factory assembly line. Perhaps the worried owner is taking too gloomy a view although he is probably right in expecting many factories to cut their staffs in the years just ahead. He apparently forgets that in the long run industrial development often have a way of creating new jobs in unexpected places. Just he overlooked the fact that we now have a serious shortage of custom-made, modern house-builders and outside other professional and service-trade workers. In such lines opportunities for jobs can be expected to increase in step with our growing population.

I think it highly unlikely that we shall ever again see people out of work on the scale, scale of the last depression. The American Government is committed to maintaining a high level of employment, and any failure to make good on that pledge will be political suicide for the party in power. And here this commitment will be tested and however it will be open question. A surprising amount of planning is now going on both in Washington and the local communities to create new opportunities for jobs in areas where unemployment is serious. The complex set of blueprints has yet emerged for dealing with a major slump in business activities but the President's council of economic advisers at least has set up an organization to handle the job. If the post-war boom should begin to taper off next year, this may become a pressing assignment.

JAMES FROCHER

(Copyright from the Listener, 14th May, 1930)

(Note: Mr James Frocher strikes an optimistic note at the end. The careful studies of other noted writers, e.g., Mr Wilfred Wallock, whose writings have appeared more than once in *Harrian*, give the other side of the picture. Any way, we must remember that while the United States is more than double in area than All-India, its population is less than a third of ours. Even assuming that "in the long run, technical developments often have a way of creating new jobs in unexpected places", India cannot hope to create them at such a rate as a development in technology has created a large-scale unemployment,—except by new jobs we mean the ever growing work of the Rehabilitation of Displaced People.

Wardha, 14-5-32

—K. G. B.

ASHRAM ACTIVITIES

(By M. E. Gandhi)

IV

Education (Continued)

As for women's education I am not sure whether it should be different from men's and when it should begin. But I am strongly of opinion that women should have the same facilities as men and even special facilities where necessary.

There should be night schools for illiterate adults. But I do not think that they must be taught the three R's; they must be helped to acquire general knowledge through lectures etc., and if they wish, we should arrange to teach them the three R's also.

Experiments in the Ashram have convinced us of one thing, viz. just industry in general and spinning in particular should have pride of place in education, which must be largely self-supporting as well as related to and leading to the betterment of rural life.

In these experiments we have achieved the largest measure of success with the women who have imbued the spirit of freedom and self-confidence as no other class of women have done to my knowledge. This success is due to the Ashram atmosphere. Women in the Ashram are not subject to any restraint, which is not imposed on the men as well. They are placed on a footing of absolute equality with the men in all activities. Not a single Ashram task is assigned to the women to the exclusion of the men. Cooking is shared by both. Women are of course exempted from work which is beyond their strength, otherwise men and women work together everywhere. There is no such thing as pariah or leper in the Ashram. No matter from where she has come, a woman, as soon as she enters the Ashram, breathes the air of freedom and casts out all fear from her mind. And I believe that the Ashram observance of *brahmacharya* has made a big contribution to the state of things. Adult girls live in the Ashram as virgins. We are aware that this experiment is fraught with risk, but we feel that no shimmering among women is possible without breaking it.

Women cannot make any progress so long as there are child marriages, all girls are supposed to be in duty bound to marry, and that we before reformation commences and widow remarriage is not permitted. Women, therefore, when they join the Ashram are told that these social customs are wrong and irreligious. But they are not shocked as they find the Ashram practising what it preaches.

Not much of what is usually called education will be observed in the Ashram. Still we find that the old as well as the young women as well as men are eager to acquire knowledge and complain that they have no time to do it in. This is a good sign. Many who join the Ashram are not educated or even interested in educa-

tion. Some of them can hardly read or write. They had no desire for progress so long as they had not joined the Ashram. But when they have lived in the Ashram for a little while, they conceive a desire for increasing their knowledge. This is a great thing as to create a desire for knowledge is very often the first step to be taken. But I do not regret it very much that there are insufficient facilities in the Ashram calculated to satisfy this desire. The observances kept in the Ashram will perhaps present a sufficient number of qualified teachers from joining it. We must therefore not be satisfied with such Ashramites as can be trained to teach. The numerous activities of the Ashram may come in the way of their acquiring the requisite qualifications at all or at an early date. But it does not matter much, as the desire for knowledge can be satisfied later as well as sooner, being independent of a time limit. Real education begins after a child has left school. One who has appreciated the value of studies in a student all his life. His knowledge must increase from day to day while he is discharging his duty in a conscientious manner. And this is well understood in the Ashram.

The supposition that no education is possible without a teacher is an obstacle in the path of educational progress. A man's real teacher is himself. And now-a-days there is ample apparatus available for self-education. A diligent person can easily acquire knowledge about many things by himself and obtain the assistance of a teacher when one is needed. Experience is the largest of all schools. Quite a number of crafts cannot be learnt at school but only in the workshop. Knowledge of those acquired at school is often only parrot-like. Knowledge of the other subjects can be acquired with the help of books. Therefore what adults need is not so much a school as a thirst for knowledge, diligence and self-confidence.

The education of children is primarily a duty to be discharged by the parents. Therefore the creation of a vital educational atmosphere is more important than the foundation of innumerable schools. When once this atmosphere has been established on a firm footing, the schools will come in in due course.

This is the Ashram ideal of education which has been achieved to some extent, as every department of Ashram activity is a veritable school.

V

Satyagraha

(This section (chapter) has proved so devoid of facts, facts as the golden sword to be wielded against 'so-called' religion, morality, the state or the world'. But the manuscript stops at this point on July 11, 1951. — T. G. D.)

BAPU'S LETTERS TO MIRA

(Written to Mirabehn during 1936/45)

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HARIJAN

Aug. 5

1933


LONGEVITY OF GOOD AND EVIL.

Needs Hita, *Prachin* No. 1, 1933.
(21-5-1937).

My dear Chenchayyankal,

I have your letter.

As I distance this, Mahadev reminds me that you had requested me through Jansabaji to write to you in English. But as I shall not write anything which will need to be shown to others, I continue to dictate this letter in Hindi.

I have received your letter written from the steamer. I have already written to you two letters before this at your Geneva address. I hope you have received them by now. My health is improving. I have kept writing to Pappa Mahadevji. Just as I had written, (quoted) "I received his long telegram during this week. Therein he informs me that though his health is good he is weak. At present he is at Bombay. To say about me that I do not take proper care of my health as I think, not correct. I do take as much care of my health as I deem necessary for its preservation. Pappa Mahadevji does not do so. I often wrote this to him, but even after making a promise to take rest, he did not keep it. He has great faith in Ayurvedic treatment and believes that he keeps, and can keep, well by taking pills and powders from a  shop, and his self-confidence is so great that he puts his weakness and illness, he is resolved to live upto this. May God make his resolution good. Who can prove him too much? I have written to him in as strong a language as possible couched with humour and consistently with courtesy. The truth is that a man's reason follows his activities. There is little room scope for heroic efforts in such matters. One's duty is to strive and one must perform it, but for one and all a time comes when all efforts become futile and, fortunately and in the interest of conservation of human efforts, God has not given any one the knowledge of the last moment. Then why should we worry for this inevitable thing? The affairs of the country depend upon neither Mahadevji, nor Lalaji or Lala Lajpatrai nor on. All are mere instruments and, for myself, I believe that a good man's work really begins after his death. Shakespeare is not right in saying,

"The will that men do live after them"

The good is not interfered with their bones."

Still is never so long-lived. Rama is alive and we purify ourselves by repeating his name. Ravana has gone and gone with him his evils too. Even a wicked man does not misremember Ravana. No one knows the real Name of his age. The poet has told us that in his own age he, too, was subjected to accusations. But all the imputations of Rama were borne with his body and we today worship him only as a divine being, and certainly the extent of Ramarajya was not so great when he was physically alive, as it is now.

I do not write this as a highly philosophical statement, or for pedanticatory consideration. But I want to say emphatically that we should not at all grieve over the death of one whom we consider a worthy man; and we should have a firm faith that it is only after his death that his true work commences, or rather begins to bear true fruit. What have been considered to be his great achievements during his life-time will pile into magnificence before the human eyes. Of course it is our duty to follow, up to the extent of our capacity, the good steps of those whom we respect as saints.

I have to make a suggestion for your health. If you have no faith, as indeed there should not be, in sleeping, you may go and see the institutions of Louis Kahn and Just in Germany. The treatment of patients there consists of open air and water, and hundreds of people have cured themselves of that institution. You may also contact the two vegetarian societies at London and Manchester respectively. In these societies there are always some sober, contented and balanced people; you will also come across some stupid and wild persons.

Yours,
J. K. K. K.

(Translated from Hindi) *News Bulletin*, July 1933
and reproduced with the kind permission of that G. D. State.)

STUDENTS' FEES AND TEACHERS' STRIKES

Students' Fees

About a year ago, the Bombay Government raised the fees of their educational institutions. It created a strong agitation which was somehow settled. A few days ago the Government again attempted to do the same. This led to a very serious situation in Maharashtra on account of the entry of other elements into the students' agitation. The Government has been obliged to retract its steps at least temporarily. The situation in other States is similar.

The problem of fees is an intricate one. On the one hand, there is no doubt that the cost of the modern system of education has become prohibitive to a very great majority of the middle classes, who go in for a mass religiously than they go in for religion itself. This condition is in spite of the fact that the teacher-class is generally very much inadequately paid and has been agitating for better salaries in most of the States. They have a genuine grievance both in Government as well as private institutions. The teachers in the latter are in even a worse condition than in the former, although some of the private institutions have become a paying business. So far as I know, except the Bombay Government no other State has yet done anything to ameliorate their condition, and there is much dissatisfaction among them.

Their dissatisfaction leads not only to deterioration of the standards of education, but to positively harmful education. Not only communism or conservatism is bred there, but also dishonesty, fraud and sexual vice.

Then, where there is an all-round increase of costs and prices, the cost of maintaining and conducting schools is also bound to increase. I do not think that it is possible for any government

in India to cope with the expenditure of the modern type of education, if the structure of society remains what it is, namely, capitalist with a middle class clamouring for scholastic teaching only. If education in India is to spread it has to be self-supporting. It can be self-supporting in a correct manner only if it becomes productive. However, it can be seemingly self-supporting if the Government does not make itself responsible for providing secondary and collegiate education and leaves to the industrialists and well-to-do people to meet its expenses. Government itself doing no more than provide some scholarships or chairs of particular types and grants of land etc. This seeming self-supporting education would not be possible without fees, and would not be better than what it is at present. It may be described as one which no one is satisfied with, and, yet, which hardly one has the courage to discard.

We are at present watching a tragedy of education. The nation has to make a choice between the principles of *Kao Tsuei*, which is still in the process of development, and the current type. Both have to be self-supporting but in the former the Government would be able to play its full part. In the latter, governments may pretend to do so but are not likely ever to succeed.

Teachers' Strikes

As stated above school teachers have also been agitating for an increase in their salaries in several States. They have been organising themselves and adopting the methods of strikes etc. for the redress of their grievances as other workers. Writing in this connection, a teacher writes:

"In schools and colleges students' strikes are the order of the day. One or two it has been copied by the teachers to get redress of their grievances also. Teaching is the noblest of professions but the salaries of teachers, every body will admit, is high time for our Government to give proper attention to this matter. In any organisation of our educational system the lot of the poor teachers must be given due and proper care. Unless and until their condition is improved there is no chance of any substantial success in any new venture. Only a lot of discontented teachers can work counteractively any new scheme."

"One strange enough, students conventionally ignore or shelve this question on the stock argument of lack of leisure. They do find enough leisure to give large salaries to so many high calibre bats at home and abroad. But when it comes to the lot of the teachers, high talks of liberation without service, recreation and services for the sake of the infant nation are put back. No wonder the teachers are driven to the verge of despair and they resort to subversive methods."

"The doubts which prompted me to write this letter, is, would strikes by teachers have been adopted by accident? I wrote to Gandhi on this topic, but also before that note reached him he had left me. I remember reading in the *Star* an article by Gandhi on the strike to disrupt. He has in some ways said against it. Now, teachers are also taught in the sense that they remove the life of ignorance from the minds of small children. As such, I think Gandhi would not favour the idea of strikes by them. Then what is the alternate course for them? They too must lead an honest life. The average salary they get at present does not suffice

for a dignified living, development and protection of Teachers' Association, till it has to be broken. This are kind of teaching through eyes pass on the heavy burden of debts to teaching teachers and now there finally it is only out of sheer despair, therefore, that they resort to strikes."

Personally I don't like the idea of strikes by teachers. But for want of a better solution for their life I cannot persuade any of my friends. Can you show us a way out? Please spare some space in your paper for this note."

Scavenging and teaching are no doubt such essential services as must be performed as a religious duty, irrespective of what remuneration they bring to the performers. But this is not true of these services only. A doctor and a nurse must also treat the patient irrespective of fees.

But when such duties are systematised into definite professions with definite payments on a contractual basis, the duty part remains and the religious part is very much obliterated if not altogether destroyed. A religious duty is unilateral. It does not depend upon the other side performing its part. A simple contractual duty pre-supposes that both the parties will duly honour their respective parts. Thus the due performance of the duties of the scavenger, the teacher, the doctor and the nurse presupposes that the employers will look to their proper remuneration equally dutifully. The troubles arise because the employers do not date to do so. Not only that, they do not care to pay any serious consideration to that side of the question until compelled to do so by actively organised movements.

Not arguing to strike by scavengers, teachers, postmen, railwaymen etc. as it is difficult to blame the employers for doing so if the employees cannot be made to perform their part of the duty unless the employers resort to some kind of effective action. Non-violence is the only condition, which they should be expected to meticulously observe. Non-violence, of course, includes truth, and also education and other ethical methods.

This applies only to the type of schooling going on in the country. As stated in the previous note, the system of education is prohibitive and well not succeed in our country. The whole of this kind of teaching from primary to university standard will have to be abandoned. Even if governments have no faith in the idea of self-supporting schools, their circumstances will compel them to take to it. In no other way will it be possible for the nation to educate its masses.

But this is not to down upon us without going through a long period of troubles and miseries. Nor can the idea be taken up apart from the other parts of the Gandhi programme. So in the meantime I see no smooth sailing for either the teachers or their employers. Strikes and similar non-violent coercive methods, unbecoming as they are in connection with the noble professions of teaching, scavenging, nursing etc., would have to be faced.

Wardha, 13-7-68

R. G. MANGRUKHIA

NATURE'S CURE

Ninety year-old American Doctor John Drury in his book on good health (published by Dashiell Co. London) says:

"Temporary complete abstinence from food the person living on drinking hot water and orange juice all there is more more a healthy appetite is the best cure for a host of chronic conditions such as fever, dyspepsia, indigestion, etc."

Dr. Drury's says

"If you are ever attacked by any disease, your chances of recovery under the most modern medical treatment (allopathy) are today hardly better than they were during the darkest ages of medical quackery of human experimentation and cruelty."

"There is but one great cause of disease—internal impurity. There is but one cure for disease—the removal of internal dirt. The poisonous waste matter is expelled from the body in the shape of perspiration from the skin, urine from kidneys and feces through rectum but from food that is digested from the bowels. The only rational medicine we can give Nature during these critical periods as self-purification are a constant supply of fresh air, free use of water and fresh juices as carrying agents for the impurities and fatal excretion from food in order to give Nature a free hand. All other attempts at curing disease are but an interference with Nature especially the introduction of patent drugs, vaccines, serums, stimulants, chloral and so on only harm by increasing and expanding the work of Nature."

Major Dr. Austin who was in 1921, Chief Medical Officer British Military Hospital at Calcutta says in his book *Direct Path to Health*:

"Disease is a condition that up to the present within the body of impurities which the body must clear out before it can return to a condition of good health. The compounds we use as powerful agents to remove impurities from the body—drugging, purging, casting and diuretics are not and all attempts of the body to rid itself of poisonous waste but for failure and bring upon sick."

Garfield says

"With apologies to medical friends but out of the fulness of my own experience and that of others I say without hesitation. First if you are constipated, if you are feverish, if you have indigestion, if you have a headache, if you are giddy, if you are rheumatic, if you are depressed, and you will avoid medical prescriptions and potent medicines. Eat only when you are hungry. Take an sauna regularly during fast; you will be surprised at the impurities you will expel daily. Drink as much water as you can but in small quantities at a time."

Garfield's views on fasting as a cure for various diseases and physical ailments deserve special emphasis today when there seems to be a rising craze for drugs, patent medicines and injections.

We can be our own doctor in minor ailments.

In view of what is stated above, it is to be hoped that people will adopt cheap nature-cure treatment of diseases which Garfield says is of "proved efficacy" both for villagers and for people living in cities.

ARMAND A. MINTY

SIZE OF THE THIRD WORLD WAR

Dr. Wilfred Volrich has published a new book entitled *The Third Way*. I propose to give important extracts from it, arranged in the form of independent articles. The following is the first of the series.

—E. O. M.]

On March 12, 1941 President Roosevelt let out of the international situation the fear of totalitarian Communism. Russia responded in kind by letting its chief enemy, the fear of totalitarian Capitalism. Thus there came into the open an ideological war that has been raging within neutral China since ever since the close of the second war. It may prove to be the last decisive step towards the Third World War.

Russia has watched the collapse of Capitalism during the last thirty years and believes the present will continue until America and the U. S. are incorporated in a final mechanism. She has to mind her own November, of 1917, the rise to power of Maoists in the aftermath of the First World War of Hitler and the military Junta of Japan, in the Great Slump of 1929-33, the economic and political collapse of France in the Second World War and now she watches the struggle of Britain to avoid national bankruptcy in the aftermath of that war, and the weakness and of American Big Business in a drive for world markets from which the expected economic collapse may come.

Russia's indignation are not without justification. But that does not mean that we ought to accept the Communist way of life in preference to the American. For, every civilized person who studies the recent history of Russia will admit that a true democracy, which is due to every person, the right to order his life to his conscience in accordance his idea and to strive towards them in the way that seems good to him does not exist in that country. That in Russia the State counts for more and more and the human person and the development of his personality has been set back. That the individual must strive for the good of the State and not the State for the betterment of the personality of the people who own power.

If there are good rule and law, that freedom and the American way of life, what is the desirable Third Way? Many say that it is the backbone of the majority British Government of Great Britain.

True, a totalitarian policy is being carried out on a large scale; but is it changing the nature and spirit of industry, of human labor or fundamentally affecting the distribution of wealth? The majority of the workers are still to be engaged in repetitive job of old and another, indeed quite number is to be increased as the need for experts is now again to reveal in still larger doses of industrial specialization.

In the modern industrial setup, the man on the machine is as much from the springs and pressure of control power under authoritarian or under police concepts. The human as industry is subordinated to a state of industrial and capitalistic forces are set up, the influence of these powers are fixed according to capitalistic standards and values.

Again British authorities have always proclaimed that modern wars are primarily the outcome of the capitalist struggle for world markets in the interest of profit. Yet today a British Government is expediting the man to further support drive over intervention in the country. The declared aim of this drive is to maintain or raise the wartime standard of living, which certainly amounted to little more than the capitalist demand for profits increased. And what will be the outcome? Making less than the Third World War unless a radical intervention for when the world shortage of goods caused by the war is made up. Former standard for trade will change then have occurred in the past.

Britain would be well advised to consider how good a price she is prepared to pay in order to maintain her present standard of living. It is certainly not worth the third world war.

It is then apparent that Britain has now reached one of the great turning points in her history. It is of paramount importance that she powerfully maintain her spiritual independence and resolutely take her mind to discover the true third way and such measures not in huge money standards of living, but fundamentally in satisfying, modest, responsible social living. The pursuit of money values in this age of the economic mass leads directly to barbarism. That perils Britain most threaten.

The question is, then, can Britain take the measure of the world situation that she will see the wisdom of arriving first of all in the religious economy of the industrial Revolution, whose basic findings in two world wars, and the "high-water-marking" which have been the basis for her loss a global ideological war, and have strongly looked a qualitative civilization as we know and a social order which will restore and enlarge the liberties that during the last few decades have been retreating in even larger loss?

The economic and social changes that are now required call for far-reaching measures of political, economic and industrial decentralization. The time has come to think of distribution in terms of making men, not money. Money has destroyed our peace, and is fast destroying our life.

WILFRED WILSON

NOTES

The Old Ropes

I had warned the readers about one Nagendra Shastri, an old rope, in the columns of Harpur (22-11-29). He is still at large and carries on his usual trade of deceitful activities under new names which is not difficult to assume. I have received information that he makes use of the names of Sevagram Ashram, Shri Vinoba, and myself to stage the misdeeds of his villainy. A particularly with him is that he off and on writes to me and the manager of the Sevagram Dispensary that he had been to a particular province and had carried on his deceitful practice under a particular name. Some of these letters from him were made over to the local police, but evidently they are not able to trace him. He seems to have recently defrauded a few persons in North Gujarat under the name of Jivendra Modi. Define that, he did the same under another name in Madhya Pradesh. He has in his possession old letters of prominent men of various provinces. But even if a man says that he is connected with great men, and produces their old letters and gives false hopes or promises, surely it is not wise to advance him a loan. It may be a person's duty to help an older stranger with a donation, but not with a loan. The public should note that the Sevagram Ashram, or the institutions connected with Gandhiji in Wardha, do not send out any agents for collecting funds, distributing aid to the poor, or inspecting other institutions as this was wisely given out. If some one is so deputed he would be given a properly authenticated letter by the responsible head of such institution. No one should believe a man on his own saying that he comes from or is sent by the Sevagram Ashram.

Wardha, 24-7-30

(Translated from Gujarati)

Courage, The Only Solution

Public reports as well as private information about the situation in both the sections of Pakistan show that at least so far as the Government of Pakistan is concerned there is a genuine attempt to give protection and justice to the Hindu minority there. The attitude of the people is not yet quite helpful, though even they are exercising self-restraint. This must be accepted as a step towards recovery and be fully realized of. What is needed is, first, for those who are still in Pakistan, to stay on with courage, and create conditions for the recovery to return. If there is a recrudescence of trouble, it should be determinedly resisted on the spot. Who can help a people if those of the higher strata desert those of the lower; and if all vie with one another in timidity instead of courage? The attitude that Hindus cannot live under Muslim majority rule must be abandoned as definitely as the similar attitude of Muslims. Those who cannot fight their way with people of a different religion will create endless and insoluble problems for themselves.

Shri C. C. Barua, India's Minority Minister, has called for a band of brave Hindus, who would make Barisal, in East Pakistan, their headquarters for at least six months and hold it place before the East Pakistan Government the difficulties they experienced there and neglect of duty, if any, on the part of the District Officers.

The appeal is proper, and I hope it will meet with a good response.

Wardha, 23-7-30

R. G. M.

Effect of Tarapoti on Food and Cotton

I wrote this to show how tarapoti affects the cultivation of food crops and cotton in our State (Madhya Pradesh). When there were no tarapoti factories here the cotton crop of this province was about 50 lakh bales producing approximately 50 lakh bags of cottonseed every year. This was in addition to the production of other foodgrains like jowar, wheat, for rice, far in excess of the requirements of the State, so that they were exported freely to other States of India. Now after the establishment of tarapoti factories in our State the crop of cotton has fallen down to 3 lakh bales of cotton and 15 lakh bags of cottonseed, and the cultivation of other foods has in much decreased that even the people of our own State do not get sufficient food to eat.

Since the establishment of tarapoti factories in India, the acreage under food and cotton crops decreased to a large extent, the cultivation of groundnut having taken their place. It is true that the Government earn some revenue from the modified oil industry, but it should be taken into consideration that they lose several times more on the export of foodgrains and cotton by paying considerably higher rates to foreign countries.

If the Bill of Pandit Thakurdas Bhargava does not unfortunately succeed without doubt

our nation will have to suffer a number of difficulties and, will never be in a position to meet our national demands for food-grains and cotton. **Shreeji (Hemir) JAYACHAND MANGALAL.**

A Brahmin-Bahujan Marriage

Shri Naka Kulkar told a year ago at Gandhinagar, "The caste problem is so serious that nothing less than radical solutions, such as inter-caste marriages, can solve it."

We have just had such a marriage at Gandhinagar. Shri S. Jayachandran, Secretary of the Tamilnad Sarva Seva Sangh and Chinnai Krishnamma, a Marjion College graduate and Gandhinagar resident were wedded on July 4th to two another, and their home to Truth and Non-violence, in a simple inter-caste ceremony, a large black garland being used as the symbol.

Co-workers in the Tamilnad and at Gandhinagar were joined by village friends and relatives of bride and bridegroom to bring their blessings to this unique home dedicated to constructive work.

RAJES KUMAR KARTIKAR

Gandhinagar, 18-7-30

Alcohol in America

The following paragraph appears in *Present Truth* vol. 29, No. 12, p. 16.

Since the prohibition laws were repealed in America consumption per head has increased from 4.775 gallons in 1934 to 20.10 gallons in 1935, equivalent to 100 drinks per head. Consumption has increased over the same period by 328 per cent., violent crimes have increased by 112 per cent., the number of dependent families has risen by 161 per cent., hospital admission of alcoholics without psychosis has increased 175 per cent., the number of dependent children has increased 275 per cent., from \$20,000 in 1935 to \$10,000 in 1941. This official information is released by the Bureau of the Census and the Department of Commerce.¹

T. G. B.

The Myth of Solid Glass

It is argued that oil has to be hydrogenated, because people used to ghee do not like its liquid form, ghee being consumed in a frozen form. Now this latter is a myth. People do not take ghee in the frozen form in their ordinary cooking diet. Whether they use it for cooking vegetables, frying pane and sweets, spreading on chapatis or stirring on rice, it has to be liquidified. Ghee goes into the mouth in a solid form only when spread on a few special sweetmeats, or when laced with a finger in mixture with a medical powder. Ghee is purchased and consumed for its quality in granular form, but it is not consumed in that condition. People used to ghee do not prefer oil, not because its form is liquid, but because new oil does not agree with them, and because those who are habituated to the flavour of ghee do not like the flavour of oil and vice versa. This is a question of habit. Thus in Gujarat and several other provinces, people like to take ghee with paria, chapatis and rice, but not with vegetables, ex-

cept under medical suggestion. People in the Punjab and Rajasthan, on the other hand, were considered oil to be fit only for being applied to the skin. Common people in Kerala, however, prefer oil to ghee even on chapatis. And, even in regard to new oil, people of different provinces prefer a particular seed to others. They feel that the oil of a different seed does not agree with them. And these are not mere whims. For each substance in its natural form has a distinct composition and lacks distinct enzymes and process of metabolism in the digestive apparatus. The digestive system of a person used to a particular oil, if occasionally fed on a different one, is unable to produce the right type of metabolic process, and it affects his health. It is possible that by practice, he may be able to adapt himself to a new oil. But refinement seems to reduce oil oils to the same chemical level and makes any oil equally good or bad in flavour and digestibility, and at least enables those who are habituated to ghee to take it without experiencing a feeling of disgustment. But this is independent of its solidification. People have been misled into accepting without examination the statement that they like ghee on account of its thickness.

People who take bakery bread prefer butter or margarine to ghee or vanaspathi. If they prefer vanaspathi, they can take it coloured, even as they take tinned butter which is always coloured. Margarine is not allowed to be coloured, because cow butter has a natural yellow colour. As respects its taste, a colour, because butte is butter and ghee, which is generally consumed in India, is colourless. And as I write this, I realize that the colour should not be the yellow of cow's butter or ghee. Prohibitory laws have to be different in different countries because the original genuine articles have different characteristics.

Varanasi, 18-7-30

K. G. B.

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TWO ANNAS

THE FOOD SITUATION

Several leading newspapers have severely criticised Shri Munshi for his unconvincing defence of the food situation in the country and the deaths due to want of food in Bihar. People are justified in receiving his explanations, which were in fact, as well as sufficient evaluation of the distress of the people. It would have been better, if he had candidly confessed that after taking over charge of the Food Ministry he found that, whatever his departmental files might say, the food situation of the country was very desperate, and he wanted the voluntary help of every better-placed province and better-situated section of the people to cope with the situation, and that unless this was done, the Government by itself would not be able to save the people from hunger. In the extensive and frequent movements from one end of the country to the other during the short period since his entry into the Cabinet, he could have organised Industrial Relief Committees of persons in whose honesty people could trust, to collect whatever grain was available in every part of the country, in addition to that prepared by the various Governments. He could have managed with the Transport Ministry for quick and free transfer by railways, motor-trucks, aeroplanes etc., of such collections to deficit areas. I hope Shri Munshi is well aware that however high an opinion the ministers might entertain for their services and for the Congress Committee, these have lost all credit for honesty and efficiency in the eyes of the people. Even if this loss of credit were not fully justifiable, it is a reality, and therefore, in order to save the people, the Government must seek co-operation of more popular agencies.

But even if Government do not do this, people must do it for the sake of themselves and their starving poor leading citizens outside the Government should organise Relief Boards and undertake the work through trustworthy volunteers. They should seek Government co-operation for lowering rates and free transport facilities. If the Relief Boards are strong, efficient and trusted by the people, Government cannot refuse to give them full facilities. If they attempted to obstruct the people's committees, they would come to grief. This is the way

relief work was always organised during the last generation, whenever a serious calamity befallen the people of any province. The famine in North Gujarat last year was combated and the present food calamity of Calcutta and Sourashtra is being met to a large extent with the help of popular bodies.

Varanasi, 2.8.30

K. G. MANSURWALA

NOTES

Fifteenth August

Independence

The Fifteenth of August is a day of happy and sorrowful memories. There was the satisfaction born of the fulfilment of the long-cherished desire of independence, and there was gloom by reason of the divisions of the country and two of its provinces. There was mourning and weeping in the larger part of the country, while, unknown to the majority, in other regions of the country a terrible tragedy had commenced. Then independence was born in All-India spirit, identity and unity. Throughout the night preceding the 15th of August are the recollections of a great dream of the nation. Like the dream of an agonised, cold, the people became divided into two independent units. But owing to the sacred means involved in the process, the people of both the regions have passed three years of their new status in a very unseamless manner. One does not know what adventures are still in store for us in the next few years. But even if it be 10 p.m. of a dark and advancing night, we may be quite sure that the night will break into a cheerful morning. How soon it will come depends upon the moral revolution within us.

Mahadev Desai

The Fifteenth of August, a remembrance of Empire defied and died, Mahadev Desai, who became his first offering in the last struggle for India's independence. He was born on 1st January 1892, at the age of 38, on the morning of 1st August 1932, Raja played him "in an ocean of love, surprise and joy" by addressing him as follows:

"There is a reason for asking you to report yourself daily to me. I have tested your worth during the last three days. I have tested the young man whom I was in search of for the last two years. Will you believe it? I wanted someone to whom I

could one day extract all my work and rest in peace, one on whom I could lay myself down with a sense of relief. I have found that not to be."

Vandavathi accepted the invitation with an equally high spirit of devotion, and dedicated his life to the service of the Master. For the rest of the remaining 25 years of his short life, he served Rama and fulfilled his expectations of him in a manner in which none could surpass him. He died in the service of his Master, under circumstances which left none but Rama himself for the performance of his funeral ceremonies. It was a life nobly lived and nobly ended.

Sixes and Sevens

There is nothing peculiar about the 15th of August as such. But men like certain peculiar phenomena better than others; and select such days for commencement of new programmes. Thus the 1st and the 15th of a month, Sunday and Monday of a week, are more favoured than other days. Man also likes to associate accidental coincidences of events. Hence it is that the birth of Sri Aravinda, the death of Mahadevtha, Deshabaikata Kanda Venkateswarya and others all taking place on the 15th of August assume particular importance to their friends and admirers. All that one can say is it is a human weakness, by itself innocent. One, however, need not be superstitious about such coincidences of time and place and make a capital of them.

Wardha, 2-8-50

Hoarding Looting

Shri Gopabandhula Mallik from Ether (Dist. Nagpur) writes

"For weeks past there has been going on here, in parts of the Purna and Nagpur Districts in Bihar, hoarding of foodgrains on account of their excessive dearth and acute shortage. People in their hundreds and thousands approach in large bodies the houses of the rich hoarding foodgrains in their possession and demand food, and on their refusal plunder it. This looting they carry out right during daylight. They enter households only, without looting any money or any other valuables. Those who willingly agree to part with foodgrains and give them are spared from the looting. For one thing food is not available and there is poverty to boot. However, due to shortage of food one has generally to go hungry even when there is plenty. The problem is getting more and more acute everyday. Government officials are trying their best to control it. They place with the rich hoarding some government and even compel them to do so. Surely, there is no other go. The acute distress of the people has reached from one to the other path of revolution, which it is difficult and impossible to stop.

"The fact is so terrible that there was no good thing of this starvation and hunger striking it. Not so jobs and wages both were more than many crops excepted last year well nigh 40 per cent of the total acreage land. There was no shortage on the export of foodgrains and were not imported. One major difficulty arose is that the rich said that in January (April-May) they had this year for want of rain, and consequently, no seed as the

month set in, so acute shortage of foodgrains was the one leading to desperate fight. Landholders and farmers holding large areas of land have been seen with their tiller thus actively. Hence they are not inclined to part with foodgrains even as loan for further sowing. Such is the condition of helplessness before us and both the poor and the unemployed are starving for want of food. Public workers and Government officials are hard pressed as it is doing a solution of this acute problem.

"If the rich and the capitalists do not change with the times, if they do not become generous, then to be sure, the excessive helplessness of the people will compel them to digress, the risk, by force of the foodgrains in their possession.

"Such is the problem that has arisen here today. One to this problem of hoarding the temples looting is on the increase. This is a widespread and urgent problem. Please let us know what is your opinion is the duty of hoarding workers under the circumstances."

In my opinion Government officials with the help and co-operation of hoarding workers should prevail upon those in possession of stocks of foodgrains to donate or sell them at nominal price and with these stocks should open grain shops in the rural areas and after ascertaining the condition of the people should issue ration cards and distribute food-grains to them according to their condition, i.e. grain, or at cheap rates, or at cost price as the case may be. Along with this they should advise the agriculturists to raise food crops.

Wardha, 15-7-50 "

(Quoted from front)

Bihar Deaths

Even in my secluded place at Wardha I received information some three months ago that the condition of the people in Nagpur was desperate and as a last resort they had begun looting granaries of food. These things took place with the full knowledge of the local authorities and the Congress workers. If the food was sufficient, and the question was only of exorbitant prices, were any steps taken to open free or cheap-rate shops? If not, why was this not done and who is responsible for it? On the contrary, I believe the Government machinery must have been employed to suppress the hungry crowds with the long arm of the law. The nature of the law was, according to the information I had then received, that the raiders did not care to touch anything else than food. My correspondent's letter, which I was unable to forward for publication in the Marjan Weekly until some time ago for short want of space, is published elsewhere in translation.

The "Grow More Food Campaign" was declared some days ago to be so complete a success, that the Government substituted in its place the "Grow More Cotton Campaign". Shri Mangal on taking charge of the Food Ministry spoke not much of growing more food; he stressed growing more trees and eating more vegetables and dispensing as much as possible with cereals. How can he realise the dire poverty

of the people, who do not often get even an onion to eat with their bread? It is like the fabled optician-actor king who advised his subjects to eat beef and pees (dairy sweets), to get over the famine? What is the good of having sufficient quantities of food, if they do not reach the hungry?

Wardha, 1-3-36

Birthdays Turn

Shri Ramdas Gandhi writes:

"I am glad to report that in response to my appeal the year contributions for the Sarvagran Ashram, Shri Ramdasji Jiji at Wardha has set the ball rolling by sending to me 111 books of year, which he received from his friends and admirers on his last birthday. This is very encouraging.

"I request all those, who will opt in the next *Florida Jugend Day* (25th October) to send their part of the day to me for the above fund."

Shri Ramdasji Jiji's example is worthy of imitation for all those who allow or suffer a public or semi-public celebration of their birthdays. Those, who are not mindful of their own dates of birth, will do well to adopt Gandhi's for the above purpose.

Wardha, 1-3-36

A Bad Mistake

Referring to my article "Cattle-keeping in Coorg" (20th July), a friend has very promptly and rightly drawn my attention to the wrong arithmetic involved in the statement, "even if the average death rate of calves comes to 4 per day, and that every cow or buffalo yields a calf every year, it means that not a single calf born in the centre will grow up to be a full animal." He points out that 4×365 is 1,460 and not 14,600 as evidently calculated by me to equate it with 14,600 head of cattle maintained at Arc. Even if the average death rate comes to 10 per day, the number would be 3,650. I confess I have made a bad mistake, and am sorry for it, though another correspondent, who also calls my attention to this mistake, points out that my assumption that every cow or buffalo would yield a calf every year is gratuitous. In city dairies on an average, an animal must be reckoned as fruitfully once in two years only. He, therefore, supports the contention that there should be no dairies in Coorg. Anyway, there is sufficient room for improvement of the living conditions of the cattle at Arc, but my original argument loses its force by reason of my mistake.

Wardha, 1-3-36

H. G. M.

Khadi Tools Exhibition

The fourth Khadi Tools Exhibition will be organized this year in the third week of November in Tumkur. Persons who have made any new improvements or inventions in Khadi tools (i.e. all tools auxiliary to Khadi manufacture, such as graving, carving, spinning, double twisting, weaving etc.) will notify about them to the undersigned by 30th September, 1936. As far

as possible they will be given an opportunity of exhibiting their improvements at the Exhibition, and if the Khadi Tools Improvements Committee deem fit useful improvements will be awarded in a suitable manner.

Sarvagran (Wardha)

SECRETARY,
All India Spinners' Association.

Education of the Deaf-Blind

Among the thousands of this year's graduates of American universities there is none whose achievement are more remarkable than those of Raymond Robert Joseph Brinkley. Totally blind and deaf since childhood he was one of the 75 graduates in a class of 1,000 students at whom St. John's University of Brooklyn, New York, conferred the Bachelor of Arts degree "with highest honors." He is believed to be the first person with this double disability to earn a university degree since the world-renowned Helen Keller graduated in 1904.

The son of a steel worker, he has been to a work of darkness and silence since suffering an attack of meningitis at the age of five. All that Brinkley has learned has been through his sense of touch. Many able and devoted guides have taught him to read lips with his finger tips to master the manual alphabet, which carries words through varying pressures on the hand and in read braille.

In this way he completed a secondary school course in an institution for those who are deaf and blind, became expert in several handicrafts and earned a scholarship that enabled him to enter St. John's University.

At his side when he graduated was his classmate and companion, John J. Spauld. Because of the time he had spent transcribing and because into the manual alphabet and transcribing letters onto lips braille for his friend, Spauld was obliged to postpone his own graduation until next year. Thus the two plan to devote their lives to aiding the blind and deaf.

Obtained from American Manufacturers, dated 1934 July, 1934, published by the United States Information Service, 5, Queen's Road, Bombay.)

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HARIJAN

Aug 12

1939

MINIMUM WAGES AND DEMOCRACY

For the first time in our country there is an attempt to regulate minimum wages. Although it is now more than two years since the Minimum Wages Act was brought into force, the Provincial Governments have not found it possible to implement the provisions of the Act.

To fix the minimum wage the Government is launching out on a most elaborate survey to find out the conditions of the workers. This procedure becomes necessary under the western methods of work and payment. That is not a humanitarian system but one in which the employer seeks to put with as little as he can out of the total production. Minimum wage calculated on this basis is always a bone of contention. It leads to industrial disputes and ill-feeling, hatred and jealousy between capital and labour. The result is that the labourer strives to give as little as he can and demands as much as he thinks he wants. This system is based on violence. Therefore what is called for is to fix the minimum wage at a level as low as to secure the animal needs of the worker which should be calculated on the basis of a balanced diet for the whole year, adequate clothing and sufficient shelter. While calculating in this manner, the oft-repeated slogan of "capacity to pay" does not arise. If an industry is not capable of paying its workers sufficient to keep their body and soul together on a reasonable standard that industry can have no claim for existence. If such an industry is injurious to the national interest it should be subordinated by the State so as to provide a minimum return of our contribution to the workers. Capacity to pay can be a factor in our consideration only where losses are to be paid over and above the minimum wage.

We are glad to notice that the Central Labour Advisory Board which met lately in Delhi have decided that the benefit of the law should be extended to agricultural labour also by March 1941. This is a logical step as agriculture is the foundation of all our economic life. It is unthinkable that such a glorious section of our life should be based on exploitation. To fix minimum wages in organized industries without regulating the return that the agricultural labour gets is to build the house upside down. All industries in the final analysis depend on the earth for their raw materials, but today owing to the prevalence of money economy minimum wages in centralized industries are fixed not on the cost of agricultural products but empirically. The budget of the worker largely consists of the cost of agricultural products and, therefore, it is imperative that the cost of agricultural pro-

duction should be fixed first and wages determined afterwards. At the present time there is no data at all regard to agricultural costs. Even agricultural labour conditions are hardly known. What is done is to prepare an index of the prices of certain articles in the industrial sector which are commonly consumed by workers and thereby to determine the price of agricultural products with reference to old prices that prevailed during a past year which is considered as normal. Under such circumstances there is no reality in war, competition.

As a consequence of all this agricultural labour today is practically starved. They get hardly enough nourishment to make up even the energy they expend. In many places all over our country conditions of near slavery exist. A landless labourer may borrow from his landlord a paddy loan of about Rs 25/- to Rs 50/- and this will bind him to his lender till he repays, which may mean a lifetime slavery. Such a person would get gravel once a day and some clothing at Deepavali while his wife and children will have to find their keep on similar terms either with the same landlord or elsewhere. In the end they eat there is hardly any nourishment. Hence they have no resistance against diseases and the children grow up emaciated. Can such a population work and produce enough to feed the nation? The Government is very nervous of attempts made by others to improve the conditions of such people. They fear that making labour conscious of its primary needs will effect the presentment plan. Is this a programme to feed the well-to-do at the cost of the proletarian? Such a policy is a short-sighted one and will not serve its purpose in the long run.

Justice and fair play have some humanitarian considerations require that those who produce food should first be fed adequately and when any surplus is found that alone should be available to feed others. This minimum that is to be given to the labourer should be a first charge and would become the minimum wage. In fixing it there can be no limitations and no outside consideration should deviate us from the right path. Unfortunately, at the present time, both the powers that be and the vested interests in land are literally taking the bread out of the mouths of these hapless millions. Any attempt to eradicate these conditions is opposed by the Government with all their might. About the same time as the Central Labour Advisory Board was deciding to extend to agricultural labour the provisions of the Minimum Wages Act, the Magistrate of Madhura Taluk was busy passing a prohibitory order banning the attendance of five or more persons in Uttaradi Palka. This is calculated to subvert the interests of landless and prevent disputes with their tenants regarding the lease and mortgage terms and the execution of existing programs. It is charged that the order has been passed to maintain public tranquillity and to help the grievance-

food campaign." Is the Government so ignorant of human psychology that it does not understand that such procedures can only lead to bitterness and division amongst the village people, which will not be conducive to contentment and consequent better production? This kind of brawling without understanding the human aspect of the question only opens the roads of a revolution. We hope water channels will prevail.

They tell us "agriculture does not pay." Which industry will pay if the owner draws 80 per cent of the gross yield? In some places the landlords get up to 15 per cent even. In all organised industries no proprietor ever draws on the basis of total turnover or the amount of sales. In the best of industries the gross profit will be hardly ever over 10 per cent and the net profit, after paying all expenses will be, naturally, a fraction of it. Here we see clearly the reason why there is little or nothing left to pay land labour. We have to place agriculture on a business basis. Then the avaricious landlords are not willing to do. Even the highest government functionary has the audacity to say, "If we work out agricultural costs we cannot have any profitment." As though that is a valid reason why agricultural labour should be so low-paid and starved? A capitalist says, "If you raise agricultural wages who will come to work in industries?" So both ways agriculture is left. If the economically ignorant farmers are given the anomaly of the situation Government "come in with a prophetic order" is the air-bred demerology and social justice?

J. C. KUMARAPPA

HINDI-HINDUSTANI CONTROVERSY AGAIN

A correspondent from Baramitshi reports that teachers of the Hindustani Pradesh Sabha were advised by a prominent jurist and office-holder that the Constitution of India had once for all buried Hindustani and declared in favour of Sanskrit-based Hindi. When his attention was drawn to the reference to Hindustani in the Constitution, he said that they should trust him in the interpretation of the law. This has created a stir among Hindustani teachers of Baramitshi.

It is regrettable to find that recently the Hindi-Hindustani controversy is being revived in its offensive form in Bombay and Madras. It is further regrettable that it is encouraged by people in responsible positions. It was expected that after the laying down of an agreed formula in the Constitution about the name, structure and scope of the national language, all institutions engaged in propagating the national language in areas where it is not the mother-tongue of the people and all writers of the national language would settle down to spread the language and develop the literature, if not in some common form, at least in a form which

they prefer, without running down one another. The national language of India must be conceived of as a mighty ocean, in which hundreds of rivers and creeks can pour their treasures without making it too full or foul. It need not say 'no' to any contributor, and should not make itself dependent upon any one source, however great. There is as much scope for lovers and admirers of Sanskrit to enrich Hindi, as for those of Arabic, Persian, English, or any of the Dravidian and Adivasi languages. The various spoken languages and dialects of other provinces would make their contributions also. Some of the contributions may be short-lived and fail to become current; some might become the immovable content. The Constitution has laid down in definite terms

"The duty of the Union is to develop the language of Hindi so as to serve as a medium of expression for all the demands of the composite culture of India and to secure its enrichment by assimilating without interfering with its genius, the forms, styles and expressions used in Hindustani and in the other languages of India, and drawing whenever necessary or desirable for its vocabulary, primarily on Sanskrit and completely on other languages."

But even if the Constitution had done nothing of the kind, no other result was possible, unless the Government of India became a Purist organisation run by a party of Pesh-Sanskritists. This stage, however short its duration, is not altogether unlikely in the future that lies before us. But, so far as I can see, it would have to bring into play all such methods of repression and torture as were once used by Peshis to prevent Shudras from hearing the Peshi, now for the opposite purpose, namely for uttering words of non-Sanskrit origin. In the interest of Hindi itself and also of Sanskrit, the protagonists of Sanskritised Hindi would do well to observe restraint in their speech. No one can deprive Sanskrit of its due place in the development of Hindi. And it will necessarily be the place of honour. But elaboration of Hindustani or other styles might create a reaction detrimental to the name of both Hindi and Sanskrit.

A word to Hindustani workers. There is no need for them to feel disheartened by hearing remarks of adverse politicians, however great their position or influence in the Government. They need not worry even about the interpretation of the Constitution. Languages are not made by legal enactments alone, and by administrators and interpreters of law. They are made primarily by the people and secondarily by popular writers. Law comes last. Namdev and Tukaram were no grammarians and scholars, nor were Akho, Bhago, Dnyanesh and others. But if their languages and styles have become current, grammarians and scholars have to work grammars which will decline their usages as having been in conformity with the genius of the language. Gargesh scholars of 1930 thought

that Gandhiji's Gujarati style was known Gujarati scholars of 1850 now study it for getting their M.A. and doctorate degrees, and will sit with one another to find its beauties. Even his original Hindi writings will some day have the status of a 'Bible'. Let them therefore sit down to produce literature, which the people must read and study and, if possible, enjoy while doing so. The language which they write will become the standard language whatever legal, political or commercial position might say.

Indeed if we are serious about creating a national language for all-India, there are more important things to do than the mere naming of new and difficult words from Sanskrit in place of commonly used Hindustani, Persian or Prakrit ones. Speaking is as important as writing the national language. If the pronunciations and modes of script writing take different styles from province to province even the same language becomes difficult to follow in speech and to decipher in writing. Hindi is being propagated all over India for the last quarter of a century or more. It is taught through Devanagari. But has any attention been paid to ensure that the Assamese, the Bengali, the Punjabi, the Bihari, and the South and West Indians—all have similar pronunciations of the Hindi they speak, and similar ways of writing the Devanagari they write? It is possible to say from the handwriting of the scribe what province he belongs to. And it is often difficult to decipher the Devanagari of some of these provinces. In particular North Indians write their Devanagari as if it was a script written by those who were habituated to write the Urdu script. Generally it is as negligently, inelegantly and halfheartedly written as hurried scribbles of Urdu. It is only Maharashtra which teaches careful and elegant shaping of Devanagari letters.

The pronunciations also vary from province to province. Except in Maharashtra and South India, great attention is paid to the purity of pronunciation even of the mother-tongue. But these provinces (as also Gujarat) pronounce Hindi not as the Hindi speak, and so they mispronounce it. It is so, because they do not hear it spoken by Hindi, and the pronunciation of some letters in Hindi and Sanskrit differ. Faulty pronunciations and negligent formation of script letters lead to mistakes in the written language also. If those who work in the cause of Hindi will study these problems, they will find less time to engage themselves in idle controversies. There is enough work for half a dozen independent institutions like the Rashtra Bhasha Parishad, Hindustani Pracheer and other Sabhas to do for the development of the National Language, without quarrelling with one another. Indeed they can co-operate in some of the lines of work.

Varanasi, 21-5-50

R. G. JAINPURIWALA.

TAMILNAD CONSTRUCTIVE WORKERS CONFERENCE

[The following are some of the resolutions passed at the above conference on 12/5/50.]

Resolution 4. Resolved that the Tamilnad Constructive Workers' Association be formed into the Tamilnad Rural Area Sangha and that the Provincial Constructive Workers' Association and Institutions take its interests to be added to this Rural Area Sangha.

Resolved further that K. M. Arunachalam be requested to promote the formation of this Sangha.

Resolution 5. That the sugar and jaggery mills exploit the economy of our village life spent from absorbing adversely the health of our people, this Conference resolves that Congress Committees and Constructive Workers' Associations and Institutions should mobilise public opinion for the closing of hand-operated rice paddy and hand ground oil and also request the Government through resolutions passed in public meetings not to permit the installation of new mills or the renovation of old ones. This Conference also resolves that it will organise the boycott, strike and non-cooperation by the Government and banks and industries controlled by the Government. Workers' Associations and village panchayats like hand-powered rice, groundnut oil and jaggery should be used.

In order to prevent the hand-operating of rice this Conference requests the Government to repeal the sugar and Tobacco or Hand-powered Rice.

This Conference notes that in the villages chosen by the Government for development work, the mills are not allowed to operate, but are allowed in the neighbourhood towns thereby defeating the very purpose of their action. This Conference resolves therefore that no mill should be allowed to function in the neighbourhood of such villages.

Resolution 6. That Constructive workers and the Government be requested:

- (1) to give recognition to technical education.
- (2) that more hostels be opened to absorb the increasing number of technical students.
- (3) that in order that the efficiency of hostels schools may not suffer, no more than twenty-five students be given in the charge of an inspector and that the inspectors should be held responsible to see to the efficiency and full output of the craft work in the schools.
- (4) that only those trained in basic education should be permitted to be the inspectors of basic schools.
- (5) that the Government should not open any more old type training schools or give recognition to such schools opened by private agencies and that all places where basic schools and basic training schools are opened the old type of schools should either be transformed into basic schools or closed down.
- (6) that in basic training schools facilities for the acquisition craft be also provided.
- (7) that basic training for basic schools be published without delay.

This Conference feels that the above measures are necessary to promote basic education in the province.

Resolution 7. This Conference requests the Congress and constructive workers to work for the improvement of the lot of Harijans in our villages as many of whom are leading agricultural labourers forced to be slave-like dependents upon landlords. This Conference requests the Congress and constructive workers to work vigorously for bringing into practical application the legislation of the Government giving equal rights to Harijans to own wells, tanks, post offices, basic panchayats, roads, and also to discharge Harijans from such handicrafts and industrial practices as selling cotton seed,

Resolution F. Since the constructive workers of Hindustan struggle daily to see a rural university opened in Hindustan in the near future, this Conference constitutes a sub-committee with Shri B. Aravamudan as convenor and Shri R. N. Balakrishna, Narayanaiah and Dr. Aravamudan as members to write out the details and to enter the necessary steps with the Government in this connection.

Discussion of F. This Conference realizes in full the importance and need of constructive workers to face the problems of agricultural labour. But this Conference feels that more effort should be made to collect and compile statistics regarding this question. In order to formulate a plan to solve the problems of labour in all several parts of Hindustan in a uniform way this Conference appoints a sub-committee consisting of Shri S. Agastya Rao, Shri R. N. Balakrishna and Dr. P. V. Gird and requests them to submit a report to this Conference within three months. It is the opinion of this Conference that a programme for the control of the land problem should be formulated in the light of the report of this committee.

SERVICE OF THE DEFECTIVES

Shri Ishwari Lal Mehta, the writer of the following letter, is deaf and dumb from his childhood, but has been fortunate to receive education in India and abroad. He selected as his wife a lady suffering from the same incapacity, but intelligent and fairly trained. Both of them are now able to follow our speech from the movement of our lips and speak with some difficulty. Both of them are anxious to serve people with similar defects. Shri Mehta complained to me that under the rules framed under the Constitution of India, the deaf and dumb, and the blind did not enjoy the adult franchise, and that this injustice should be removed. I made inquiries and was glad to be informed by the Government of India that no such legal disability attached to these defectives. I communicated it to Shri Mehta. Shri Mehta now writes:

"I come with interest, being a deaf and dumb man, that the deaf and dumb person is not disqualified but the purpose of being registered as a voter under the act is of no account. This right though nominal and far reaching falls short of our basic requirements.

"A normal person is offered free education and he can help himself as a citizen willing to participate in the civic and national life. He can get his living in a number of ways and even if he is not actually earning his life is looked after by his relations. Also, in the present crisis of Indian society, a normal person, provided he has a solid mass of material gifts, can look after himself and can satisfy his every-day wants.

"The deaf and dumb and in many respects the blind are on a different footing. Hearing is an intimate sense, because his many difficulties and keeps him in touch with the society he is living in, provided he comes to do so. But a man who cannot hear is a burden to society, if he is ignorant and uneducated.

"A totally deaf person, if he is not educated, becomes dumb, neglected and finally of no account unless he is enabled to communicate his thoughts to people around in a way which is intelligible to them. A main principal means of communication are speech and writing. For a man who can speak writing is not so important. But a man who cannot speak and hear lives all carried with life if he cannot read or write.

"Thus I hope you will agree with me that the right of voting is meaningless to a deaf and dumb person, if he is at the census roll or write. Literacy is a handicapped deaf and dumb person (see footnote) absolutely necessary.

"Another difficulty that an adult deaf and dumb faces in his problem of livelihood. Probably some kind training might help him in activities allowed to him.

"It was with a dual purpose of procuring facilities of literacy and vocational training for the unfortunate deaf and dumb that I approached the Government of Bombay more than a year back. The Government is sympathetic but evidently unable to do much. In India, it seems the only has succeeded in obtaining public sympathy and cooperation and many public institutions are in the field. While extending our sincere gratitude to those who have taken up the cause of the blind, we feel the deaf and dumb should also be looked after.

"There are very few institutions established in this province for the benefit of the deaf and dumb, and some of these that are established are more the paternalistic than for the education of these defectives. It is the business of the State to provide adequate facilities in this regard. Such facilities should include not merely compulsory primary education but the secondary and the higher education as well and also vocational training which would enable these unfortunate to take up a living for themselves. For this purpose Government should set up a Committee to consider the present position of the existing schools for the defectives and ways and means to improve them. And steps to the methods of learning the blind and the deaf we are too backward in India as compared to the western countries, steps should be taken and surely for the establishment of institutions for the training of teachers for these defectives, but also an advertisement of some training should be targeted to America and other advanced western countries for studying the methods of teaching adopted in those countries."

I endorse Shri Mehta's case. The service of defectives among whom might be included not only the blind and the deaf and dumb, but also persons wanting in manual limbs (the hands and legs, and those suffering from deformities like the hunchback can justifiably be regarded as an item of the constructive programme.

But it is too much to expect that governments can initiate all such manual services experimentally. These are activities of a non-sensory type. They have to be initiated and in the main carried on by persons, who have dedicated their lives to a cause and are determined to serve it unto single-handedly with such resources as might be available to them. Philanthropists and governments begin to take interest after such self-sacrificed servants have organized them to a certain degree. But even when governments take up the responsibility, they would always need the services of workers who have dedicated themselves to the cause out of pure love. If Shri and Shriemati Mehta and other educated defectives and their friends make the service of the defectives the mission of their life, I believe governments and philanthropists would also contribute their aid liberally. I understand that the Government of India have already done some work in this matter.

Varanasi, 12-7-39

K. C. BHAKTAVATSALA

WHY IS THERE MUSLIM HATE?

In your article of 24th May 1959, you have mentioned many reasons to show why non-Muslims hate Muslims. But you must be aware that Muslims do not hate (or rather I should say dislike) all non-Muslims as strongly as they do Muslims. Will you not say it is so? Surely there must be something very wrong with the Muslims to deserve it.

There is no doubt that bigotry, fanaticism and intolerance accompanied with outrageous conduct towards Hindu women and the slaughter of the cow, particularly during wars and communal riots, are important reasons for these lasting enmities. These are grave moral and social defects, which have grossly accompanied the Crescent and the Star, in the same way as the wine bottle and imperialism have accompanied the Cross.

This is the dark side of the Muslim. But there was also another reason which, although it was in his mind also, adversely affected the privileges and vested interests of the upper-class Hindus and made them regard the Muslims as their particular enemy. The lower Hindu class found its liberation from subordination to upper classes by embracing Islam. It freed it considerably, if not completely, from a hundred religious and semi-religious practices and superstitions, caste and social subordination and almost politico-economic slavery to the upper class. The upper class then lost its control over the convert. Backed by political protection for a long period in the beginning, the convert got a wider aperture in his unswerving loyalty and became strong enough to assist the tyranny of the upper-class Hindu, who gradually ruled the society in the economic sphere. How strong and tyrannical this control must have been in the past ages can be imagined from what still prevails in the villages. The process of being the religious, political and economic lord by the Mahopani Grahman, Rajput and Pandya paragonatri continued with the advent of Islam, and so their dislike of the Muslim was natural. This may be compared to the dislike of Labour and Proletarian movements by the landlord and capitalist class. There are three religious, moral, political, social and economic reasons for the ill-feeling. For restoration of goodwill, the ordinary Muslim must shed his fanaticism and improve his moral conduct. At the same time Hindus must give up thinking in terms of high and low, accept the lowest status as equal in moral status to the master of the Friar and allow him to stay in his neighbourhood and share with him the same table and set of vessels in bottle and the same well in the village. He must relinquish his customary right to treat the artisan and the Harjan as a semi-slave and a sub-human being not entitled to dance and move about in the same way as himself.

There is a curious paradox in this connection. The thoughtful and really good Muslims and Jaks are often quite generous, noble-minded, of high moral character, and free from intolerance, the bigotry and narrow-mindedness is spread among the masses and their ignorant masters and learned demagogues. But in Hindustan, whether of the Friar, Jain, Sikh or any other denomination, bigotry and intolerance are qualities which are developed with devotion to and scholarship of books, and tolerance and goodwill are the qualities of the masses.

It was the fact that intense and deep study of Hindu scriptures should develop the lowest kind of narrow-mindedness as the superficial acquaintance of the Quran, while want of deep learning of the classics or their acquaintance through the lips of devotees only should keep the Hindu enlightened, broad-brained and open to rational thinking as if he were a Jaki, a subject which demands our very serious consideration! The Muslim is hated partly because there are undoubtedly some grave drawbacks in the training imparted to him in the name of Islam and partly because it attacks the evil which obstinately persists in Hindustan, despite of its Buddha, Mahavi, Jesus, Kafir and others and in spite of its Vedas. Upon that evil rest the privileges of the upper classes.

Wardha, 22.5.59

R. G. MANNIVALLA

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TWO ANNAS

PROSECUTING METHODS

I have more than once received complaints against the prosecuting methods adopted by some of the Roman Catholic institutions of India. About two years ago I had heard unfortunately about the ways adopted by their priests and workers among the adherents of Madhya Pradesh. A few months ago, a worker in North Gujarat reported to me a case in which a father had placed his children in a Convent school far away in another province. He had received undesirable reports about his children's progress and suspected that they were systematically tutored so as to bring about their ultimate conversion to Christianity. He found difficulties in communicating them and the Convent authorities even refused to hand over the children to their parents when they wanted to withdraw them from the school.

Recently I have received a pamphlet and letters from a Hindu merchant of Bombay. Though himself an orthodox Hindu, he desired to educate his son in Missionary institutions, while the boy was still a child. Preference to the English language being regarded by many as the road of good education and a sure passport to prosperity in the world, the parents with means enough to spend lavishly upon the education of their children, often prefer Mission schools and boarding houses run by European teachers to those run by their own countrymen. And so this boy was brought up in several Missionary schools and finally in one or another of the institutions of the Spanish St. Xavier's Mission in Bombay. It appears that the father did not see now and again that the boy's religious ideas were leaning towards Christianity and that he had been developing a dislike for the religion of his forefathers under the influence of certain Jesuit contacts. He protested against this with the Spanish Mission authorities more than once, but was satisfied at the time with, according to him, the assurances given by them, and so continued to keep the boy under the same educational influence until he had finished his University education. By this time the boy had fully imbibed and mentally accepted the Christian faith in its most intransigent European form and even after passing his school examinations he continued to visit the European Jesuit

Fathers in the school. The father noticed this, felt worried and tried to save the situation by carrying on simultaneous correspondence with the boy's Jesuit teachers and governors and the Catholic Lord Bishop of Bombay. It appears that the father was too late to believe that the boy would not be baptised before the completion of 21 years of age. But it was discovered later that before attaining the age of 21 years, he was baptised on a morning without the knowledge of his father. The baptism took place in a distant church, far from the boy's home and away from direct Jesuit or Jesuit influence.

When he discovered later that the boy had been actually baptised while the correspondence was going on, he felt highly outraged. While all the time preparations were going on to baptise the boy and even after it had taken place the fact had been concealed from him by every one concerned. He came to know of it through sources other than his son, the Jesuit Fathers and the Bishop of Bombay. He complained to the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Bombay and to the Chief Minister of Bombay about this concealment and asked them to investigate the matter thoroughly. It appears that none of them were sufficiently impressed to take the complaint seriously and so nothing came out of it.

Meanwhile the boy continued to stay with the father, but did not feel quite comfortable under his roof, and desired to establish himself separately. So with the help of his religious patron he sought out an employers with the American Jesuit Mission in Palma. They secured this for him ostensibly on the condition that he obtained his father's permission to accept it. The son asked for this permission, but the father refused it. The father's permission was hardly a legal necessity and the condition was perhaps laid down only in order to show that the religious advisers had always acted in a manner that was above board. But since the father's response was not favourable, the condition appears to have been waived. The service was secured and the son left for Palma, in spite of the father's refusal.

The disappointed parent has now published the whole story and correspondence in pamphlet form. He has also written to me

personally stating what his grievance is. The following are relevant extracts from it:

"He [my son] was induced out of my house by the missionaries who misinterpreted his intention to Christianity. I do possess the right of my son to his way of thinking after he attained majority. But as you will notice the missionaries did not keep their word with me and the missionary persuaded his sister against Hinduism and Hindu gods when he was a minor."

"After my son became a Christian, I did not pick up any quarrel with my son, nor do I propose to do so today or any day in the future. I allowed him a separate separate room in the house if he chose. And I repeatedly requested him not to leave the house — . . . (insisting) that God would be all complete thing to follow the path he had chosen."

"I did not appeal to the Chief Minister for revocation of my son to the Hindu faith. I can be no judge of my son. But I went to the Chief Minister to put an investigation into the conduct of the Jewish Fathers, who betrayed me and my confidence."

"The [the Chief Minister] passed on my communication for departmental disposal. (The Departmental reply) tells me that Mr. Woodhouse's [is] the use of propaganda cannot be attributed to the proselyting activities carried out by St. Xavier's. On a man like me, it only means that the St. Xavier's are busy on proselyting activities. On the face, let them sleep a bit!"

Conversion will always take place, and also the efforts to convert others to one's own way of thinking. They arise from the inherent germ of earnestness in man. An earnest soul will seek new light, and, when he feels that he has obtained something very good, he will try to implant it in others. The end in the kind of activity arises when soul is mistaken for earnestness and is rewarded by the number of conversions made and expresses itself in a planned scheme. If the story given by the Hindu narrator is true, it is not an instance of earnestness on the part of the Jewish Fathers, but of a planned plot. It cannot be an earnest effort on the part of proselytizers when there is suppression of facts and adoption of camouflage devices and scheming.

At the same time, parents of the type of the Hindu gentlemen have to thank themselves for such consequences as above. It is clear that there was considerable negligence on the part of the father. He kept his son in the same environment, even after he found what shape the son's mind was taking. If a parent is earnest about his own religion, he must either carefully provide for it in his own home, or effect an invitation where this is done to his satisfaction. It should be remembered that even if parents have lost all earnestness about religious matters and practice of noble virtues, intelligent, sensitive and well-behaved children will normally be quite earnest in everything they study—whether it is religion, a language or a branch of science, or work, or play. They will take to it earnestly and accept

in faith whatever their teachers tell them about it. This will be particularly so, when the teacher is lively and kind and a man of sterling virtues, and has impressive and winning manners.

Most urbanized Hindus, even when they see in their own behaviour ritualistically religious and orthodox, have been, during the last century or more, altogether indifferent to a religious upbringing of their children. Parents do not care whether their children get any religious training at all, and if they do, whether it is also consistent with their own faith or approved by them, all that they care for is that the children should receive good education in languages, mathematics and other mundane subjects. But it is better that a child should be brought up in a truly religious atmosphere under the direct care of a teacher of noble character, even if his religion is different from the child's than that it should have no religious training at all at its tender age.

Such cases will happen now and again. It is a conflict between different ways of thinking, and is a part of the process of the general breaking up and rebuilding of human society, which is going on all over the world. Religion will necessarily play its part in it. But if peaceful relations among the followers of different religions is to be ensured, proselytization methods must be carefully controlled and the zeal for bringing in many people into one's own fold as possible must abate. Such should not be the motive behind missionary service. Let me remind the missionaries what Gandhi said at the Missionary Conference at Madras on 14-2-1904:

"If there is any substance in what I have said, will not the great missionary bodies of India to whom she owes a deep debt of gratitude for what they have done and are doing, do still better and serve the spirit of Christianity better by dropping the goal of proselytizing while continuing their philanthropic work?"

—Gandhi at Khadi, p. 4.

At the same time, parents must not send their children to boardings etc. of other religions, unless they are prepared to face the possible consequences of doing so. There seems to be a notion among some that since India is a secular State, no religious instruction can be imparted in any of its public institutions, even if they are run by the people of a particular denomination, and that the Government must not recognize or help them. This is not correct. Education without any religious instruction is of little value. But it should be instruction of one's own religion and not slender or frivolous comparison of other religions. And in this respect the followers of other religions have much to learn from Hindus. During the course of not less than three or four thousand years Hindu society has witnessed several major and minor religious conflicts, and has found wholesome lessons from it. They have evolved a society in

which its members are accustomed to live among persons believing in scores of different religious sects, and have learnt to regard party and party of mind as more important than allegiance to a particular deity or teacher. The zeal for proselytization, therefore, never appeals to them and is particularly abhorrent if it results in breaking up homes, and the convert member is not satisfied with following his new creed but indulges in ridiculing that of others, or behaving at the time of their religious rites in a way which will give them offence.

I know that a good many devout Christians honestly believe that the soul of even a unarily man will not be saved unless he accepts and acknowledges Jesus Christ as his saviour. They, therefore, consider it to be their duty to impress upon the mind of every non-Christian the importance of this necessity. It is as difficult to dislodge them from this belief as to dislodge Saurashtrians from their various beliefs about untouchability, inter-casting, intermarriage etc. But honest beliefs are not necessarily correct. And some of our deeply-held honest beliefs have to be re-examined in the light of further knowledge.

It is also necessary to add that the difficulties created by conversion are more due to the social cleavage brought about by it than by the change of terms of denomination and worship. If the secular love and social customs are common for all, irrespective of religion, it would be possible for a Hindu, a Muslim, a Christian and a Sikh to live together in the same social group, even as it is possible in Gujarat and Saurashtra for Shabars, Vahnias, Jains and Arya Samajists to inter-dine, inter-marry and live together. It is the different secular laws associated with different religions that contribute to the creation of hostilities.

Wardha, 28-8-59 E. G. HANDEWALLA

PS. It is necessary to add that from my correspondence with the Lord Bishop of Bombay I do not think that he can be blamed for the fact that the conversion had already taken place when the father was in correspondence with him. Until I had pointed out even the father had not realized that his first letter to the Bishop bore the same date on which his son was baptised. The Bishop assures me that he signed the necessary papers for baptism in the usual course of official duties and did not realize or suspect that he had become a party to the baptism of a person about whom there was or might be a complaint. On receipt of the father's letter, he lost all time in replying to him and invited him for an interview. The father, however, was not in a mood to see him and carried on an inconclusive correspondence for a while. Thus neither the Bishop nor the father knew that the boy had already been baptised before the first letter of the father had been delivered to the Bishop.

E. G. H.

Second PS. When I wrote the above I scarcely had a complete idea of the extreme form of the zeal of the Catholics for conversion. Sri Odharan Balchand sends me a copy of a recent letter received by him from his son. The following sentence occurs therein:

"They have to convert Indian youths because Christ has told them to make the whole world Catholic and that he will help them to the end of the world. And the end of the world will come only when there is 'One fold and one Shepherd', i.e., when the whole world is Catholic."

It is clear that the above belief was instilled into the young man's mind, while he was still a child and unable to think rationally. If his mental and moral growth has not ceased, some day he is bound to realize that the belief instilled in him is irrational.

It appears that "One World" is now the common goal of all mankind. The difference of opinion is only with regard to "the fold and the Shepherd". Catholics offer one, Communists another, Azerbaijanis a third. There are also others. (Jains had certainly offered once. I do not know if it has since withdrawn from the fold.) Buddhism is also one. And, then, of course, we stand by our Gandhism, and urge it as the only solution for mankind.

Unfortunately many of them hold quite opposite views. How is the poor humanity to decide, which really is true? So the safe rule is that every one may hold to his belief very sincerely and no harm can come from such various and even contradictory beliefs, if every one agreed to adopt the golden mean—truth and non-violence—to achieve an end. Since some of the religious conflict mutually, friction is bound to arise at some stage. Satyagraha, or resistance through self-suffering, must be the ultimate solution for meeting it, and not war, fraud, deception etc.

If the world is not going to be saved until it accepts Christ of the Catholic creed, Allah of the Moslem creed, Marx of the Soviet creed, or Gandhi of either the Congress or the Sardarsaheb creed, the adherent of each creed must feel confident that the world will realize the truth some day and accept it willingly. If those who swear by it are perfect examples of their creed,

Wardha, 2-9-59

E. G. H.

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1950

MUSLIMS OF AGODIYA

Shri Akhaya Dashmchari is a Shrivasthavadi of Agodiya. He is also a secretary of the Panchab District Congress Committee, and a member of the Uttar Pradesh Provincial Congress Committee, and is well known to the leaders of U.P. as an earnest worker. Panchab and Agodiya are adjacent to each other, in fact, practically they constitute one town and have a common municipality. Since 1949, or a little earlier, this place has disturbed Hindu-Muslim cordiality in a regrettable manner, in which the Muslims have been subjected to much injustice by the Hindus. Shri Akhaya Dashmchari and Shri Siddhicharanisingh (the President of the Town Congress Committee) and a few other workers are very much distressed about it. At one stage (January 1950) when the situation did not improve even after their best efforts, Shri Akhaya Dashmchari undertook a fast as a last resort. The fast lasted from 30th January to 31st February when it was given up on the U.P. Home Minister's assurance that he would do the needful.

Shri Akhaya complains that there has been no inquiry nor the redress of grievances which should have followed the assurance. The situation remains as propound as it was; in fact, it has worsened and been made more difficult for the Muslims in future. Therefore, Shri Akhaya is again worried, and he has announced his intention to go on a fast again from August 22.

The following are the main facts of the case according to Shri Akhaya Dashmchari:-

There is an Agodiya mosque known as Bahari Masjid. It is about 425 years old. Some people believe that the mosque was built on the site and out of materials of a temple of Rama, which was deliberately destroyed by the then Muslim rulers. It is difficult to say what element of truth there is in this story. There is a burial ground near this mosque. On 15th November 1949, Shri Akhaya learnt that the tombs in this burial ground were being dug out. He himself went to the spot and saw this work in process. In the middle of this graveyard there was a foundation known among the Muslims as Kurah Masjid. A platform was being raised on its site. The Muslims were full of fear. Under section 144 Cr. Pro. Code, they made a petition to the City Magistrate to stop this injustice, but no action was taken on it. Shri Akhaya saw the District Magistrate personally in private and talked things over with him. This led to a curious result. Two days later, on the night of the 15th, three men entered his house and made an attack on him. From what they said, Shri

Akhaya found that they knew what had transpired between him and the District Magistrate in private. Ultimately section 144 of the Cr. Pro. Code was promulgated, but it was used only for preventing the Muslims from going to the place. The Hindus could go freely.

The digging of the tombs was followed by a programme of creating the Ramogana for nine days at that place. This in turn, was followed for some days by feasting and distribution of food in front of the Bahari Masjid. Propaganda was carried on for this purpose through loud-speakers installed on trees and motor-cars proclaiming that the birthplace of Rama was being repaired and people should visit it for darshan. People went in hundreds. Speeches were delivered telling the people that the Bahari Masjid was to be converted into a Rama-mandir. Government officials attended the revellations of the Ramogana. Some more old tombs and holy places were demolished and the idols of Hindu gods were installed in their places. The people thought that all this was being done with the sanction of the Government and must therefore be in order.

Thereafter, at 9 a.m. on December 28, 1949, the District Magistrate intimated to Shri Akhaya that having received information at six o'clock in the morning through a named person that an idol of Rama had been placed in the Bahari Masjid during the night, he himself had visited the place and seen it. This was surprising since section 144 was in force and while the police pickets, who were guarding the place, did not know of what had taken place inside, an outsider had come to know about it at as early as 6 a.m. The District Magistrate did not consider it necessary to inquire how this could happen. Nor did he have the idol removed without loss of time. Till 12 in the noon that day there were only a few men present at the place and had he meant it, the removal of the idol could have been easily effected. But this was not done. Next day it was again announced on the loud speakers that Bhagwan (God) had manifested Himself in the Bahari Masjid and people were invited to go there for darshan. And again crowds and exciting speeches followed. Gandhi Congress Governments and Jaiswalais were resigned. The speakers said that there was not a temple left in Pakistan and so in Agodiya too they should allow no masjid or burial ground to remain. Even some old Congressmen participated in this exciting propaganda. The argument was: A people's government had been established in Bharat. This meant that what the majority liked must happen. Since 85 per cent of the population of Agodiya did not like the existence of a mosque there, no one could now remove the idol from that place. Even some members of the Congress party in the Legislative Assembly indulged in this kind of irresponsible talk. Afterwards an order was passed under section 145 Cr. Pro. Code, the worship of the idol was

continued and the Muslims were ordered to refrain from offering reasons in that respect until a competent court had pronounced its decision on the dispute. The position is that it is now for the Magistrate to establish their right, the burden of a lingering litigation has been laid on them.

Another incident is as follows:

A certain Mussalman was the proprietor of a restaurant named "Star Hotel". The informer, who has been referred to above, informed the Collector one day that there were some hidden in that hotel. A search was made but nothing of the kind was recovered. Four men were found on the premises. One of them was from Sukkapur. He had come to this hotel to purchase liquor. He was arrested under Section 189 Cr. P. Code. He was released later on. The District Magistrate ordered the proprietor of the hotel to vacate it and actually got it vacated in his own presence there and then. Later, possession of the shop was given to another person, who started his own concern in it, and called it "Ganesh Hotel". Its opening ceremony was performed by the District Judge himself, other Government officials being also present. It is said that the proprietor of the "Star Hotel" is an old nationalist Muslim and at one time had been boycotted by League-Muslims for his nationalist views. This is mentioned just to show that what had happened was not attributable to any grievance against that man on account of his previous participation in anti-Hindu activities. He took legal proceedings and succeeded; but, even then, he has not been able to obtain possession of the shop as far.

The third incident is worse on account of the callousness behind it. A Muslim woman had died. There are several burial grounds in Ayodhya. Her relatives commenced to dig the ground for her burial in a nearby graveyard but some Hindus would not let them do so. The relations went to the City Magistrate. It was the duty of the Magistrate to have helped them. Instead, he said, since the Hindus objected to the burial on that ground, they had better go to another. They complied and went elsewhere, but another batch of Hindus appeared on the spot and put their opposition to the burial taking place there. The City Magistrate thereupon asked them to go to a third one. In this way they had to try one burial ground after another. There was opposition even in the third graveyard. In the meanwhile the corpse had to stay stale. Ultimately after an interval of 22 hours obsequies were performed but only somewhere outside the limits of Ayodhya. Similar treatment was meted out in respect of four other corpses. An extraordinary campaign has been started to prevent Muslims from burying their corpses inside Ayodhya.

Besides these major incidents, there have been during the past year cases in which Muslims have been harassed in various ways. Lonely

way farmers were assailed, injured and even killed. At the time of the *Shah-Id* they were molested and at the last *Id* a Muslim was killed and owing to the tense atmosphere the Muslims refrained from observing the *Id*. They were attacked by mobs, and even children and women were subjected to persecution and a great number of Muslim houses were burnt. Saved Muslims were threatened to be killed. Several Muslims have sent away their families to their relatives outside Fyzabad. Even peace-workers like Shri Akshaya and others were attacked more than once and their houses looted.

Hindus contend that there should not be any looting of Muslims in Ayodhya. The use of the term *Atrocities* does not mean that Hindu masses in general approve of such activities and disputes. The general masses are so simple that they can be excited to kill Muslims today, and be equally moved to embrace them with love the next day. But a few leaders make it their business to spread hatred instead of cordiality among the people in the name of a community.

I am further told that in this Fyzabad-Ayodhya area the Hindu-Muslim tension is a problem only of recent origin, in fact less than two years old. Even in the years 1943-48, when the entire atmosphere of the country was clouded with communal passions, no communal riot had taken place at Ayodhya. But of late it has become something like a centre of communal hatred. The initial seeds sown by it has spread anti-Muslim feeling in other districts such as Agra, Mathura and Bareilly also. Such facts as these were at the root of the migrations of Muslims to Pakistan some months ago. It seems that some of the high Government officials and Congress leaders have also had their hand in these intrigues. The U. P. Government could not act promptly to prevent the activities of the Government servants and stop the injuries. On matters which were clear and public, the people should not have been made to resort to litigation by the application of section 143, and the plea of it was that while the victims of the assault were forbidden to visit the place in question, the real offenders were at liberty to do so.

In these circumstances I do not consider it unusual if the petition of Shri Akshaya is entertained. If there are any serious deviations from facts in the above narrative, showing the whole picture in a different perspective, or if it is felt that the *Brotherhood* is taking an unreasonably hasty step and that there are other causes of action which would ensure justice to Muslims, he should be so convinced. Otherwise the Government of U. P. should create confidence by actual deeds that the Muslims there are not denied justice but are accorded complete equality. I know that U. P. is not only a very large but also a very difficult State to administer. The ideas of many leaders as well as the intelligentsia of U. P. are not quite clear as to how justice is to be distinguished from appeasement and so-called rights of the majority. The province is

far more varied than others commonly and happens to include in it famous features of both Hindu and Muslim cultures. It has all the material for creating a beautiful composite culture provided there is mutual goodwill, with mutual ill-will it has also the potentiality of creating a terrible tragedy for the whole of India. The almost single-handed efforts of Shri Aishaya and some of his friends for securing justice to Muslims really do credit to them. I hope they will succeed in their efforts and the Government will deem it their duty to exert all their power to secure justice to Muslims.

In the end, a word to the Muslims of Bharat and Pakistan. It will not be right on their part to get nervous or angry on reading the above narrative. Any Muslim reading this article will do damage to his own community. It should be remembered that none of the incidents narrated above is quite fresh, and the incidents form a part of the conditions which prevailed in several parts of Bharat and Pakistan both until the Moha-Luqat Ali Post. There is nothing surprising in what has happened. The account only shows that both the Hindus and Muslims have been guilty of wicked deeds and none may call the other the greater offender. The conditions have not yet fully improved, but let it be noted that Hindu Hindu and Hindu workers who have been exposing the name of the Muslims, in the interest of justice and goodwill. Any Muslim reader, who gets excited or excites others at this, will make the task of Shri Aishaya more difficult.

Wardha (11/7/50)

K. G. MANDHAWA.

(Translated from Hindi)

Devil-Mind Children Dance to Musical Vibrations

On a specially constructed floor that is extremely sensitive to sound vibrations, children who are both deaf and blind are being taught dancing at a school for handicapped children in the United States. The floor is one of several vibrating devices being tested at the Handicapped School of the New York Institute for the Education of the Blind in New York City.

Feeling on 50 tones taken from vibrational lines and isolated from the building structure, the deaf tremulous musical vibrations from a piano to that of the tin can. With a little practice the children learn to recognize pitch and tempo teachers report. Thus they are taught to dance to the music they "hear" with their feet.

Through experiments such as this, it is considered possible that methods may be developed to enable the deaf-blind to learn to interpret sound waves of vibrations as accurately as if their hearing were undamaged, the New York Herald Tribune says.

The Institute provides free education for persons from 3 to 21 years of age. It is supported by private contributions, bequests, and funds from the Government of the State of New York. All children of the school are taught to read and write Braille. They also are taught to speak and to understand speech by feeling the vibrations of the throat with their hands. Both academic and vocational subjects are included in the curriculum.

"STANDARD OF LIVING" CULT

I think the time has come to make a fresh and wider estimate of the "standard of living" and on which Governments now lay such great stress. So far as this goes, in the great majority of cases it consists of an elaborate display of materialism, materialism without and wages without to purchase ample supplies of beer and cigarettes, to attend the cinema frequently to avoid the moral and physical difficulties that they and their wives and lacking contacts and to participate in football pools and other forms of betting. For the Indian it appears to mean ample supplies of cigarettes, rumoured and opium, in addition to regular attendance at the cinema.

I write these notes as a Puritan and a spiritualist, but at the same time deeply concerned in the achievement of a high standard of living for all, who is shocked at the submission and approval of the mass mind and the mass man. Capitalism has led us to see the very close connection which exists between the extension of capitalism in industry, mass production industry and of greater interest in entertainment and mass spectacles and that of the mass mind. I cannot, as a student of sociology, avoid being disturbed by the fact that every Saturday for eight or nine months of the year, between one and two millions of adults, chiefly men, spend much more expenditure as I have named and that still larger numbers indulge in pool, beer and other forms of betting, a practice which absorbs a considerable percentage of their income and some £10,000,000 of their savings annually. India's annual expenditure on cinema, beer and betting is one and a half crores of rupees.

Now do I condemn people for thus spending their time and money, for I believe that it arises from a striving for comfort due to the increasing and unrelenting nature of their work. In my opinion the question of the time and money into the matter is all, as it is evident to me that the best of men everywhere in the present age arise from the necessity of filling up the leisure hours by leisure which starts and becomes mind and soul.

I am therefore compelled to ask if this multi-headed "standard of living" is worth the terrible price that is being paid for it. Is it really for such things that women are being pushed to drink in the factories, that the British people thus consume thirty or forty years of grinding, unrelenting labour that our young men shall be crippled and that as it is said, we must run the risk of bringing into being an atom bomb war by plunging into an armaments race for world markets?

If this is the best that present-day civilization has to offer, is it not high that we begin to think out something better? And it may be worth while to inquire whether important values have been lost to mankind on the journey from the pre-industrial era to the highly specialized and mechanized industrialism of today. In the former era the creative genius of the ordinary craftsman was called upon to the maximum. I am unable to escape the conclusion that an industrial system which ruthlessly suppresses the creative genius of millions of workers is not in accordance with the laws of man's living with the creative purpose and with the working of all the great religions, and above all of Christianity. This has been transformed into machine because it is profitable, in terms of money and of life as it is. When, as the purpose of work should be to serve human need in the most satisfying ways to produce and consume alike to humanly made environment, the place of his individual, and in the process to create and magnify the value of the laborer. To create a beautiful thing is to create a beautiful mind; while to work uncreatively is to end with an empty mind. Is it, then, not time to look thought?

WILFRED WALLACE

(From The Third Way)

COMPLAINTS AGAINST RAILWAYS

A correspondent complains as follows

"I was arrested one morning at Victoria Terminus at about 8 a.m. for the crime of crossing the Railway line. I was taken to the detention room and was made to sit there. After waiting the half an hour, I asked the warden on guard, how long I would have to wait. 'Till 11 o'clock,' said he, 'when the Court opens.' I told him that I wanted to see the officer-in-charge. He said nothing of the kind was allowed there, and I must quietly wait till 11 o'clock. I asked him whether he would break my bread with his hands, if I would run to see the Station Master or other officer of the Railway, whenever he got released and showed me the officer whom I might see. Being satisfied with the bona fides of the man, he allowed me to go out on parole, on condition of my returning at 11 o'clock.

"There was another Mahatma man sitting in the room, with his head hanging down. I did not know whether he was sleeping or crying the warden for having unjustly arrested him or unnecessarily detained him, and this morning him lose his wages for the day and starve for the whole day.

"I continued at the appointed hour of 11 o'clock. I was produced before the Magistrate. I was asked whether I had crossed the Railway line. I answered in the affirmative. I was not asked whether I had any document or paper to make to the Court. I was immediately sentenced to a fine of Rs 4/- or imprisonment for 3 days.

"Before my case was taken up, there were the usual "Q" of about 3 dozen accused persons. They were all probably guilty of a similar offence—because it was the Railway Magistrate's Court.

"Now the single point I am anxious to know is, what is the object of the Law, that forbids crossing the Railway line? Is it in the interest of the individual concerned, or is it because the crossing does harm to any one else—the Railway administration, the safety of large, the Railway loads, or the road traffic?

"By all means, mine was a technical offence. But the question is, what does the administration mean—or gain—by making such stupid laws, with no relevance to the needs of the times, and enforcing them without the use of common-sense—and at a huge public expense?

"At the same, in case of the kind under reference, a simple stand by the parties on the platform that a train is coming, would be more than enough for the purpose. And, in the particular case under reference there was no train coming on the line—much less, running fast. It was at Victoria Terminus (Bombay).

"2. I do not know whether the Railway law is for sitting upon the rails, or for leaning on the heads or standing on the footboards. This is another point requiring elucidation.

"3. The Railway administration often commits blunders of "boobyism" one platform and bringing the train on another—of the third or platform, as against 4, with which the R.M.C. manages its services much more efficiently at Church Gate. On such occasions, while thousands of passengers cross the line (is there a provision in the Law or the Railway's by-law providing such wholesale crossings? This is point No 2 requiring elucidation.

"4. I do not know the legal or constitutional position of the case that in my view, whether any responsibility is placed on the Railway administration to provide adequate accommodation for the large & collectible from passengers, and whether any priority is provided for the non-payment of this responsibility. But from the risk to trains—and on foot-

travellers and crews of 31 class carriages—it appears that the Railway officials double the rate of the accommodation 2 provided. Whether this extra collection of fares does not fall under the category of crimes like extortion, corruption, or fraud on the public, is another lawful revenue of the Railway, to point No 4 requiring elucidation.

"5. The Railway administration refers to the religious mode and then the religious members of the temple idols, by making special arrangements for pilgrimages. Whether this special concern for pilgrims and special expense for their convenience—under the present official trade conditions—was consistent with the constitutional nature of secular and financial propriety under the Republic of India, this is the fifth and last point requiring facts."

The first complaint is clearly unreasonable. The prohibition to cross the railway line is in the interest of every one—the individual concerned, the railway administration, the society, the train and, when accidents are common, also rule. It is not sufficient to make a porter responsible for the life of a crosser. It is want of civic sense not to co-operate with the administration in this respect. That at times "whole trainfuls of passengers cross the line" may be unavoidable. It rather shows that the administration does not enforce the rule harshly.

Grievances 2, 3 and 4 are proper and the administration must answer for them. As to No 5, I do not see anything objectionable on principle in arranging special trains for pilgrims, rather, it is right that such concessions should be provided.

Another correspondent complains about business of tickets from the register window on the ground that the Station Master had instructions that the arriving train was over-full, but at the same time issuing them from inside through railway police or other "bookers." This was widely practised on some of the stations near Mumbai. Such complaints should be reported to the Traffic Manager, or the Railway Advisory Board, with full details. Also, a daily paper is a better medium for making such complaints than a paper like Harijan, which cannot deal with them promptly.

Mumbai, 18-7-60

K. S. MANDHAWA.

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NOTES

Shri Gopinath Bardoloi

The sudden death of Shri Gopinath Bardoloi, the Chief Minister of Assam, by heart failure on Sunday last (14th August) is an event which has been received with feelings of sorrow by all those who take interest in the public life of India. We do not know God's plans, but, to the extent ordinary human understanding goes, the people of Assam have been suddenly deprived of its capable and popular leader, and when to one more new problem to arise, the Government of Assam has been unexpectedly faced with the difficult problem of filling the gap created by his death. May the people of Assam, members of Shri Bardoloi's larger family, find strength, equally with those of his personal family, to face the loss with fortitude.

Wardha, 9-8-39

Vanaspath also Adulterated

One of the arguments advanced in favour of vanaspath has been that it is the only fat which is obtainable in a pure form and at a price which the middle-class man can afford. Liquid oil is adulterated with argemone, white oil and other poisonous stuffs, ghee is too costly, if pure, and adulterated, if cheap. Vanaspath is sold in sealed containers and is free from risks of adulteration.

It was hinted in previous articles, that even vanaspath was not free from the taint of adulteration. It was a suspicion so far. But now comes the positive evidence. The *Straburton Standard* of Calcutta, in its issue of July 27, 1939, refers to a "criminal case recently disposed of in Calcutta in which a dealer in vanaspath was convicted for selling adulterated stuff". Commenting upon this, it says,

Vanaspath literature has been known to have been an adulterated freely mixed with ghee and contaminated by many on that account. The stuff had, last, however, been regarded as wholesome being only a mixture of various kinds of edible oils. The manufacturers of vanaspath who are trying to maintain public opinion in favour of this form of oil are also restricting it as a wholesome food free from the kind of adulteration which makes, say mustard oil, unfit for human consumption. The judgment of the Calcutta Magistrate suggests, however, that the main danger of vanaspath is removed and that the adulterated body has thereby gained adulterated thus by coming directly dispensed in the hands of the people. It appears that the adulteration in the particular form that figured in the Calcutta case was done in the factory itself according to a design in the human brain of which some scientist's brain must have made its proper contribution. We would like to know what the manufacturers have to say about that!

If the condition is as reported, it deprives the vanaspath consumers of even the doubtful consolation of eating a non-poisonous, unadulterated fat.

Wardha, 9-8-39

Raising the Standard of Living

We hear a good deal about "raising the standard of living." Who does not want to raise the standard of living? The Servadaga economists also want it. But who are these, whose standard of living is to be raised? The phrase is used as if to tell the audience that since it is universally agreed that the standard of living must be raised, no one should suggest that any one should lower his standard of living, and no demand should be made, which might compel its reduction. Thus the U.S. must maintain its standard, and since every other country is on a lower level than the U.S.—India being almost at the lowest rung—none may say that any one in India has a high standard of living!

We are told further that the standard of living can be raised only by greater production. The problem of distribution does not arise until there is sufficient production. The Servadaga economists also agree that India's production must be considerably raised. But the question of distribution cannot be separated from that of production. Suppose, there are ten members in a family, each requiring two breads for a full meal; they produce however only six breads and the system of distribution is such that one takes 11 breads, four take 1 each and the remaining five have left for them only 1 each. Here though even the first takes less than his needs, the next four will have grievances against him, and the last five against both. The small production has also to be equitably distributed. In a small family, with cordial relations among members, this can be achieved in a variety of ways so that, in spite of poverty, the productive capacity of none may be more impaired than that of others. In a family of selfish members, the last five would quickly lose all capacity to produce even to the extent of their actual consumption, and the increased production would be out of the question. The result would be that even the production might fall from six to less than four breads. India's system of distribution is similar to this family of selfish members. It can be remedied effectively by creating a system of small units, so that the problems of production and distribution can be tackled simultaneously. Any other system may fail.

Wardha, 20-8-39

K. G. M.

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TWO ANNAS

SUDDEN HEART FAILURES

On Friday (14th August), Col. Gangoli of Nagpur had worked as usual during the whole day, and was apparently in good health till 5 a.m. He suddenly took ill thereafter, and before mid-night came, he was reported dead.

On Saturday (15th), Shri Gopinath Pandole had a busy day and had returned home at about 10 p.m. after attending a function apparently in normal health. At 11 p.m., he had a heart attack, and at 2-30 a.m., the doctors declared that he had ceased to live. Both were about 50 years old.

Dying in harness and without a lingering illness is an avoidable condition—particularly in people who are constitutionally ill and often seriously so and yet seem to be never visited by Fate. Also, a short but useful and brilliant paper in our latest publication and in a printed book to society than the mere functioning of the heart for 80 or 90 years without any ail to the world. Nevertheless these sudden deaths by heart failure of men in responsible positions are a subject for serious consideration. They have become almost an item of daily news. Surely there is something in our modern structure, which offends against the laws of nature, to cause them.

One of the aims of modern science is to annihilate distance and time. If it were possible, we would start from India after breakfast in the morning, take lunch in London, dinner in New York, and return home before sleeping time. During these 12 hours, we would take part in half a dozen conferences, interview several visitors, and address or take huge gatherings. As it is, within a week our ministers can pay visits to every province of India, where they undergo all the strain involved in them. In the brief period of a week, they endeavour to cope with more tasks than what great empire-builders of past ages performed in, perhaps, a year. But while the net result of our hectic activities is not much greater than that of the statesmen of previous ages, the better means of travelling and communication have enormously, and much of it unnecessarily, increased the volume of work, which each has to perform. I think that more

than 60 per cent of the meetings and functions and visits could be dispensed with without any loss to the public. This unnecessary strain on the physical system, accompanied with over-exposure of the laws of nature in respect of food, drink, rest, exercise, emotional excitements etc., seems to be the principal cause of these sudden deaths. Not for austerity as an end by itself, but in the interest of public life and duty, statesmen and leaders with heavy responsibilities should rigorously regulate their life. Leaders think that it is their duty not only to grant interviews and address meetings etc., but that they may not refuse tea, refreshments, food, possibly liquor too, etc. no matter how many times and at what hour of the day they might be offered, and to find time to witness any showy and pampering performance arranged for their entertainment. And this sort of life has to be led from early morning till late in the night from this end of the year to the other. And, strangely, if they run away from this for a few days in order to take out the period as not one of military retirement but of fun, frolic and free living. The looseness of the body is mistaken for robustness, and several of the ministers, officers and legislators are getting rounder than what they were even before. Not the best of constitutions can put up with these intemperance of man's life with nature. They know it, but try to save themselves by drugs. But nature is not to be hoodwinked, and suddenly and unexpectedly, her avenging officer comes to take one in her custody. Let us seriously think if our time-saving and distance-taking conventions are drawing not only the distant corners of the world near to us but also the moment of our end from the world.

There is no reason to look upon death as an unwanted thing. It is a fitting culmination of a good life. A good and healthy life should also end in a healthy way, that is, without illness and at an age when all the responsibilities of the man have been taken charge of by younger men. It is also better to die in harness rather than by reason of disease. But it should also be remembered that the death of a man in harness often betokens craftiness of the owner, for too, if our leaders die in the midst of their duties, it means that our civilization cruelly kills them.

Just a day or two before Shri Hardole's death, there was a report in the Press that a truck driver had been sentenced with imprisonment for cruelly whipping his horse to death, while harnessed to the tonga. The horse had, indeed, died in harness, but the driver was not to be executed. "Can this civilization, which whips to death her best devices, be excoriated?"

Wardha, 2-3-35

R. G. MANDWALA

A GOOD EXAMPLE

Mr Abdul Quayum Ansari has done well in deciding not to accept any invitation to feasts, which are "one of the most pernicious sources of food wastage". As he rightly says,

"It is really a huge wastage to add more and more precious foodgrains over fish, shrimps and every eatables, when millions of our countrymen are in the straits of starvation and mere death. I appeal to all to exercise a little patience and resist the temptation of holding or attending feasts as long as the situation of the country does not improve. Both the holding and the attending of any type of feast should be considered a sin. As long as the food position of India does not improve I have decided not to accept any invitation to feasts I received my countrymen to keep before their mind's eye the beggar faces of the dead and the dying while they think of holding or attending feasts and wasting precious foodgrains over them—foodgrains that could have saved the lives of millions of their unfortunate brethren."

I hope his example will be followed by others. Incidentally it stands in contrast against the recent Bombay order, which has relaxed the ban on the use of the last two years or more.

Al-Hanous and Parties

It will be appropriate, in this connection, for correspondents, who often draw my attention, to note items in the Press of al-hanous and parties given in the Government House and by Ministers in New Delhi or States, to know that the public has been several times informed that no related article is used at such functions. Correspondents never seem to remember it and always find some better words to find fault with these functions. This is unfair to office-holders. But having regard to the general situation, it would be better if the authorities restrict them to absolutely unavoidable occasions, and either avoid publicising it, or do not forget to mention on each occasion what the menu consisted of. After all, how is it an important event which the world needs know, that the President or the Prime Minister was at home with the members of his Parliament or in honour of a distinguished guest? Such things are a part of their routine public life and must be taken for granted. It would be necessary to publicise the function, if there was a novel feature in it, such as for instance, that lemon being very costly, the guests were served with lemonised water, along with salt, soda bicarb and pepper added to taste, or instead of mangoes, oranges and other costly fruits, berries, kareewader and similar forest fruits were laid on the tables.

Wardha, 24-6-35

R. G. MANDWALA

PRABHADA, THE FATHER OF MAI TALIM

Extracts from a speech delivered on 26th April 1935 at Gwalior from Shri. Shriyampati, on the occasion of the opening ceremony of the Banipati Talim Mandali by Shri. Shriyampati of Shriyampati.

The life of Prabada was one of truth and non-violence. One could compare him to Buddha. Prabada's life was dedicated not only to these great ideals but to the reform of ignorance and the spread of the light of knowledge through education from the time of recognition to the time of extinction of the body. This is the reason why this particular day (Mahatma Jayanti, Mahatma Paul Miki) was selected for the opening of the Banipati Talim Mandali (Bani Training School).

One who is acquainted with our ancient culture and Puranic history, should know that today is Mahatma Jayanti. Personally I call it Prabada Jayanti. It is not the good fortune of one and all of us that a personality even greater than Prabada and Buddha was born in our time. Like Prabada he practised truth and non-violence in his life, but even more than Prabada, he extended his application to every sphere of activity including politics.

Shriyampati told us that the child began to learn, even when he is in his mother's womb. Compare this teaching with Prabada's own life as narrated to us in the Puranic Prabada's father was Shriyampati. He was a tyrant, and a tyrant to the people and the world. His wife Shriyampati was no better. They say that the latter attempted to roll the whole world like a mat and carry it away. To inaugurate this, modern language, we should say that he was a tyrant, and an evil tyrant. Strangely enough a child like Prabada was born in the family of such ruthless tyrants. It shows that God can make some good in results out of even all evil. The lovely love is to be found only amidst, dirty mud. But this is not to say that this happens in a result of any scientific union of the physical world. There is reason for everything and there is use for this too. Prabada's life has proved a beyond doubt. As the story runs, at the time when Prabada was still in the womb, his mother was kept in the company of the Sage Narada. Narada used to speak to the mother about goodness and divinity and all that he said was substantiated even by the child Prabada in the womb. These impressions had given lasting on his actual life. This was well understood by our forefathers and is the reason for their injunction that pregnant women should be treated with kindness and understanding that they should never see things of horror and should be guarded against all unpleasant things, of scenes of war and conflicts. These traditions have been handed down and are observed carefully even among the poor people. In order to create the best sympathy and understanding and an atmosphere of love and affection, a pregnant woman is sent to her mother's place. She is generally given nice food, and attempts are made to look to her comfort. All these things are done so that the child might not only receive the parents in his physical appearance but should also acquire their traits and character and inherit the best qualities of the surroundings in which it is born.

The child in the womb has power to observe even, but cannot and cannot give voice. Shriyampati has said that the child even though inside the womb can establish its connection with the Shriyampati. The story of Yashwantrao is the child's testimony. It is stated that he had the vision of divinity while he was still in the womb and that his soul had been freed before he was born. We have also the testimony of Arjuna in later history. Arjuna is said to have studied the secrets and techniques of posthumous warfare in his wife Subhadra, where she was carrying Shikhandra. For sometime she continued to give the art of being invisible, but later she was drowned and led into a chamber. Thereupon the unborn Shikhandra started giving the art from inside. Unfortunately, Shikhandra learnt the technique only incompletely as Lord Krishna intervened and stopped

children from completing his education. This incident has its own significance. The child not only could hear what Subhasis heard but could also see through the help of her eyes. These phases of evidence show that the child begins to learn even from the mother's mouth. Education starts in the womb and continues even in the early years of childhood through the help of the mother.

Gradually educational work is known as profitable education, that is from 1 to 7 years. From 7 to 12 years the child grows and absorbs and depends wholly on his mother's efforts, if there is no possibility to place the child immediately in an metropolitan educational centre. In the industrial areas, in big factories, mothers are provided with crèches for the children, where they are looked after and provided with food and clothing. If this is not done, the child grows up as a child, as was done in Bombay, where their fate. In the year 1955, we brought against such crime. Now we are an independent nation and have accepted freedom.

Education passes through many phases. First is the stage of the child in the womb, next are the metropolitan and profitable wages, thereafter basic education, as it is called till 14 years of age, after this profitable wage education, subsequently work education, and education even during the whole lifetime of a person until his death. And the method of imparting all such education is through the newspapers. A man goes to his profession. The illiterates can learn through the press, the masses through radio and cinema.

There are language, character and temper and other qualities in our children. They are hereditary. The old system were also men. They bestowed their endeavours to provide for adequate funds for running these institutions. These institutions served the as places of learning and education. Even now these endowments continue to exist and they yield far more than what they did previously and after expenditures involve surplus is left. These surplus incomes should be put to a good use in the field of education.

I am happy in a rich family. I know what wealth means. But there is no greater wealth in the world than our children. If we desire that we should have a cleaner and more peaceful world, we should impart proper education to our children so that they could become world leaders of a good world and become great citizens of the world.

The responsibility of parents for the behaviour of children is equally great. That is why when people marry they should be very careful. Marriage is a sacrament and trust. It demands that we should bring forth only good children. Personally I may do little damage by being bad. But if my children and their children are bad, they are capable of doing greater harm to the world. It is said that till the seventh generation children acquire the character and defects of their ancestors. Take for example the case of beggary. It continues and leaves traces till the seventh generation. That is why Gandhi advocated brahmacharya. This has not been understood properly. Brahmacharya means constant self-control, say the man bringing forth good and healthy children. The last way to secure the name of 'brahmacharya' is to refrain from bringing forth children, who may be educating and enlightened and these names are not only to themselves but to others.

I have found the surroundings too. The gardens have beautiful good fruit trees, the well places bear the names of people who have rendered their generosity to this institution. But all institutions require the help of both the rich and the poor. Charities and generosity must be attracted not only to this institution but to all institutions wherever they exist, for the benefit of the nation. Consider what you give to this institution as putting money in a National Educational Bank. Every rich man in a National Bank on which the interest of the country can write a draft. What is the use of wealth, if it cannot be put to good purpose? Generosity and philanthropy cannot be restricted to any particular reli-

gion or sect or locality. Generosity will flourish and pay richest dividends in the national interest.

In conclusion, basic education is most essential for the people of our country today. Through basic education should be taught the people of all ages and castes. Education belongs to man and is as old as man and human beings on the face of the earth. What is this earth, Mr. P. N. Datta, even on the surface of other planets shows this character. In the case of Mars, that is particular, perfecter comes out, nothing of the original Mars is left. We all know the marks of the mechanisation. It out of totally healthy is substituted, only healthy machines.

Let us all further the cause of basic education and help the national wealth of our country by transforming our children into better citizens of the world and also of perfect living.

APPALAM

PRICE LEVELS AND PRODUCTION

There has been of late a great deal of talk as to the connection between inflation, controls and production. Dr. Werner Zimmernan, a follower of the late Siria Cassel, had been in our country a few months ago. He, naturally, favoured stabilising present price levels and managing the volume of money in circulation by advancing or retarding the rate of circulation by regulating the amount of base money by an index compass. This idea seems to have fascinated a few amongst us.

It is necessary to understand the background with which Dr. Zimmernan is speaking and the real difference that would make to our own setting. He is thinking of a highly literate people working under conditions of general industrialisation. To some extent these two conditions prevail in our large cities. But on the whole we have to think of the masses of our people who are practically illiterate and are engaged in agriculture or allied occupations.

Industrial sector is built on money and credit mechanisms and by manipulating these definite curves of this expansion it is possible to control its working within limits. Labour here is also affected by the money wage and is forced along with the rate of industrialisation.

Our agricultural sector is largely based on weather conditions and perennial wants. Whether the prices are high or low, whether interests and rents are attractive or not the peasant will plough his land to get his morsel of bread even if it be only to fill his stomach half way. Strictly in an agricultural economy interest and rent should not arise. Such of it as we find is a carry over from the industrial sector. Substantive farming is what we have in India. Its economy differs widely from that of agricultural production for exchange as practised in the U.S.A., Canada or Australia. Therefore in substantive farming while banking has a place banking has room. What our farmer wants is to be able to depend on his purchasing power to carry him from one harvest to another. If banking it will ensure this banking will be all the better for him. Interest and rent are alien to such an economy.

Hence Dr. Zimmernan's schemes will not affect price levels and production in our country especially in the rural parts. What is not sufficient to regulate the productivity of about 80 per cent of our people need claim as priority as our attention.

J. C. KEMANANTA

HARIJAN

August 26

1950

INDIA'S FOOD CRISIS

There is some amount of truth in the complaint which the Food Minister of India made at the opening ceremony of the *Indian News Chronicle*, at New Delhi. He holds not a very enviable office in the Central Cabinet, and one feels sympathy for his mood of depression. In his speech, Shri Munshi is reported to have laid down the following propositions:

(1) The food self-sufficiency of India is not a national problem but an international problem of the greatest importance.

(2) We must have a unified system of government and there in the food resources in all the provinces.

(3) Consequently in the present crisis all provincial barriers must go.

(4) No province can have a licence ration, when another is having only 8 ounces.

(5) No minister, no Government can solve the problem of such magnitude without having the full support of the nation as a whole.

(6) The charge of complacency against the Government of India is entirely unjustified.

(7) The panic is entirely unjustified and is, in part, the work of hostile propaganda.

(8) The parties to blame for the present situation are the hoarders, the ghost card-holder, the corrupt official, the general atmosphere which maintains the black-market, and the vastness of the problem.

(9) These can be removed only by the nation supporting the Government as "one man."

He is also reported to have said: "During the last two months everybody seemed to think that he had the power to kill millions, grow more food, to move weapons which did not exist, supply rice which was not in existence, and keep alive people who died 20 years ago."

If I say that more food is grown into the country, it is disputed. If we require less alleged starvation deaths, some critics begin to say that there were starvation deaths, and, if not, there ought to have been. Every one seems to be knocking everything about the food except the Government of India. He made an appeal to the country to rise superior to this and do its utmost to restore confidence.

It is to be regretted that in the above paragraph Shri Munshi should have spoiled his appeal and invited further severe criticism of himself by giving vent to rhetoric.

Otherwise there is much worthy of sympathetic consideration in the nine propositions set forth above. But while sympathizing with him and agreeing with him on some at least of these points, it is necessary to mention that there are other propositions, which need to be considered by the Government of India in order to make the nation support the Government as "one man", as Shri Munshi desires. Why does not the nation co-operate with the Government in the utmost production and just and equal distribution of food? Surely it is not that the nation does not acutely feel the shortage of food and the extreme pressure on its purse on account of high prices—even when it is available at control prices? It should be accepted without doubt that barring the comparatively small number of land-owners and grain-dealers the nation in general is extremely interested in growing as much food as possible, and having it priced as low as possible and getting it without restriction to the black-market. No landless agricultural labourer, no worker of factories and no poor clerk or other employee with a fixed salary can want prices to soar high or prefer to purchase from a hoard-hoarded employer or grain-dealer if he could get regular sufficient and good food from the official ration-shops. These constitute at least 75 per cent of the people. Of the remaining 25 per cent, about 5 per cent may be classed under those who are so well-to-do that they do not mind how high the prices go and are overwhelming patrons of the black-market. The balance of 20 per cent may be allowed for that section of cultivators and merchants who are interested in creating scarcity and raising the prices. Thus 75 per cent of the nation are intensely interested in the production of the highest possible quantity of food at the cheapest prices possible. Of these 75 per cent may be deducted as belonging to that class who are not in a position to contribute anything towards growth of food being town-dwellers and non-agricultural workers. But 60 per cent consisting of landless agricultural labourers and 20 per cent of land-owners take direct share in the production of food. The co-operation of these 80 per cent of the nation is required to solve the food problem. The Government of India has spent money and energy enough after the "grow more food campaign" in the shape of speeches, broadcasts and advertisements. The advertisements appear even in English papers, although few working on land can read or understand them. But it is still constrained to complain that the co-operation of the people is not forthcoming, and everybody wants the Government

to do what the people should themselves have the enthusiasm to do. This should be an anticancer for the search of the cause, which make the people non-co-operate at their own cost and risk. However literate our people might be, surely they are not so dull-headed as not to understand their own interests. The cancer must, therefore, be sought in the country's economic and social system and the policy of the Government. There must be serious defects in both, killing the people's enthusiasm to work even for their own life. Unless these causes are studied and removed, no amount of appeals, threats, coercion or flattery can bring about a change in the people's behaviour. A peculiar and strong characteristic of our people is their instinctive non-co-operation with any movement which they don't appreciate. They do not always care to organize an active propaganda against unpopular interventions as long as they can stifle them with silent and willing non-co-operation. Let it be realized that this is actually happening at present, and unless policies are revised in favour of food-governors, in the words of Shri Menzies, "no Minister or Government can solve the problem of such rapacity."

After all man is a gregarious animal. He loves and wants society. He cannot afford to be anti-social. And yet if he is behaving so, we must exert to find out where the current of social sympathy has dried and what can be done to repair it in order to satisfy the social

Wardha, 19-5-50

K. G. MANSURKAR

Assam's Calamity

The extent of the quake calamity of Assam is still only partly known. We do not yet know the areas beyond Assam which have been similarly shaken, and the amount of damage done there. The little that we know is sufficient to tell us that it is the second greatest earthquake of the world since scientific records have been maintained, and even the damage already reported is incalculable. As details are gathered, no accounts might put in the background the catastrophes of the Bihar and the Quetta shocks.

A calamity has fallen on Bihar too, also by heavy floods. The great railway accident of Karamnagar is also a major calamitous incident. Though these might all look pale before the one of Assam, every one of these events must move us to the depth of our hearts and raise the noblest sentiments man is capable of and stir us to acts of help, service and self-purification. Such events should make us forget all differences of distance, race, language, religion, nationality etc., and make us realize that all life is one and a mishap to one of its parts is a pain to the whole.

Wardha, 19-5-50

K. G. M.

KOREA AND NON-VIOLENCE

Please find space in the pages of *Harrion* for an appeal to your readers for constructive suggestions as to possible action that those who believe in non-violence can take quite apart from any action that may be taken by Governments, to hasten peace and to bring comfort to the land and people of Korea. Since the fighting in Korea began, I have had several letters asking me "What are the world pacifists doing about Korea?" I am not sure what a "world pacifist" is, or whether such a person exists. But what I am rather sure is that all those who believe that there are non-violent ways of resisting evil and violence and that the way of life taught by Gandhi can be practised in all situations, ought to be asking "What can and must we do about this new outbreak of naked violence?", I am entirely unconvinced by those who say "We ought to have acted sooner. Now it is too late." Surely it is never too late to try to sow seeds of peace on the field of strife.

But what can we do? Here are one or two things that may give some idea of possible lines of action. I learn that members of the War Resisters League, and perhaps others in America, heard a printed leaflet demanding mediation which they distributed at Lake Success early in July. And some undertook a fast. Similarly in London, the "Federal New", if I may so describe them, got busy along these same lines. These efforts are continuing. No doubt in other countries similar efforts are being undertaken. They do not get into the *Press*, because I suppose they do not fit the popular mood. But surely these are the things that we who believe in ways of peace should tell each other about, so that we may support one another in these efforts.

In Calcutta a meeting had been held attended by representatives of the local Red Cross and of the International Red Cross, the Marwari Relief Society, the local Y.M.C.A. and the Friends' Service Unit, together with concerned individuals, which "expressed its deep concern for arranging some relief and rehabilitation work in connection with the Korean conflict." They would like to see a relief or ambulance team formed in India, preferably on a national basis, to serve in both North and South Korea. I am also assured from the Quakers in England that if anything of this sort is undertaken in India, under Indian leadership, but allowing for international personnel, they and others would be keenly interested and would like to participate in some way.

Please do not think that I am trying to persuade any one to abandon essential work that they are already doing, which may be attacking the real roots of war more effectively than anything that can be done by a Relief Unit, for Korea. I am not even sure that a Relief Unit is the right answer. But, taking the pacifists

or Satyagraha as a whole. I am not concerned that we can be mislabeled in any, in answer to those who ask us, "What are you doing about Korea?" We are going on with our regular work." Yes that we certainly must do. But I think we ought also to do something more. What can your readers advise? And what offers of service can they make?

14 Rajpur Road, Delhi

HERNACE ALLENKAMBER

[Note: I feel rather diffident and do not venture to give any advice. It seems, it is to a great extent a matter of temperament and different individual temperaments. Going to distant lands and working among unknown peoples comes naturally to some, and many a such noble humanitarian has done splendid and immortal service to suffering humanity. To others, working far from home to establish peace and goodwill among their own neighbours appears to be the only thing they can do. The world is large enough for both types of workers. Let each choose according to his temperament and capacity. R. G. M.]

FOR AND AGAINST VANDAPATI

Correspondents inform me of the methods adopted by vana-pati agents to obtain signatures in favour of vana-pati. As the writers are from different provinces, it appears that they are in accordance with a plan. One correspondent says that a fee of five annas per signature is paid by way of commission to customers of signatures. They do this job by standing in a crowded street and recruiting passers-by, getting into a bus or a train and inducing passengers entering a tea-shop and asking customers to give their signatures in favour of vana-pati. Another says that he met a customer, who offered a free cup of tea to every one who would put down his signature. A third one says that four annas were paid down in cash to the signatory. I hope some of these stories might be exaggerated in the sense that although they are from different provinces such measures must be exceptional.

On the other side, I find that several people in various provinces have of their own accord taken upon themselves the duty of canvassing signatures in support of Pt. Jitendra's Bill. So far as I know it is all voluntary work on the part of the people, who honestly hold that the manufacture of vana-pati is not in the interest of the country. They have been doing this work at their own expense and if credit for prompting them to do so has to be shared between Vana-pati Manufacturers' and Vana-pati Opponents' Organisations, I think greater credit is due to the former. Their very drastic activity for obtaining ministerial petitions for vana-pati has created a scare among the public who are opposed to it. They thought that if no counter-petitions are made the cause of the public might fall by mere neglect. Some people even wrote

to me that I should meet the propagandists of the manufacturers by an equally well-organized counter-propaganda and must not content myself by writing now and then in *Maritime*. But my capacities being extremely limited, having neither the physical energy nor the monetary resources and organisational capacity for such movements, I wrote to my correspondents that people must act on their initiative without expecting any prompting or direction from me. Nextest to me (Shri Radhakrishna Raju), Secretary of the All India Congress League in of course, playing his part within the limitations of his institution. But even he does not receive any prompting from me. It is all his initiative. Perhaps it is he who has made me do what I have done in the matter. Similarly, Shri Hardeo Sahaya in East Punjab and New Delhi, Muni Senthilaj in Gujarat, the Anti-Vana-pati Committee in Nagpur and similar prominent and prominent workers in various parts of the country have taken up the work out of their own feelings in the matter. Shri Muni Kanchaladevi Chaudhari, a lady far off in the Himachal Pradesh, has sent me a well-bound book containing a few hundred signatures in support of the Jitendra Bill. She writes me that not one signatory is illiterate, or under 18 years of age or has put down his or her signature without full knowledge of the contents.

This voluntary response of the public is very instructive as it is encouraging. It shows that when people have a duly realised that a particular substance which they thoroughly dislike is forced upon them they will enthusiastically and voluntarily support a movement directed against it. Whatever might happen ultimately to Pt. Jitendra's Bill, I consider that the preliminary for eliciting public opinion, was a welcome step. It has given the people an opportunity to express their opinion both ways without fear.

I believe we would have a repetition of the same experience if suitable proposals are made in respect of such other burning topics of the day as touch the daily life of the people, e.g. controls food-crops to money-crops, etc. By suitable proposals I do not mean mere academic discussions about them, but proposals meant to be put into execution.

Madras, 8-8-52

K. G. MANJUNATHA

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ASHRAM OBSERVANCES IN ACTION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Introduction

(Wrote on April 4, 1933)

Ashram here means a community of men of religion. Looking at the past in the light of the present, I feel that an ashram was a necessary of life for me. As soon as I had a house of my own, my house was an ashram in this sense, for my life as a householder was not one of enjoyment but of duty discharged from day to day. Again besides the members of my family I always had some friends or others living with me, whose relation with me was spiritual from the first or became such later on. This went on unconsciously till 1904 when I read Ruskin's *Unto This Last*, which made a deep impression on me. I determined to take Indian Spinners into a forest where I should live with the workers as members of my family. I purchased 180 acres of land and founded Phoenix settlement, which neither we nor any one else called an ashram. It had a religious basis but the visible object was purity of body and mind as well as economic equality. I did not then consider *brahmacharya* to be essential; on the other hand it was expected that co-workers would live as family men and have children. A brief account of Phoenix will be found in *Satyagraha in South Africa*.

This was the first step.

The second step was taken in 1906. I learnt in the school of experience that *brahmacharya* was a necessary tool for a life devoted to service. From that time onward I looked upon Phoenix deliberately as a religious institution. The same year witnessed the advent of *Satyagraha* which was based on religion and implied an unshakable faith in the God of Truth. Religion here should not be understood in a narrow sense, but as that which acts as a link between different religions and realises their essential unity.

This went on till 1911. All these years the Phoenix settlement was progressing as an ashram though we did not call it by that name.

We took the third step in 1913. So far only those people lived at Phoenix who were working in the press and the paper. But now as a part of the *Satyagraha* movement we felt the need of an ashram where *Satyagrahi* families could live and lead a religious life. I had already come in contact with my German friend Kallenbach. Both of us were living a sort of ashram life. I was a barrister and Kallenbach an architect. However we led a comparatively very simple life in the sparsely populated country and were religiously minded. We might commit mistakes, out of ignorance but we were trying to seek the root of every activity in religion. Kallenbach purchased a farm of 1,300 acres and the *Satyagrahi* families settled there. Religious problems faced us now at every step

and the whole institution was managed from a religious standpoint. Among the settlers there were Hindus, Musalmans, Christians and Parsis. Yet I do not remember that they ever quarrelled with one another, though each was staunch in his own faith. We respected one another's religion and tried to help everybody to follow his own faith and thus to make spiritual progress.

This institution was not known as *Satyagraha Ashram* but as Tolstoy Farm. Kallenbach and I were followers of Tolstoy and endeavoured to practise much of his doctrine. Tolstoy Farm was closed in 1912 and the Farmers were sent to Phoenix. The history of Tolstoy Farm will also be found in *Satyagraha in South Africa*.

Phoenix now was no longer meant for the workers of Indian Spinners only; it was a *Satyagraha* institution. That was only to be expected, for the very existence of Indian Spinners was due to *Satyagraha*. Still it was a great change. The even tenor of the lives of the settlers at Phoenix was disturbed, and they had now to discount certainty in the matter of uncertainty like the *Satyagrahis*. But they were equal to the new demands made upon them. As at Tolstoy Farm, so also at Phoenix I established a common kitchen in which some cooked while others remained abstinent. The congregational prayer in the evening played a large part in our lives. And the final *Satyagraha* campaign was started by the inmates of Phoenix settlement in 1913. The struggle ended in 1904. I left South Africa in July that year. It was decided that nearly all who wanted to go to India should be enabled to go there. Before going to India I had to meet Gokhale in England. The idea was to found a new institution in India for those who went there from Phoenix. And the communal life commenced in South Africa was to be continued in India. I reached India early in 1915 with a view to establishing an ashram though I was still unaware that I would call it by that name.

I toured all parts of India for a year, and visited some institutions from which I had much to learn. I was invited by several cities to establish the ashram in their neighbourhood with a promise of assistance in various ways. Ashram was selected at last. That was the fourth, and I imagine the last step. Whether or not it will always be the last is something of which no human is possible. Now was the new institution to be named? What should be its rules and regulations? On these points I had full discussions and correspondence with friends, as a result of which it was decided to call the institution *Satyagraha Ashram*. It is an appropriate name if we take its object into consideration. My life is devoted to the quest of truth. I would live and it need be, die in prosecuting it, and of course I would take with me as many fellow pilgrims as I can get.

(Continued from Column by T. O. D.)

(To be continued)

QUESTION-BOX

Election of the Congress President

Q. There is likely to be a triangular contest in the Congress Presidency among Shri Parashuraman Tandon, Acharya Kripalani and Shri Shankaranarayan. The election is important particularly as under the new Constitution of the Congress, this office will now be held by the incumbent for three years. Whom should the delegates who think more or less as Gandhiji-think prefer?

A. I had very little interest in the present Congress organisation. I am afraid that the organisation has fallen as low morally that honest men should abandon it altogether. But I know that all do not share this view which they think to be that of a defeatist and a renegade. Any way, whether good or evil, it is the organisation which runs of the present Government can ignore, and so the election of its President has its peculiar importance.

I had long before expressed the opinion that the Prime Minister, in the de facto leader of the country, is the only right person to provide over his party. Shri Mohanlal Saxena put it the other way when he said that the President of the Congress should be the Prime Minister of India. For day to day work, a Chairman of his choice might be appointed. But if this is regarded impracticable, the next thing necessary is to see that the Congress President is a person who will be a real source of strength, support and advice to the Prime Minister. The relations between the two should be very cordial and their approaches to various important and far-reaching problems should be as much as possible identical. If it is not so, the Congress President and the Prime Minister can hardly feel at ease with each other, and sooner or later one would have to leave or suppress himself.

It was very much desirable, as Acharya Kripalani suggested, that the Working Committee should have given the lead to the Congress by recommending their candidate. That they could not do so is just another symptom of the deterioration that has set in in the organisation. In my opinion, the next best thing as for the Prime Minister is to unreservedly declare his preference. On alternately, the candidates should declare what their views are in relation to those of the Prime Minister on matters which are seriously debated by Congressmen.

Holding the views as stated above, I think that the delegates should consider the election of the President as in a way a vote on the Prime Minister. If they want the present Prime Minister to continue to govern the country, they should give him a President, who will be a source of strength, if not also inspiration, to him. If they want him to leave that high office, they should give him a President, who will be a thorn in his side.

The Prime Minister's views are well known. He is an internationalist, a thorough non-communist, extremely broad-minded on matters of religion, culture, language etc. He hates intrigues, group politics and all those ugly features which are ruining our public life. There are all points which are, I believe, dear to constructive workers. At the same time his views on industrialisation and his approach to village industries often puzzle constructive workers. He has also the reputation of spending too much public money and launching too many schemes that I am not sure that he alone is to be blamed for the top-heavy administration. At any rate, I do not see seeing other leaders also say, who will satisfy the ideals and aspirations of constructive workers on these matters.

Upon all these considerations my view is that if constructive workers have any say in the matter they should vote for the candidate, who will be a help to the Prime Minister, and who will do his utmost to purge the Congress of the evils of corruption, communalism, nepotism, etc. Let the Prime Minister declare his choice or let the candidates declare what their attitude towards the Prime Minister will be, and so that the delegates should make their choice of the candidate for the President's office.

Yarn Contributions

Q. May I know if the people of other provinces can also send their contribution of hanks to the Sarvagran Ashram? The doubt has arisen because the appeal is addressed to the people of Karnataka.

A. As Shri Narayana Ganguli's activities are mainly confined to Karnataka, he naturally made an appeal to his own province. But there is no objection to any one presenting self-made yarn hanks to the Sarvagran Ashram. However, for the facility of making a correct estimate of the response to the appeal, it is desirable that all contributions should be sent through Shri Narayana Ganguli, Rasthali, Shikha, Rajkot (Karnataka).

Wardha, 17-8-52

E. G. MANDHAWALA

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY KALPANA CHANDER)
Editor: E. S. MANJUNATHA



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AMERABAD—SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 2, 1930

TWO ANNAS

ASSAM EARTHQUAKE RELIEF

[The public must have seen the appeals issued by the President, the Prime Minister and the Deputy Prime Minister of India for (Borne) contributions to the quake-stricken Assam. The appeals have been reproduced below. If it is convenient to readers to send their contributions through the "Harijan" Press they may do so. All such items will be acknowledged through the columns of Harijan and forwarded to the proper quarters. The donations should be addressed to the Manager, Harijan Press, 10, Kalpna, Post Box 100, Amravati, and forwarded to EARTHQUAKE RELIEF FUND.]

—E. S. M.]

President's Appeal

The President, Babu Rajendraprasad, in his appeal says:

"Nature struck a cruel blow at our kin and kin in Assam on August 15 when the worst earthquake of the century rocked that State. Damage to property has been colossal and the life of the inhabitants of the affected regions has been completely shattered. Suffering humanity cries there for relief and succour. Their suffering is ours and we have to rush them aid."

"The Government is doing all that is possible to bring relief to the sufferers. But there is a great deal that private charity can do to alleviate the distress into which our Assamese brethren of the affected regions have been plunged by the destruction of their homes and the loss of their possessions. The Governor of Assam has opened a "Earthquake Sufferers' Relief Fund" and appealed for donations. I concerned the appeal with all earnestness to our people and urge them to contribute liberally to it."

Prime Minister's Appeal

The Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal, in his appeal says:

"I should like to join the President in his appeal for relief for the victims of the earthquake in Assam. It has been our misfortune to have many calamities to trouble during the last two and a half months, but by far the greatest of them is this earthquake which has shaken and broken up flooded and almost overthrown large areas in Upper Assam. Relief is most urgently needed there and I earnestly hope that it will pour in from all parts of India."

"The Governor of Assam has opened a special Earthquake Relief Fund. Contributions

to it should be sent directly or, if it is more convenient, they can be sent to me and I shall forward them to the Governor."

Deputy Prime Minister's Appeal

The Deputy Prime Minister, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, says:

"By this time, I am sure the public has had some appreciation of the grave tragedy that has overtaken Assam. Floods and earthquake between them have up and devastation and destruction over a large area of this State. Nature in the now is indeed wild. The dramatic story of the earthquake leaves humanity helpless and desolate because of our inability to forecast this danger. Life and property itself become playthings in Nature's cruel hands. Such has been the unfortunate fate of Assam already reeling under the blow of Bardoli's death."

"The Governor of Assam has given a graphic account of the damage wrought by Nature's calamities. It must have sent round the country a wave of sympathy and commiseration for the grieved and tragedy-stricken State. But that sympathy must take practical shape."

"I would appeal to my fellow-countrymen to respond to Assam's call generously and to send whatever contribution they can to the fund which the Governor of Assam has opened for the relief of the victims. Charity must be prompt and spontaneous if it has to earn its due merit. I hope the intending donors will bear this in mind and act quickly."

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SELECTED LETTERS

Nirmal Das

(By M. K. Gandhi)

VII

[Written to Bhambu Dasgupta, during the convalescence at Juhu after the operation in the Anand Hospital, Poona in 1934.]

I wish you fully grasped one thing: We may be fit to attain the end or we may not be. This is always hidden from our eyes. But over the Muzra we have full control; we are all fit for them and it is comparatively easy to achieve success in respect of them. Again we approach the end steadily to the extent that we make Muzra our own. Muzra we can recognize because we have painted them out, while they have declared the end to be difficult to understand. The chief Muzra is Truth and I am sure you are good at it. You do not deceive any one, you do not like to deceive even yourself; therefore you are discontented and determined to find that you cannot at once become such as you would like to become. Not to same extent we must be patient even with ourselves. We should calmly begin to work at whatever we propose to do, try to achieve success in it and then cultivate an indifference as regards the consequences.

There may be a tide and then an ebb in the ocean that is your mind; you must either be above these variations, or else be calm like the ocean in spite of its tides. Ideas of all kinds crowd into our minds, but he who recognizes his equanimity in face of them is on the right road to success.

Do attend the prayer meetings even if your mind is inclined to wander. We offer prayers to concentrate our minds on the one thing needful. One who has achieved this concentration may or may not attend prayer meetings; it is all the same to him. All that we can do is not deliberately to allow the mind to wander. Striving in this way we may hope one day to be conscious at all times of the presence of God even as the post-saint Tulashid was.

You apply impossible tests to others as to yourself and you find them wanting. There is no reason far deeper if none of the Ashramites realize my ideal. If they were complacent as regards their condition, they would be guilty of hypocrisy looking even harsh in the ideal. But surely you do not mean to say that people without such faith live in the Ashram only in order to deceive others. Even then let us always cling to hope. There is always hope in this world for those who strive.

IX

(To Bhambu Dasgupta in prison.)

I hold that a Satyagrahi prisoner will never quarrel with the authorities as regards his food.

He will take what food he gets and thank God for it.

The master of a prisoner's body is the jailer. Therefore so long as food is served publicly and is clean and not unwholesome, he will accept it and eat it if it is digestible. If it is not, he will throw it away. If he has not touched it with his hands, he will send it back to the kitchen. In recent times rules of health and hygiene are observed to some extent in selecting food for prisoners. But what if they give us only bread and water?

This subject may be discussed with the officials in a courteous manner, but we may not fight over it.

We could get many things by unjustified fighting but we may not indulge in it.

I therefore am of opinion that there should not be any dispute about the vegetable cooked for you. Those who like it may eat it; those who don't may give it back. We should be thankful to God that we get even bread and dal (peas).

X

There cannot be any proof for the existence of God which is acceptable to human reason, for God is beyond reason. We land ourselves in great difficulty if we think that reason is everything and that there is nothing beyond it. The human soul herself is beyond reason. People have tried to reason out her existence as well as the existence of God. But he who knows the soul and God by his intellect knows nothing. Intellect at times is useful in the acquisition of knowledge, but a man who depends upon it alone can never know the self just as someone who knows the advantages of eating food grains by his intellect cannot derive the benefits which accrue from actual eating. The soul and God are not objects of knowledge. They are known themselves and therefore cannot be apprehended by the intellect. There are two stages in the knowledge of God, (1) faith and (2) experience arising from faith. The great teachers of mankind have borne witness to the existence of God by their experience. And those whom the world would dismiss as fools have borne witness by their faith. If we share their faith, we shall have actual experience in God's good time. A man sees another with his eyes, but being deaf hears nothing. If then he says the other man cannot be heard he would be wrong of course. In the same way to say that God cannot be recognized by reason is to betray our ignorance. We cannot perceive God by the senses or apprehend Him by the intellect, just as we cannot hear with the eyes. A different faculty is needed to realize God and that faculty is unobtainable faith. The intellect can be misled every moment as we know to our cost. But real faith can never be led astray.

(Translated from Gujarati by V. S. D.)

INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION TO PEACE AND GOODWILL

V

Gandhi said that his modesty prevented him from declaring from the house tops that the message of non-co-operation, non-violence and Swadeshi* is a message to the world (*Economics of Khadi*, p. 54).

The non-violent non-co-operation movement launched by him caught the imagination of the world, for the sword of gold achieved "what Hitler and Stalin wielded through the blood of millions to achieve less successfully" (George Catlin, in the *Path of Mahatma Gandhi*, Macdonald, p. 144). But Gandhi's fight against foreign rule, spectacular as it was, was concerned with only one end and that the negative aspect of his philosophy of India's national life. The counter-stroke of its positive side is Khadi, its hand-spun and hand-woven cloth (*Economics of Khadi*, p. 241).

British rule was of course a manifestation of violence, but Gandhi said that the exploitation of India's villages was also expressed violence (*Economics of Khadi*, p. 580). This violence too must stop and the villages should be re-established in their ancient dignity and prosperity. Gandhi held that the spinning wheel was the only foundation on which a satisfactory village life can be constructed (*Ibid.*, p. 241, as Khadi is the chief village handicraft). **We identified it with non-violence. All Khadi and you must knit the village and with them non-violence.** (*Ibid.*, p. 524). "There is no other symbol of non-violence than the spinning wheel, and without its universalization there will be no viable expression of non-violence" (*Ibid.*, p. 601).

Gandhi wished to convert the world to non-violence. But such a transformation can come only after the complete success of the spinning wheel. India can become fit for delivering such a message when she has become proof against imperialism and therefore attacks from outside by becoming self-contained regarding two of her chief needs—food and clothing (*Economics of Khadi*, p. 57).

* Swadeshi is that spirit in us which inclines us to the use and service of our immediate surroundings in the structure of the more remote. Thus, as for religion.

I must restrict myself to my ancestral religion. This is the use of my immediate religious responsibility. If I had it delivery, I should make it by purging it of its elements. In the domain of politics I should make use of the indigenous hybridism and work there by curing some of their painful defects. In case of economics I should use only things that are produced by my immediate neighbours and serve them industries by making them efficient and complete where they might be found wanting. It is suggested that such Swadeshi, if reduced to practice, will lead to the millennium. (*Economics of Khadi*, p. 4).

† Khadi has been introduced in the constitution and the image of khadi. (*Ibid.*, p. 59).

For Gandhi the spinning wheel was a gateway to his salvation and spinning was a sacrament. Indeed, as he believed that where there is pure and active love for the poor there is God also, he saw God in every thread that he drew on the spinning wheel (*Ibid.*, p. 240).

If justice, poverty and bloodshed are to be avoided, there is no remedy but Khadi and other village industries (*Ibid.*, p. 546).

V + 3

CALVES IN THE ARE CENTRE

(See Shival Jeshal article)

"I have read your note on the Are Milk Centre in Jharkhand of 28-7-35. It seems you have based your note on a misunderstanding."

The Are Milk Centre has been constructed for the city, medical treatment, and improvement of conditions of milk cattle and their owners. It is on their own responsibility that the owners of the cattle send and keep their cattle in the Centre. The Government has no responsibility to look after them. But as a good landlord, the Government feels its responsibility to provide to the cattle facilities to the highest extent possible.

"It is wrong to hold either the Government or the staff responsible by it is that Calves for the High Commission of the Centre have not way the health rate be used as an index to measure the usefulness of the Centre."

The fact is that the action of city towards Indian calves has departed from the character of the owners of milk cattle. So, from their personal point of view the rearing of calves is accordingly appreciable. Therefore owners do not feel the responsibility of looking after them for the purpose of milk production. Both at are and elsewhere efforts to bring up Indian calves is considered as looking towards loss. This habit is one of long standing, and it will be a vain hope to expect that they will give up their habit simply because they have taken up their place in are.

"Government can give the owners of milk such facilities as a healthy place, treatment, medical treatment etc. for their cattle, but it requires to develop a sense of responsibility in the owners to look after calves. That should be shouldered by local workers. The Government should not be held responsible for it."

I am afraid that note will be used as a weapon by critics of the Government to level criticism against it even for matters for which it has no direct or practically any which, in fact, is the fault of the people.

"But Vithaldas Jeshal on receiving your note from the Jharkhand (Bardhaman) office, has asked me to send this explanation."

I gladly publish this explanation. At the same time I do not agree with the writer that the death-rate of the calves is no index to measure the usefulness of the Centre, or that the Government should not be held responsible for the lack of sense of responsibility in the owners towards the calves. Both strongly point to the same fact, namely, a city is not the proper place for keeping milk-cattle. To look upon Government as a landlord, good or bad, is wrong.

Wardha, 8-8-35

K. D. KARNATKALA

(Continued from before)

"Of all my personal activities—the spinning wheel is the most prominent and the most beneficial" (*Economics of Khadi*, p. 71). "I am conscious of earning the message of poverty by suggesting a revival of the spinning wheel. I make my all in it. The very revolution of the wheel spins peace, goodwill and love" (*Ibid.*, p. 82).

HARIJAN

Sept 2

1936

CONDITIONS FOR FOOD PRODUCTION

We have been considering the food crisis in this regard. Marxism has an important lesson to teach us. When we find that however wise and perfect and attractive our plans and ideas might be, people do not respond to them in any appreciable measure, we must conclude that the material conditions of life are not favourable to these plans and ideas, and these must be set right before expecting the desired results. The materialistic approach of Marxism goes to the extent of saying:

that material life of society is an objective reality existing independently of the will of men, while the spiritual life of society is a reflection of this objective reality, a collection of being.

"Hence the course of development of the spiritual life of society, the origin of social ideas, social theories, political views and political institutions should be sought for . . . in the conditions of the material life of society, in social being, of which these ideas, theories, views etc. are the reflection." The terms, "conditions of the material life of society" are explained to mean, "the method of producing the means of life necessary for human existence: the mode of production of material values—food, clothing, fuel, etc., houses, fuel, instruments of production etc.,—which are indispensable for the life and development of society."

With the materialist belief that, whatever is the mode of production of a society, this is the "basis" in the society itself, its ideas and theories, its political views and institutions." Hence any attempt stress on the correct marshalling of the "productive forces of society" (all the questions are taken from *Marxist, Leninist and Historical Materialism*).

One need not be a Communist to accept the elements of truth in the above theory.

If we want plenty of food to grow and to be made cheap, it is essential that the "productive forces of the society" must be set in the proper order. We must examine how our political, social and economic order and our executive directives and policies stand in relation to this objective.

It was shown last week that a preponderating majority of Indian humanity subsists on agricultural labour. But an extremely small section of them possess their own land. They work on others' lands either as cash labourers, semi-slave labourers, rent-paying farmers or crop-sharing tenants. The number of those who till their own land with the help only of the members of their own family and without the necessity of employing any hired labour is very small. Even among house and tenants, a majority of them has to employ labourers intermittently.

It is these people who till the lands, sow the seeds, weep the seeds, and gather the crops. They perform these operations with such tools as are supplied to them, and with such skill as

their traditional instincts, unaided by systematic methodical training, guide them.

This is the human material with which we have to produce our food. This is also by far the greatest section of our people, who need the food they produce.

Are the conditions of our political, social and economic order such, as will make these people self interested in the jobs they perform? How much of the food and the cereals, oil, oil (or even vasuapat), the vegetables and the subsidiary foods, not to speak of milk and ghee, which they create, is consumed by them? Loose and cloth and let us consider only food. We put down:

	Cereals	Pulse	Vegetables	Other things
Normal human needs at	14 oz	2 oz	1 lb.	..
Average present consumption	14 oz	1 oz	1 lb.	..

Let alone the normal needs, do they get even the average? Or, having aside even the average, are they assured that they will get even a bit of cereals, 1 lb. of fat and 1 oz. of vegetables from one end of the year to the other without break? Or, even the wherewithal to purchase them? Or, even those materials, even if they possess the wherewithal? Even in the best of years, are there not hordes of agricultural labourers who for at least two months in a year get no substantial food?

The financial and industrial policies of the State during the last four years did not meet with the approval of industrialists and trade unions. They resisted the policies in various ways, including non-cooperation, corruption of services, sabotage, strikes and criticism of credit in various articles of necessity. One after another, they secured progressively better terms for themselves. They have almost compelled either the Government or the employers to surrender. They are rich, industrial, resourceful, and organised. They are strong and vocal enough to make themselves heard.

Not so the agricultural labourer. He is poor, ignorant, has no means to organise, far from being influential, he is down-trodden. His recent strike, for the only strike open to him is hunger-strike, and though he is habituated to semi-starvation, the natural inclination for life does not reconcile him to starve to death altogether. But there is no favourable condition, which can create in him a desire to put his heart and soul into his job. Since he is not strong enough to exact his own terms of work, he takes only to negative negges. He proceeds with his work like a cycle, which has no free-wheel-peddling arrangement, that is, is propelled only as long as the rider peddles it.

There ought to be no two opinions on the absolute necessity of India becoming self-sufficient in food. And in food, cereals and pulses must take the place of horses. Everything else can wait. Are we all convinced of this? The

Government policy has more than once changed, in this respect, so as to appear that the staple food itself was subsidiary to subsidiary foods, and to cotton, jute, tobacco, groundnut, sugarcane etc.

The producer of food is the real protector and guardian of the nation. A peasant-labourer must be given the same respect and his wants the same consideration, as we are accustomed to give to the members of the fighting forces.

The Defence Minister has under him General Cariappa as the Supreme Commander-in-Chief of our fighting forces. His respect in the State is almost as great as that of the Prime Minister. If one of his great lieutenants dies, we carry his bier with military honours. We permit Mahatma Chakravarti and other middle and pay pensions to those whom he recommends for acts of heroism in the discharge of their well-rewarded services. In appointing General Cariappa and his lieutenants, care is taken to see that they have actual knowledge, experience of military technique and have distinguished themselves in service in some remarkable manner.

Who is the Food Minister's General Cariappa in the great national army that fights hunger? What are his experience and deeds of prowess in agriculture? With what respect and awe does the country look upon the peasant? How are his daily labours rewarded? How are his particular needs appreciated? What is the Ambedkar Chakra, which the President might some day be asked to pin upon the shirt of a valiant soldier of the soil? He is not so expensive as a member of the armed forces. The latter depends upon the former and not vice versa. He supplies not only the means of subsistence to the army-man, but even the army-man himself is ultimately recruited from his ranks.

We cannot produce sufficient food so long as we neglect the prime factor of production — the human material. Their number is so great, that practically they form the nation. In our democracy as constituted that they should feel that this is as much a government of their people, for their people and for their people as of the rest? We should so alter the material conditions of life that they should feel interested in doing their work.

Wardha, 21-8-50

K. D. KARNATWALA

PS I hope these discussions of fundamentals will not be misunderstood. They are not made in the spirit of doing no more than find faults. The present Government is not the only responsible body for the present order and conditions. They are still in the midst of a system which is centuries old. Nor should these discussions be mixed up with the various measures

suggested for adoption to meet the immediate crisis. The endeavour to meet the present crisis in as hard a manner as circumstances will allow should be a matter in which every individual and group should feel duty bound to co-operate with every one else, including the Government.

K. D. K.

QUESTION-BOX

Wasteful Expenditure

Q. — One often receives by post communications, of which the following is a sample:

"We Anandea Thakur, 24 G-1, To Show All Mankind And Show To All They Also We All They Ought To Do."

"The above paragraph should go round the world. Copy it and send it to your place friends and see what happens. You will be rewarded of your valourous on the 15th day of your dispatching you will receive some good news. Do not write your name before but only the date of receipt and dispatch of this good news. This has been started by a Mahatma in the Hindustan and must go round the world. Do not break and this chain, otherwise it will bring you a bad news. Five days after the dispatch of later copies of the above paragraph a happy event will be taking place and all you will joy. You will receive some good news after doing this. Notice on the 15th day after sending the chain with Rs 10 ONLY. Later this has been sent on account of not sending the copies of this chain. The house was destroyed for not taking it seriously."

Date of receipt, 14/8/50.

Date of dispatch, 20/8/50.

The fear of evil and the hope of gain extending the superstitious and complacent stupidity of the Indian people makes such a ridiculous story. Should such regulations be imposed?"

A. — No. It is a wasteful expenditure, that does good to none except the Postal Department. It is not unlikely that this expenditure might have been started in some country by a shrewd Minister of Posts and Telegraphs to increase the Government revenue, and thoughtlessly copied by credulous people, that abound in every country. Such communications should be ignored.

Wardha, 11-7-50

Sugar and Khandsari

Q. — It is reported that one of the proposals made by the U.P. Sugar Industry to the Central and U.P. Governments is "Heavy duty should be imposed on Khandsari and a licensing fee on sugar-cane 'crushers' (kudhwa) in order to divert sugar-cane to the production of crystal sugar." Will not such a step lead to depriving the masses of another useful article of food and giving them useless sugar, as they are being given vasugani instead of oil or ghee?"

A. — I was not quite sure whether there is much to choose between Khandsari, by which I understand village-made sugar powder, (and

not large crystals or balls of brown sugar, and crystal sugar of the industrial, as far as their biochemical merits are concerned. But if sugar is to be manufactured, the manufacture of *khandsari* being a decentralized way of production, should be encouraged in every way and not hampered. Large-scale industries have natural economic advantages over small-scale ones in competition. Hence, if a question of giving State protection or facilities arises, it should be the small-scale industries which should receive patronage.

In the present process of manufacturing *khandsari*, there is much which requires to be improved—particularly from the point of view of cleanliness and purity of the substance. That it is not perfectly white may be due to the presence of certain essential mineral salts and therefore may be a point in its favour. But, I am afraid that it is also partly due to dust and other impurities which get into it because of the not too careful methods of its manufacture. Government can do much to bring about these reforms.

If sugar and *khandsari* are not too dissimilar in their contents, a comparison cannot be made of these two with respect to simple oil or glue. Forsooth, that is hydrogenated, is not desirable by itself and will not become less undesirable by merely manufacturing it in a decentralized manner. Between *gur* and brown sugar on the one hand and *khandsari* on the other, the first two are regarded superior food to *khandsari* and crystal sugar. Nevertheless, for certain kinds and stomachs *khandsari* or crystal sugar may be even better than *gur*. Also, no one will adulterate *gur* with *khandsari* or sugar, rather attempts are made to adulterate the other way. So, speaking subject to correction, if *khandsari* manufacture is improved it will become practically decentralized sugar industry. The necessity to help *khandsari* industry is mainly in the interest of decentralization. The necessity to prohibit *samsapah* rests on several grounds.

Mumbai, 15-8-32

R. S. MANGRUPALLA

The Essential of Democracy

The essential ingredient of democracy is not doctrine but intelligence, not authority but reason, not creed but faith in man, faith in God. Our strength lies in the fearless pursuit of truth by the words of men who are free.

DAVID LILIENTHAL.

(From *Talks to Doctors* by Rogers, read by a reader.)

INTERNAL SANITATION

The following sentence appearing in the *Frederick Times* of 7-4-33 is an article on Pella disease to be pondered over. "Pella outbreaks seem especially severe in countries with high standards of living while they are much less frequently reported from countries where sanitation is poor." In this connection it may be of interest to know of the unexpected results of large-scale sanitation measures undertaken in a certain county in England. People from a portion of a slum area were transferred to well-ventilated houses built on high ground and provided with all the sanitary conveniences. Curiously enough after a year or so when the health of the residents in the new as well as the old locality was checked up, it was found that the health of those in the sanitary dwellings was much lower than that of the residents in the old slum area. What could be the reason for this effect? Fortunately the investigator happened to check up the food of the residents also. It was found that after transfer the residents of the sanitary dwellings had to deplete on cheaper foods and to take less of the protective foods like fruits and vegetables, because of their increased expenditure on rents. Generally the preserved and salted meats, cast less than fresh and whole foods especially of the protective kind, which when taken with less hunger, undergo constructive metabolism, resulting in the building up of healthy tissues, whereas the salted and negative foods undergo destructive metabolism by way of decomposition and putrefaction, resulting in the production of toxic substances which if retained (which generally happens among the rich who eat highly processed and indigestible foods and that hunger-bomb) will foul the blood and the tissues and consuming acids will give rise to a state of *acidosis* before Nature changes it into disease—a biological process of elimination of accumulated filth, in order to raise the health level of the person.

It is thus clear that it is the dietary causes leading to fouling of the body that is a more potent cause of disease than external sanitation. So both external and internal sanitation have to be attended to, always giving priority and greater attention to internal sanitation. Vaccines and sera may go to increase the internal sanitation, as they are themselves products of disease artificially produced on the bodies of animals. Therefore can be put forward to justify the methods. But no such of course sense can approve of the methods when he wants to know of all the aspects of the methods. Also the theories still remain to be proved. At least Nature's experience disproves the theory. Medical men as well as bacteriologists are divided in their opinion. The specificity of the germs has been long ago shown to be non-existent and recent bacteriological evidence only confirms the Nature's cure teaching on this subject.

Germs are not the potent cause of disease. It is just our link in the chain. Nature creates or

makes use of them to carry the disease germs to a successful and usually better health. They serve as scavengers to consume the Bk. The experiments of Prof. Antoine Bechamp to great medical men and chemist and a contemporary of Pasteur and a number of other scientists in recent years, only confirm the above view.

Killing the germ by a poison may lead to a temporary remission of the disease symptom but the body is not relieved of the accumulated Bk. On the other hand the cause of disease, namely toxins is only added to by the drugs and vaccines. The body gets clogged with toxins of a very serious nature in the form of the various drugs and vaccines apart from the Bk accumulated through physiological work, and these begin to hamper life from within and at a later stage begin to consume the very cells of the body. This must be the reason for the increase in the degenerative diseases in these days. In England after the passing of the convalescent crisis about 80 per cent of the population remained unwell; noted. Thus the decrease in epidemics is due to sanitation external and internal while the increase in the degenerative diseases is due to drugs and the prophylactics.

If facts are studied in the light of the fundamentals of Health and Life as taught by our ancient Science of Life called *Ayurveda* or the new Science of Health and Healing called *Nature Cure* it must be clear that if at all the modern prophylactics confer any immunity, it is only by the suppression of the natural power to life by overloading the body with toxins.

Everybody has to deserve his health and well-being by right action and by prophylactic or correction for past wrong action. Nobody can escape the operation of this eternal Law.

The first act on the part of those responsible must be to first stop enforcing the prearrangement of one system only as all alike and to give equal opportunities and equal aid to all systems of health and healing and allow the systems to find their own merits. This is the natural way.

The foregoing deserves the attention of the Planning Commission also. How can they hope to improve the productive capacity of the nation without ensuring the right means for natural health? A naturally healthy person does not take work as a task. He just finds it impossible to remain idle. He need not be forced to work. He works spontaneously and willingly and produces excellent things also. A healthy boy need not be compelled to study. It is but natural for every boy to have the urge to know what he has not known so far. Thus the right way to be able to real health by natural means. Our leaders in their anxiety to bring quick relief may fail to take note of all the implications and the possible repercussions of wrong methods.

It is earnestly hoped that our leaders will give their deep consideration to the above and take early steps to utilize the services of the *Nature-cure* experts also.

(PROF.) LAKSHMINARAYAN, MEDICAL.

A PRODUCTIVE HONEY

I am a sort of a miscellaneous collector and have the hard task of following a voluntary production for my livelihood. The associates tell me that some collectors or collectors of words are parasites and the producers of words "the best possibility—their country's price" are the real backbone of the nation and we all thoroughly agree with them. How may a more larger life be to productivity?

Due to the pressure of the struggle for existence and addition to such bad habits as tea, coffee etc., I do not also tobacco, consequently in an hour among the followers of voluntary production and I am an exception to it—my health being more too strong. But I steadily try to keep the green-headed campaign in my own basket way.

For the last four years and a half, I have been blessed with the possession of a small house which has a small part back to front and behind it, and provides me with a comfortable area of about 150 square feet out of a total of about 500 square feet. I have also got the facility of a well near my house, which never runs dry. I have got a wooden staircase and garden and rope.

For the hours of the day, I follow a hardy production and for about an hour take the king of activities—working both morning and evening. Not during the winter and summer months, I find time to water my oranges and plants and trees. During the rainy season of course King Cloud increases my work as a scavenger to carry my message of green water, fruits and flowers, to the very of mother earth and beautiful nature helps her to flourish abundantly. I have grown rice and sugarcane and banana plants and medicinal flowers, and several species of the night, all every a summer and rainy night with their delicious sweet fragrance. I have grown green and orange and banana and chili and garden plants which give me flowers with glorious colors but without smell. I have also a few plants of marigold providing red colour for the walls of the house.

I have planted mango, banana and guava trees, which of which you cannot find here in value between 5 to 10 pounds of white coins. If not your experience cannot find. One year a very good of mango-fruit, which was widely valued by rain, gave me about 40 fruits in one season valued at about 20 rupees or more. I also grew the leaf and but the last the last three or four months (mango) small-mangoes to appear. These last have yielded on an average a pound and a half at least every year and this price has come to about 10 rupees yearly.

As for fruit from I have just fruit and papaya trees and the papaya trees have yielded about 150 fruits per season valued at about 15 rupees.

I have been able to give a few fruits to friends and neighbours and even to the poor families or families (small members of an ecological unit), who are so poor that they eat these now. I have got immense delight whenever they have asked my permission to pick the fruits from my paper tree. With a spirit in Words with I have been inclined to sing.

"And then my heart with pleasure fills

And dances with the beatitude"

I have of course naturally asked them this question: "Why don't you plant a few papaya and water trees your soil?" Probably their unorthodox form of mind will not allow them to follow horticulture as a profession.

I have used compost and buffalo-dung mixture occasionally which my husband has been kind enough to supply me with and that also dig a compost pit and used it and applied the compost mixture at the beginning of the rainy season. I have to give no more than half an hour's labour about watering the trees during summer and winter and this is the result.

I have planted 1 small-mango and 1 peach plant in my compound during the last Purnamashtami, besides sowing about 100 white seeds in my own compound about

I follow from here, but I shall be in a rush to receive their account.

Our struggle and our progress live in my multiplied heart willing to my efforts to grow more true during the last few years campaigns of the Congress Government.

The services are given during the working of these plants and other industrial backhanded operations helps to keep interest in this being a sort of occupational therapy. And when one and one's gear and dear ones and people and other friends visited by the event of one's leave and enjoy vegetable preparations prepared from fruits and vegetables and besides the heart treatment "You are not a mean parasite, you have been in poor health by helping the national campaign of growing more food."

I resumed my fellow professionals and others engaged in subsidiary occupations increasingly directed to take a leaf out of my book.

A. T. BARNY

LIFE OF EQUALITY AND SELF-SUFFICIENCY

(Summary of a thesis presented by Sri Vinoba to the members of the Goveva Sangh at Wartha on 14-1-61)

Our institutions have begun to think seriously of their programmes and considerations of life in relation to the life of the society, ever since the death of Bepko. There can be no ground for finding fault with others, if the way of life advocated by us does not spread in society. We have to find fault with our own selves. We ourselves have not practised our principles. We put forth non-possessions as one of our ideals, but have never acted up to it. We are repeatedly asked (by engineers) to explain the method of implementing Gandhism. We cannot do it until we have put these ideas into practice in our own institutions in the first instance. Thereafter they could be introduced in society.

There are about a thousand workers in all our institutions put together here. Why may we not regard ourselves as constituting a village? We must produce all things necessary for us, without reference to market prices outside. If we produce our own wants, we shall be able to fix our own relative prices. They will be stable. If the production is less, we shall resort to rationing, but there will be no variation in prices. If it is necessary to make exceptions to equal distribution on grounds of health, we shall do so. But we shall not initiate the present way, in which if the production is less, the price is raised, so that only he, who can give the higher price, may get an article. This leads to denial of the supply to the very person who needs it most. This experiment must be first made by us upon ourselves.

Along with non-possessions and self-sufficient full life, the third necessity is that of equality. Every individual must get equal protection and education. But since all our activities are carried on through the medium of money, there is plenty of pecuniary inequality among us. If a batch of 15 or 20 people make this experiment, they will be looked upon as either

practitioners of austerity (tapas) or fools. If we succeed we shall be regarded the former, if we fail the latter. So if we wish to achieve results it must be practised on a sufficiently large scale and applied to our whole life.

Essentially the account of the various branches of the Goveva Sangh was placed before the meeting. Referring to this, Sri Vinoba said:

By 'all-round service', we must understand 'affirmed' to the extent of life connected with our main activity, namely, *peasants*.

Wartha.

A. T.

(Continued from 1965)

ADOPTION OF ORPHANS AND CRIPPLES

Last year, a little, helpless Goveva boy named George Goveva was brought to the shores of Calcutta. Today at the age of 15, George is in the United States to be fitted with artificial limbs and trained in their use.

George is one of approximately 2,000 children in war-torn countries being cared for by the Foster Parents Plan for War Children, an American private organisation. The Plan operates largely through "adoption", under which individuals and groups assume the responsibility for a child's care. Children who live with families receive small monthly cash grants supplementary packages of food and clothing and medical care. Other orphans live in cottages and hostels operated by the Plan.

"Adopted" by an American couple, Mr and Mrs Gordon Wilson, George was brought to the United States by Mrs Helen Blue, the Plan's director. His legs were amputated after they had been crushed by a German tank in 1941. His mother and father were killed by Goveva while in 1942.

The organisation has brought two other children in the United States for treatment. They were Caroline Bova, a three-year-old Italian boy who was fitted with artificial arms and Barbara Hanks, a five-year-old Greek orphan who needed plastic surgery for birth deformities.

Only a few of the children ever brought to the United States. Therefore, the foster parents are urged to send letters, photographs and small gifts to the children to let them know that someone is interested in their welfare.

Since it was created in 1955, the Foster Parents Plan has helped to provide security and opportunity for more than 15,000 children in England, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, China, Czechoslovakia, Italy and Greece. Dr Kenneth A. Bush, physical rehabilitation expert in the United States, says that "the provision of that security and opportunity could well be a 'Foster Plan' programme for underdeveloped human resources".

(Lancet, London, 1964-1965)

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(FOUNDED BY BALAKRISHNA SAMKOTI)

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TWO ANNAS

WAS GANDHI A TRADITIONALIST?

[The Vigil published a series of instructive articles by Acharya J. B. Kripplani in its issues of July 22, 26 and August 6. Acharya Kripplani examined therein the views of the Socialist Party of India as expressed by its President Shri Jagan Mohan, at their Conference held in Madras last month. It appears that Shri Mohan has viewed Gandhiji's approach to be a return to traditional patterns of life! Shri Kripplani has expounded at length how this view is erroneous, and has given a scholarly exposition of Gandhiji's attitude towards industrialisation, mechanisation and the political setup of the country. This part of his article is reproduced here with the permission of the editor.—B. G. M.]

Machinery and Industries.

It is no 'traditional pattern' of life on which Gandhiji built. It may seem so to the uncritical. But to those who have made an effort to understand, the pattern was only apparently old. To use a Marathi expression, they are 'vishat-patras' as a higher intellectual, moral and spiritual level the level of a new creation. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was once right.

Take for instance the charkha and loom. These are traditional instruments of production. But did Gandhiji want the charkha to remain as it was? The Spinning Association offered a prize of one lakh rupees for a spinning wheel which could produce at least four(4) times its normal quantity of yarn. When asked by a Socialist if the village industries movement was not meant to end the charkha, Gandhiji replied, pointing to the charkha, 'Is this wheel not a machine?' The Socialist said that what he meant was big machinery. Gandhiji replied, 'Do you mean Singer's sewing machine? That has been prohibited by the village industries movement, and for that matter all machinery which does not disturb the masses of men of the opportunity to labour and which helps individuals to add to their efficiency and which a man can handle at will without being its slave.'

So what about great inventions? You would have nothing to do with electricity? Gandhiji: 'Who said so? If we could have electricity in every village home, I should not mind villagers giving implements or tools with the help of electricity. But then village communities of the State would not permit houses, just to have their grating factories. But where there is no electricity and no machinery, what are the tools to be? Will you give them work or will you leave their careers and their lives for want of work?

So what about great inventions? You would have nothing to do with electricity? Gandhiji: 'Who said so? If we could have electricity in every village home, I should not mind villagers giving implements or tools with the help of electricity. But then village communities of the State would not permit houses, just to have their grating factories. But where there is no electricity and no machinery, what are the tools to be? Will you give them work or will you leave their careers and their lives for want of work?

I would prize every invention of science made for the benefit of all. I would not care for any technology given capable of killing masses of men at a blow. The heavy machinery for work of public utility which cannot be undertaken by human hands has its inevitable place but all that will be owned by the State and used entirely by the State for the benefit of the people. I can have no consideration for machinery which is meant either to enrich the few at the expense of the many, or without trying to dispense the labour of the many.

But even you as a Socialist would not be in favour of an indiscriminate use of machinery. Take printing

presses. They will go on. This might increase. How can we make them with such hands? Heavy machinery will be needed for them. But there is no machinery for the work of millions today but this (the hand) is not dying! I am living in the world of the country.

So what? 'Then you are fighting not against machinery as such, but against its abuse which is so much its evidence today?'

Gandhiji: 'I would unhesitatingly say, yes, but I would give the scientific usage and discoveries should be of all men to be more instruments of good. These inventions will not be overruled and machinery instead of being a hindrance will be a help. I am doing not at the eradication of machinery but its inclusion.'

So what? 'Then logically argued that would imply that all complicated power-driven machinery should go.'

Gandhiji: 'It might have to go. But I must make one thing clear. The machine substituted is man. The machine should not tend to make anything the slave of man. For instance, I would make intelligent exceptions. Take the case of the Singer's sewing machine. High one of the few useful things ever invented.

So what? 'But in that case there will have to be a factory for making Singer's sewing machines and it would have to contain power-driven machinery of ordinary type.'

Gandhiji: 'Yes, but I am Socialist enough to say that such factories should be nationalised or State-controlled. They ought only to be working under the most effective and most conditions, not for profit but for the benefit of humanity by making the place of good as nature.'

In 1924 he wrote in Young India: 'The economic contribution of India for the matter of that should be such that he can afford rather than want of food and clothing. Everybody should get sufficient work to enable him to make the two ends meet. And this ideal can be universally reached if the means of production of the elementary necessities of life remain in the control of the masses.'

Later on in 1940 he said in Kirti: 'I do visualize electricity, shipbuilding, iron works, machine-making and the like coming side by side with village handicrafts. But the order of precedence will be reversed. I do not share the Socialist belief that collectivisation of the ownership of the will ever conduce to the common welfare when established industries are planned by the State.' (What then we are glad to say the Socialist goes) has been greatly modified by what is now called 'planning'.

I make no apology for giving this long quotation. I do so because despite repeated denials by Gandhiji that he does not want a return to the past, the facts have proved him wrong and that not only to Socialist circles but even among Congressmen and the general public. The fact is that superficial statements are accepted by the ownership of the charkha with the old charkha that men and women were obliged to use to produce cloth in those days. Today whether it is the charkha or the loom or any other old machine or tool that is used for the

production of itself or anything else, it is deliberately adopted in preference to heavy centralized machinery in mills and factories for a purpose which is novel and revolutionary.

In the case of Gandhiji the purpose was to establish an equilibrium, *Samavaya* social order free from exploitation. It is also used in the case of India to indicate the national economic selfemployment and selfemployment of the millions of peasants whose holdings are uneconomical and for an ever-increasing mass of handloom weavers. When the distaff, the loom or the carpenter's or weaver's instruments used for this purpose in older days! Surely there is a world of difference between an axe that is used for cutting trees and the axe one uses for cutting human heads. The problem is only an axe manifested in a particular way. To continue on old village industry with its revival under modern conditions, but with determination to increase its efficiency, where possible, by means of mechanized energy of a type that can be universally supplied and made available in relatively regulated quantities over long distances (e.g. electricity), is a piece of conservatism of which Gandhiji was never guilty.

We may not forget that the spirit of conservatism very often takes refuge in supposedly modern things and justifications. Progressives and notable spirit demands from us to be ever ready to investigate and experiment with new theories, progress and science. We cannot merely break habit's chains of radical reform simply because it was old times and philosophy, really understood by the masses. This is neither a scientific nor a rational attitude towards life. A revolutionary, even as a moral and spiritual reformer, tries to go beyond words and forms to the spirit of any proposed changes in material instruments, patterns of thought, and behaviour. It is almost to think that everything that has the appearance of modernity is progressive or revolutionary. Is indeed the modernity is of the times in which the members of a radical group were born and under whose patterns of thought and behaviour they were brought up? Is a mere reaction of the wave type. Most of our economic and material thought and behaviour belong to the age of steam which was a new and rational reaction in the late century. Steam could work mass effectively only in restricted limits and fashion. To recapture this and only this type of production as the most suited presently, politically and morally to the changed times where electric power is available and all big machines have come to have standardized parts, is to be needlessly conservative. When this conservatism becomes unthinking fanaticism, it becomes reactionary.

The decentralization of industry in a densely populated country with an increasing population is not merely to give work to its hands and increase production and thereby the wealth of the country. It is not merely an economic proposition but has also its ecological, political and moral value. It is not our purpose to enter into these here. For the present argument it is sufficient to show that what is superficially considered as Gandhiji's ideas to "crystallize patterns of life" is not only so, unless immediately we know or deliberately misrepresent what Gandhiji is really proposed and worked for.

Folldor Organization

In politics it is well known that Gandhiji wanted semi-independent republics (paramounts) to organize fully all their local affairs, the Central Government to be confined to a federation of such paramounts. Here are his own words: "My idea of village living is that it is a complete republic independent of its neighbours for local needs and yet interdependent for things large in which dependence is necessary. Thus every village's first concern will be to give its own food and produce its own cloth. The village will establish its library, school and public hall. It will have its own waterworks as far as possible every activity will be conducted on cooperative basis. There will be no courts. There will be compulsory service of village guards who will be

selected by village. The Government of the village will be conducted by the paramount assembly elected by adult villagers male and female. There will have all the authority and jurisdiction required."

This shows that not only did Gandhiji believe in the decentralization of industry as far as it was possible and practical that he was far at least in the primary necessities of life are concerned, but he believed no less in the decentralization of political power. So far as culture is concerned, where Gandhiji makes every village a complete peaceful republic and when he wants the village to have its own theatre, public hall etc. and when it is well known that he emphasized the role of the individual in the group so that he was often called a philosophy anarchist and when he wanted full freedom and education for every child, we cannot but be impressed that he believed in cultural victory? There could be no otherwise being a matter of nonconformity? I suppose all this is what the Gandhians call "philosophy" in all fields of human life and activity, a philosophy which yet makes for a peaceful way based upon unchanging fundamental moral values and which flows from this, the party of means for achieving desirable ends.

J. B. KUPPALAM

DOMESTIC WEAVING IN U.S.A.

(The life and writings of Ralph Horrell of U.S.A. will be found very instructive by Gandhian workers. His views on self-sufficiency, decentralization, back to village life, and education have a remarkable similarity with those of Gandhiji, except of course in environmental differences. His book *Days from the City* is almost entirely a personal narrative of the advantages of the Horrell family in establishing a profitable country home. The advantage began a quarter of a century ago. Some years later another friend John Jacobs joined them with his family. After quarter of a century's experience, Mr. Horrell emphatically gives his people the message "Abandon the city while you can". One of the chapters of the book, is devoted to the "Loom and the Spinning Machine". It is well to interesting to think weavers' extracts from the chapter are reproduced here with the kind permission of Mr. Horrell. It must be borne in mind that Mr. Horrell has not considered the question of home-spinning. He has taken well paid for printed.

—R. G. M.]

Before the era of factory spinning and factory weaving which began with the first Arctwright mill in Northampton, England, in 1739, textile and clothing were made in the homes and workshops of such community. Men raised the flax and wool and then did the weaving. Women did the spinning and later wove and knitted the yarn into garments of all kinds. The scale of the spinning wheel and the rhythm of the loom filled the house. Perhaps one-third of the time of men and women—estimated of their total lives at least—was devoted to producing yarns and fabrics which they consumed.

In the place of home-reared in the homes, America now has thousands of mills employing hundreds of thousands of wage-workers. Many of the wage-workers in these textile mills are children in spite of the campaign against child labour. And the wages paid by these mills are miserably the lowest which prevail in industry in the country. Instead of healthy and creative work in the homes we have monotony and deadly labour in mills.

A little over a third of the production of the cotton industry is used for industrial purposes. Two-thirds of the production of cotton and nearly all of the production of the silk and wool industry go to the consumer either as piece goods or home sewing, or run up into wearing apparel by clothing manufacturers. This means that only 25 to 35 per cent of the total number of factories and workers in the cotton industry are engaged in producing for the needs of other industries. All of the rest are doing work which need to be done in the homes and much of which might well be done there. And our

experimenters with sewing and weaving tend to show that it can be done at an actual saving of labour or money.

If all the machines of modern science and industry were to be utilized for the purpose of making the spinning wheel, the reel, and the loom, how many efficient domestic machines (on efficient principle as is the average domestic sewing-machine) the number of looms, mills which could meet the competition of the home producer would be insignificant. And if modern inventors' genius were thus applied to these appliances for weaving, there would be no shortage in domestic weaving: a saving of time and money would be effected, the quality and design of fabrics would be improved, and everybody of high and low degree would be furnished an opportunity to engage in interesting and expensive work. Such improved machinery would occupy no more space than is now wasted in many homes and the home room would give to the home a new practical and economic function.

The biggest market for these looms is I believe in the institutional field. Weaving is one of the licensed methods of "correctional therapy" in the counteracting studies of institutions for nervous and mental disorders which we are meeting all over the country. The marks of repetitive work in our factories and offices and the absence of creative and productive work in our homes particularly for a more children and the aged, is having as little a state of atrophy. Weaving is being revived after a fashion, as a therapeutic measure in hospitals these underdeveloped in health. What a gloriously contemporary agent when we have called progress! Having taken the looms out of homes during the past century and transferred them to factories we now find that the absence of the creative work they used to furnish is producing an overwhelming number of neurotic men and women, and an undue number of "problem" children. So our physicians are getting the loom back their laboratories, in hospitals, asylums, the therapeutic study departments will again. That they turn them after making them back into their homes seems to break down again.

The looms built for occupational therapy and hand weaving generally are deliberately designed to increase the amount of material woven which shows who operates them here is perfect for every part of cloth produced. As a result the actual production of cloth is slow and laborious. Yet there is no reason why this should be so. The right kind of loom would enable the average family to produce millings, flannels, rags, popovers, and domestic fabrics of all kinds of a quality superior to those generally produced in factories and on sale in stores at a far lower cost after taking time and all materials and supplies into consideration. The article and material price from the process of this craft would therefore be a clear gain.

In the average home, a loom which will weave a width of a yard is sufficient. One is able to handle fabric up to forty-four inches in width. While many things can be made on a simple two-ply loom we find the four-harness loom a more useful type because of its greater range of design. But every loom should be equipped with an efficient system for weaving, and with a flying shuttle. If it is to enable the housewife to compete upon an economic basis with the factory. Number of threads is unimportant in fact the whole investment in equipment in order to weave need not exceed \$10 if one can make the flying shuttle arrangement oneself. The shuttle mechanism on my loom was home-made and took me only three or four hours to put together. With such a loom, even an average weaver can produce a yard of cloth an hour and a speedy weaver willing to exert himself can produce thirty yards per day. Most looms take only seven yards of warp—enough cloth to make a dress-length suit for a man. It is possible to weave the cloth for a suit in a single day on a small loom, and in less than a day on a loom in handle fifty-yard cloth.

Our experiments in the weaving of modern fabrics and women's clothing have demonstrated the possibilities for saving out of the looms most of the expenditures for ready-made garments but even the expenditures for fabric. The garments made from fabric woven in the looms presented suggest not only the great saving of garments for which it is possible to weave the fabric but the fact that they are, if anything, more attractive than those which are usually on sale in retail stores ready-made.

(The first and cloth which I wove) was made from yarn borrowed in the Kentucky mountains. The cloth was woven and finished in our home; the cut was made up by a tailor operating a common shop near our place. The yarn cost \$1.00, the weaving \$20. I had it accepted by various elevated circles of the town and they valued it at the very best \$10 to \$15. One friend who could not qualify as an expert but who has his suits made by Fifth Avenue tailor said that he had paid \$125 for suits no better than this one. Incidentally, the making was the first which I gave away.

The nature of taking up things up one of the interesting phases of modern civilization on which we pay no attention but for which we pay appreciation over and over again. The variety of skilled craftsmen which men now must have nothing but custom to recommend them. They require great skill in working they are therefore important for manufacturers as well. Yet they are undervalued. They do nothing to set off the human form. They are not even credited that of the hard work of the world is done by them who wear sweaters or cotton garments which are too valued as well. While suits are produced enough for the work which men do in office, they are made too but for better use—especially in homes which are decorated. A suitable recreation, however makes us all over them. With women's garments, the best for weaving and for the accessories, even with personal styles, is much broader.

(Along with the loom) the warp-making is a most important piece of domestic machinery. It is doubtful whether any other part of machinery pays larger dividends upon the investment made in it. Yet it remains a tool to be used when needed and laid aside perhaps for months at a time when its using has to be done in connection with the loom, the weaving machine takes on no significance both economically and technically.

(While the weaver, using is important by itself) to use the part which our loom and weaving machine have played in creative living is, if anything, more important than the machine they have rendered in making us less dependent upon sewing society.

RALPH MORRISON

(Revised and adapted from *Flight from the City*)

Correction:

In *Morison's August 26, 1936, page 225, column two, line seven of last paragraph from bottom, please read "desired" for "designed"*

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ENCOURAGING PRODUCTION

Let us consider what should be done immediately to encourage production of food and cloth. Long-term plans are even if difficult, of course, easier to lay down. It is the 'First Year' plans, steps to be taken in the very weeks or the next, which present difficulties of every sort.

Administrators must give up their negative attitude as much as they expect the people to do so. It is no use irritating the people by saying that the question of distribution does not arise until there is sufficient production. It would be possible to say so without giving offence if it were a question of equitable distribution of motor cars, cycles, or rubber toys. But as the distribution of essentials of life, — food, cloth, houses, — the question of equitable distribution cannot be subordinated to that of production. It is particularly so where the producers of these articles himself suffer from maldistribution, and helplessly see before his own eyes godowns full of grains, cloth etc., which his manual efforts have produced, but which he cannot touch without being regarded a robber, while rats, vermin and damp destroy them by tons on account of sheer neglect, and a great deal is squandered in numerous diseases and put up for sale in sweet-meat shops. How can people look steadily to a system of controls and rationing, which does not allow A to get regularly his rationed food and sugar on the ground that stocks are insufficient, but in the same time allows B to hold a conference of five thousand people for three or five days or C to obtain sufficient flour and sugar to prepare and sell sweetmeats, which he does not use and cannot purchase even if he wanted to?

Thus, hence, also, that the negative attitude towards controls and rationing must also be given up by the administrators. It is no use merely repeating that controls cannot be removed, and that they have come to stay. If they cannot be removed they must be improved. The landless village labourer must understand how the system, in which controls and procurements operate throughout the land, while rationing is so arranged that only the poor employees of others derive some comfort from it, is for his benefit. Otherwise, one of the several bad effects of the controls is the extraordinary and continuous migration of villagers into cities and towns, making production as well as distribution of food more difficult than what it already is. If it is held that controls cannot be removed without creating a serious crisis in city life, the least thing necessary is to make radical alterations to

their system. The effect of controls should be to create in the people a desire for and habit of being law-abiding, and a conviction that, even if they have to put up with some hardships, the system is for their moral and material benefit. If the controls can be maintained only by penal laws made suffer day by day, they are, at their best, like driving a horse up a hill with a tightly drawn bridle. The horse would only break down, but cannot climb. So also the nation.

I do believe that regulation of distribution of food-cloth is necessary for the nation in our present situation. The distribution cannot be left entirely to the operations of a free market. But the regulation must be brought about through the people's own 'Institutions', by people, I mean, the men and women whose manual efforts create the food and who are most affected by maldistribution. There must be different modes within the sight of the people, — as far as possible, in their own village, except where the village is commonly liable to be damaged by floods or heavy rains. The management must be in the hands of a person, whom the non-propertied masses might regard as their man, and not a servant of the Government or the creature of a political or communal group.

There need not be a uniform way of bringing this about. Preferably, it may take the form of a co-operative society of landless peasants and artisans and people below a particular economic level. Or, it may be managed by a respected, charitable, philanthropic or constructive institution.

The cultivation of cereals and pulses must be encouraged to the maximum extent, and not according to paper calculations of the nation's resources. This can be done in various ways: e.g. collection of a fixed quantity of stipulated grains (and, if necessary, in some places, cotton and a few other things) in lieu of revenue, settled for a number of years; grant of remissions in forest loans, because, as particular agriculture amounts to cultivation individually or villages as a body, showing a better produce than their recorded average; reservation of a particular percentage of food crops and raw cotton for the benefit of people, who are landless (or almost so) in the village; sale of food and raw cotton to them in exchange of hand-spun yarn or cloth, (as, if it can be managed without complications, other articles needed by the village, or valuable outside); payment of a part of wages in the form of food. These ideas are illustrative, not exhaustive.

All this would, of course, need a kind of village Sauraj. But the Sauraj will be of a very different pattern from those sought to be set up under the names of panchayats and gramshabs, which are democratic in form, but in reality organs of powerful interests. On the other hand the organizations suggested

show may be apparently quite undemocratic. The form is less important than substance, and the substance of democracy is that the machinery must command the love and respect of the people.

Wardha, 28-8-39

R. G. KARNATKALA

TRADE UNIONS AND PARTY POLITICS

The labour movement is basically a movement for the amelioration of the conditions of the lowly and down-trodden. After the achievement of freedom, the important questions facing the trade unions is 'What should be the method of achieving this?' It is clear that unless trade unions become powerful in the land the aim of the amelioration of the conditions of workers which they have in view cannot be achieved, and even if achieved, it cannot be adequately maintained. This power can be acquired in two ways, namely, either by signing with, or influencing, a leading political party in the country, or by placing before the country their own programme of administration.

At the first sight it appears that without their collaboration with political parties, the trade unions will not be able to achieve their objectives. This is no doubt true from the short-range view. Some short-lived gains are likely to be achieved, and more quickly, through the help of leading political parties in the country. In the long run, however, there is a great risk of the objectives of labour being jeopardised if trade unions submerge themselves into political parties.

While there can be no objection in seeking the assistance of political parties for achieving labour objectives, the course of trade-union workers becoming members of such parties, or active members of political parties leading and managing trade unions, is definitely harmful to the interest of labour. A labour movement cannot, except of course when it is in a position to frame its own programme of administration with a view to capture the Government of the country at the next elections, afford to play with parties without creating serious obstacles for itself in securing its legitimate aims. The safest course for it is to steer clear of all political parties in the land and confine its activities to those connected partly with the amelioration of the conditions of labour. If this is done, support can be obtained from all the political parties in the country without making labour a subject of controversy.

By joining political parties the trade-union workers will be frittering away a good deal of their energies which they could more usefully utilise in making their unions strong and in serving the cause of labour. It was for this reason that at one stage in the history of the political freedom of our country, that saw among men, Mahatma Gandhi, decided that the workers of the All-India Spinners' Association and the All-India Village Industries Association should not be active members of the Congress and

should not have any connection with politics. That salutary rule applies equally appropriately to trade-union workers of our country today.

The present position of trade unions in the country is very weak. They are not yet properly organized on the lines on which they exist, and there are quite a number of industries which have no trade unions at all. A common feature of the existing trade unions is that, with very few exceptions, they are run by untried political leaders or under leaders of various shades, against whom there is a growing charge of betraying labour more in the interest of their own political affiliations than of the workers whom they seek to represent. In not many of these trade unions the actual workers of the relevant industries are found to be voicing any genuine interest. There is no sustaining and organisation among workers themselves on correct lines. Regular meetings of the unions is not one of their features, nor are regular payments of periodical subscriptions made by the members. Inspectors have revealed that in good many cases neither complete lists of membership are maintained, nor proper accounts of monies received are kept. This is all so, obviously because the trade unions have not been formed on right lines and are not developed and run by the proper type of men. At these the formation of these unions is only a paper transaction to support one political party or another, and the workers who are managing the show are not real trade-union workers, but leaders or under the hands of leaders of different political groups in the country, who have no scruples in utilizing the unions men for their political affiliations than for the real benefit of workers. With such composition it is not surprising that our trade unions are not serving the cause for which they stand and hence there is immediate need to recruit and reorganize them.

There are at present so many currents and cross-currents in the political life of our country, — Communists, revolutionaries, Socialists, Congressites, etc. — and each one of them has its counterpart in the sphere of labour. The ideologies of different labour unions emanate from the political group whose shadow they are. And, instead of there being a common line of thought and action with the sole object of serving the interest of workers these unions are becoming an arena of conflict between one political party and another. To win the support of labour — the unemployed, illiterate, and ignorant labour — they vie with one another in picking their demands against the employers and the Governments as high as they can and imagine that they can live and prosper on the treasury recognition which they get from their demands in this way. They have not the courage and moral strength to tell the correct position to labour and to guide it on healthy lines.

The task of administering labour unions and putting them on a sound basis lies, in the

present atmosphere, become very difficult. Those who are concerned with the administration of subjects pertaining to labour are finding it increasingly difficult to reconcile different warring elements, which have now made their home in the sphere of labour. Their everyday strife motives for all types of imaginable and unimaginable demands on behalf of labour are not permitting the administration to settle down to doing something really solid and tangible for them. In its own interest, therefore, it is essential that the labour movement in the country should be conducted entirely on an economic basis and should be completely devoid of all political tinge. The workers in labour unions should, as far as possible, come from amongst the ranks of labour itself, and if any outsiders are interested in serving the cause of labour, they should do so as whole-time workers unconnected with any political group and unendowed by any particular political ideology. In the present economy of our country the best service would be rendered to labour if their organizations would work with purely economic and social objectives.

Again, it is evident that the labour movement in our country is still in infancy. It cannot stand on its legs unless properly nourished from within. Any sponsorship from outside will not give it real strength, and as no one will such outside assistance as any good to labour when it is given with the sole object of extracting support for the objectives of a particular political party.

The labour movement in the country is clearly not in a position to draw up its own political programme with the ultimate object of taking the reins of Government in its hands. That cause is positively dangerous thing and until the movement gains requisite strength of organization and succeeds in obtaining the mass of workers. The process would take time and is not helpful for the immediate need. Thus the movement can neither align itself with the one or other of political parties in the land nor draw up a political programme of its own. In the best interest of labour, therefore, its trade unions should keep themselves aloof from the wrangles of political parties and build up their own strength apart from them.

There is no harm, however, in properly organized trade unions of industrial, agricultural and other classes of workers seeking the assistance of political parties and taking their help, when necessary, without aligning or serving themselves with such parties. This line would enable the trade unions to keep themselves aloof from any political obligations and get help from the party or parties with whom in the country. If trade unions are organized on sound non-political lines and if actual workers are trained to work for them, there can be no doubt that they will gather strength much sooner than is imagined, and with such strength in their organizations they can make their voice heard effectively in all spheres, political parties, employers and Government.

Two essentials in the first step of proper organization of trade unions are: (i) workers themselves running the unions as purely economic and social organizations, and (ii) if any outsiders are interested in them, their whole-hearted devotion to the interests of the union and complete absence of any political affiliation.

The need of the hour in our free land today is that workers' trade unions should immediately be built on altogether non-controversial and non-political lines and the workers in that sphere should realize the sanctity and value of keeping their activities aloof from burning politics. It is then alone that our labour unions can be of real service to the class for which they exist; and it is then alone that the ruling section of our people can get the benefit which the administration is so anxious to give it.

TRAVEL KILBY BRIAN RUSSEL, L.A.

A VILLAGE SURVEY

[Note: Karl & V. Russell were about a staff member of the All India Village Industries Commission. We also worked in the Public Car Experiment of the Government of India. Now he is working in a village.]

A few settlements working to work in the rural areas, decided to camp together for a week in a village with the purpose of surveying it. We chose Kishinipore, a village situated in Karnataka. The survey proved a revelation. Besides the survey we also undertook to erect a temporary installation with the help of indigenous grass and bamboo. We had taken our complete camp as we did to be a house open to all. We ground our door and open together for all minutes every day.

This novel daily routine surprised the village people but at the same time attracted us to them, and helped us to gain a feel for the village people's life.

The main occupation of the agricultural is the work of about 100 to 150 men in various cultivation—the cotton, sugarcane crop of sugarcane, and probably of the fruiting stage. During the last decade huge profits have been made by some reaping farmers who also are in the business of the cotton. The growing of cotton needs a number of small labourers, even then they are not fully employed.

Kishinipore is a typical labourer village. They have established in collective work such as building, planning of work, Kishinipore etc. If any work 'project' is to be completed in a matter of four miles, they would not probably neglect it.

We gathered the following information about their living:

1. Population: 10 families with 500 individuals. That is, less than seven each per family. We came across a household consisting of 12 members. Their 'house' measured 10 feet x 12 feet divided into three partitions facing the three streets. All the rooms from left to right each place in their living apartments. But unlike the city, where most of the members, including children of 5 years or more, spend their time in the fields. All the men of 10 members were to be found under the cold of a tree. Open-air farming and simple food have fashioned their physique.

2. Language: Speaking 2 Jains and 2 Marathi families of the two great Marathi. The Jains speak Kannada and the Marathi in a dialect which is a mixture of Marathi and Marathi. It is a language that we have heard and understood in Karnataka with the Marathi Marathi and Marathi being in Karnataka.

3. Age: The age survey revealed that early marriage was still the rule of the day. There was a married girl below 10 and there were only 5 unmarried girls in the fifth group. But the previous marriage is only

in names as well as the girl studies poverty she says in her father's house.

4. *Education*. Compulsory Education has asked the number of illiterates in 1947, but even then, the rule does not seem to apply to the far east. There are only 4 female illiterates. The number of adults who were reading and writing is 38.

5. *Food and Subsistence*. Scarcities. The entire population is agricultural. There are three carpenter, two cabinet-makers, two tailors, one barbers and one shoemaker's families. But all of these are 12 the rest. All governmental and public work is entrusted to a school. It is also responsible to sell the tobacco that is passed together by the workers. It is directly said to a joint public tobacco manufacturers at Panna, without paying any consideration to subsistence. This collective effort is also shown in marketing minor field works as mentioned at the beginning.

7. *Land*. More than 50 per cent of the land is owned by 5 persons. It was originally granted by them barely 100, some four years back. But after the advent of the British legislation they have been deprived of that privilege. Strictly speaking this was not a new labour colony. Besides there have reached here too, and on the days advance it is not natural that their co-existence with dominant population justice.

8. *Income*. As there is no land salary it is very difficult to assess the total income of a village. The total cost the tobacco is usually paid in kind. The growing tobacco the owner gives him a quarter of the total yield. Sugar and other expenses for the crop are measured by the owner, and like all other crops this one also depends on the varieties of climate. "But a hardy farmer is seldom harassed by nature," said an owner tobacco grower. Mechanism now is needed for the growth of quality tobacco and that is why this trust is able to attract more tobacco.

9. *Government*. Definitely more than 70 per cent of the total population does not have to buy its food requirements (grain) but as it is often grown or raised in exchange. But the explicit feature of this part income appears by growing many-crops. Recently an order was passed that not more than 50 per cent of the land should be allotted to such mixed-crops. This was effectively set at naught by them by cunningly including vast areas of waste lands, spending of study soil in the land area. All this resulted in creating a dearth of income. The entire tobacco income has this to depend on tobacco partly supplied by Government ration shops and the rest by the black market. As this is a live company of the tobacco growers, that price are openly sold in the village bazaar at about double the controlled price. Hence we calculated that an average family of seven requires Rs 400 for its food and Rs 200 for cloth. Whenever more work is left behind is supplemented on tea, cinema, travelling and petty incomes.

10. *Cattle*. There are 25 cows, 7 oxen and 12 buffaloes (mostly old buffaloes). The predominance of the first species is due to its milking quality. Cows are required only for the preliminary agricultural operations. Hence their small number.

11. *Health*. We were intended to see the number of the children. They numbered nearly 400. As soon as a child leaves his mother's breast it takes to us. The only children with three families and a score of family members. There then the 400 were out of the village in purchasing tea and sugar annually. There was given only an order book of health at evening is restricted to village-made cotton toothbrush pipe and head lamps are easily available. The fever brought by fever is prohibited days would even make as there were only a few doctors and they also did not indulge in it daily, but the interest of health and is continued every day.

However restricted the scope of this survey, it gave us a clear glimpse of rural India. Living in their mode, we were able to penetrate deeper into the problems than

have been troubling the villagers. Our mode of life was really devoid of pomp and was not a dignified position and fear that they usually harbour against interference. Even the village which is supposed to be better off than most of our Indian villages suffers heavily from ignorance, poverty and inaction.

J. V. KARNAT

INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION TO PEACE AND GOODWILL

VI

Gandhi has himself described how he came to the conclusion that 'the nearest approach to civilisation based upon non-violence is the erstwhile village republic of India' (*Economics of Khadi*, p. 554).

'As I was picturing life based on non-violence, I saw that it must be reduced to the simplest terms consistent with high thinking. Food and reward will always remain the prime necessities of life. Life itself becomes impossible if these two are not secured. For non-violent defence therefore society has to be so constructed that its members may be able as far as possible, to look after themselves in the face of an invasion from without or disturbance from within. Just as in a domestic kitchen is the saddest thing in such circumstances, the talk (hand-spun) as at most the spinning wheel and the loom are the simplest possessions for the maintenance of cloth. Society based on non-violence can only consist of groups settled in villages in which voluntary co-operation is the condition of sheltered and peaceful existence. A society which co-operates and provides for meeting violence with violence will either lead a precarious life or create big cities and empires for defence purposes. It is not unreasonable to presume from the state of Europe that its cities go monster factories' and huge armaments are so intimately interrelated that the one cannot exist without the other. The nearest approach to civilisation based on non-violence is the erstwhile village republic of India. I think that it was very crude. I knew that there was in it no non-violence of my definition and conception. But the GERM WAS THERE' (Caphauls the present writer's) (*Ibid*, pp. 558-59).

'If a country's vital requirements are produced through a controlled industry, it will find it necessary to guard them even as a capitalist guards his interests. A country whose culture is based on non-violence will find it necessary to have every home as much self-contained as possible. Indian society was at one time unknowingly constituted on a non-violent basis. Kayne has shown that India's villages were a negation of republic. In them there were no laws or gentlemen, or all were' (*Ibid*, p. 557).

'According to Kayne, there are four main barriers to progress of industrialisation: (1) unemployment, (2) urban squallor (3) concentration, and (4) total war (India and the Four Frontiers, G. V. P., p. 51).

'In view of its size, war is bound up with the entire mass of civilisations of property to fight about. See Julius Rosenberg, *The Coming of a Revolution*, pp. 41-42.

"I suggest that if India is to evolve along non-violent lines, it will have to de-construct many things. Centralisation cannot be sustained and defended without adequate force. Simple houses, from which there is nothing to take away, require up policing; the palaces of the rich must have strong guards to protect them against dacoity. So most huge factories. Hardly organized India will run low risk of foreign invasion than urbanized India, well equipped with military, naval and air forces"; (1934, p. 193) T. G. D.

NOTES

Constructive Suggestions

My note on the election of the Congress President has brought me several letters. One of the questions I have been asked is that if the Congress Organisation has so much morally deteriorated, that honest persons should abandon it, what is my constructive suggestion for them? Should they retire from politics, and leave Government administration in the hands of a company of unscrupulous people? By no means. Unfortunately my previous writings on this subject have been overlooked by my readers. I am not just now in a position to restate my views at length. But I would request them to read the following articles: "Questions Now—Congress Elections" (Harijan, 24-4-36); "Congress in Office and Outside" (Harijan, 4-7-36); "Electors" (Harijan, 13-7-36); "Medicine of Democracy" (Harijan, 13-7-36) and an article on the Congress Organisation in *The Hindu* (Special Number) of 10th January 1935.

Wardha, 20-4-36

Charges against Public Servants

I often receive letters giving detailed and specific charges of misbehaviour, dishonesty, corruption, shielding of criminals, breach of discipline etc. against one or the other public servants.

120 David F. Martin, an Australian radio expert, said that Britain was indefensible in atomic warfare, but the number of atomic bombs which could be made in the probable future could not cripple either Russia or the U.S.A. "Britain could easily be knocked out in atomic war. Radioactivity would poison concentrations of people and Britain would be starved in a short period. Not by Russia and the U.S.A. the industrial areas were so dispersed that an impossible number of bombs would be required to put them out of action. If Britain wanted to survive, she should arrange a mass migration of twenty million people to the bushlands" (Press Photo Journal, December 18 1935, p. 1)

The British Association of Friendly Works also asked the impossibility of defending Britain against atomic bomb attack. Inspection of key industries the building of adequate shelters etc. would be too costly. A third world war would have fatal results. None of all for Britain. "The only way out is to ensure that such a war does not in fact take place" (Present Truth, Vol. 28, No. 14, p. 120)

holding responsible offices. Often an application to a higher authority becomes futile because a sort of convention prevails that a servant should protect a brother servant. Even the anti-corruption department becomes either itself corrupt or powerless against the brotherhood of servants. Some of the cases are obviously such as would trouble the complainant to lodge a complaint before a competent magistrate if the accused were a private individual. Being a public servant that remedy is not generally available to him.

There should be a better and certain remedy against this in the interest both of the people and the Government.

There is a Public Services Commission in every State for the selection of Government servants. All servants are appointed on its recommendation. Cannot the same body be entrusted with the function of investigating into complaints made against a public servant by a member of the public with specific charges? There can be a special speedy procedure for such enquiries and its recommendations should be acted upon by the Government concerned. If the Commission finds a complaint to be false and vexatious it should have power to punish the complainant and if necessary, to award damages to the accused. If the complaint succeeds, the officer would receive his punishment. Like the High Court, the Public Services Commission should be a tribunal independent of the Executive Government. I request the Government to consider this point. If this is not practicable, it is imperative that the Government should find some other satisfactory machinery for speedy, proper and reliable investigation of serious charges against public officers. The institution of such machinery will relieve the Ministers also of much correspondence.

Wardha, 22-4-36

K. G. M.

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HARIJAN



(FOUNDED BY BHAKTINATH SAMONT)

Editor: B. C. MANDREKAR

VOL. XIV No 22

AMMEIDAHAD—SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 04, 1960

TWO ANNAS

CHARAKHA — FIVET OF CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME

The President's Message to the Nation

The whole country will shortly celebrate Mahatma Gandhi's Birthday, which Gandhiji himself used to designate as Charakha Jayanti. Spinning and khadi propaganda have always been the regular and particular programmes in its celebration. It is particularly necessary at present to help and encourage the charakha and khadi in every manner, because in the turmoil of politics khadi is rather pushed back and the charakha has been almost forgotten by many people. Gandhiji considered the charakha the pivot of all his constructive programmes. And so it really is. Consequently, not only will all khadi-lovers be obliged if on the occasion of this *Jayanti* the charakha is encouraged, but those who take part in its encouragement will themselves have performed one of their duties. I hope the Jayanti will be celebrated with enthusiasm.

New Delhi, 21-8-59

RAJENDRAPRASAD

(Translated freely from the original in Hindi)

EXTRA PROFITS AND BOUNTIES

I have been thinking of the Bombay Textile Labourers' strike. I understand that it arises from a demand for a certain amount of bonus not paid to them.

Let us go a little deep, even if not to the root of the matter all at once. It will be seen that such disputes arise because of the assumption that ownership is an arbitrary vote either in the share-holders, or the workmen, or both in partnership.

I submit that none of these assumptions are correct, and the claim to ownership by either of the parties or partly by both must be denied. Ownership in all industries, particularly in large-scale ones, as in all land and mines, belongs to the State as Trustee for its principals — the nation.

After an equitable return to the capital and an equitable payment of remuneration to workmen of all grades, all extra profits must be re-

garded as public property. The State may be invested with discretionary powers to spend some amount of the extra profits in making gifts by way of bonus or in some other way in the interest of workers (including managers) and investors and for their encouragement. But this payment should be looked upon as a gift and not as the recognition of a right. No one may claim anything more than a fair remuneration for his services, whether physical or intellectual. What is fair might depend upon the prevailing ideas of the times and may change from time to time. But there can be no right to the surplus.

Unless this principle is boldly adopted and laid down as the cardinal doctrine of the State, these disputes will arise again and again and be exploited for purposes of party politics. The principle is in accordance with the 'tenets of the Independence'. Pakistan has anticipated us by laying down as its very first doctrine in its Objectives-Resolution that —

"Sovereignty over the entire Universe belongs to God Almighty alone, and the authority which He has delegated to the State of Pakistan through its people, so that it should be exercised within the limits prescribed by Him, is a sacred trust."

No doubt, men will interpret "the limits prescribed by Him," according to their own limited understanding and capacity, and in practice make it a doctrine of exploitation. But there is scope in it for advancing in the right direction, if there is the will.

The same doctrine in the spirit of the Independence may be stated thus:

"Sovereignty over the entire Universe belongs to God alone, and man may take only what comes to his share after all living beings put to use by him as also those whom it is his duty to look after, are duly provided for. The authority to regulate this is India is delegated to the Government of the Union of India through its people, so that it should be exercised in the spirit of the above principle as a sacred trust."

New Delhi, 2-9-59

B. C. MANDREKAR

YARN CONTRIBUTIONS

Shri Naradasa Gandhi has made a very useful suggestion in the Harijan dated 26th July, 1934, about carrying on public institutions on contributions of yarn. We all know how difficult it has become these days to raise funds for public institutions and activities. Contributions in the shape of money may not be easy for many people to make but contributions of the fruits of one's own labour can be made easily by every one. While it may be possible to run even big institutions like the Sevagram Ashram on such contributions, there is no doubt that the activities of many small and local institutions can be easily conducted through such self-help on the part of members and well-wishers.

We have got a local spinning club, *Charkha Parishad*, established for the last two and a half years. We organise small programmes of mass-spinning competitions, tournaments etc. On occasions of national celebrations like the Charkha Japanti Independence Day etc., we have to incur some small expenses in this connection. All the members of our Parishad are themselves not in a position to make monetary contributions and we need to meet these expenses by asking for small contributions from friends and sympathisers. But this year one member proposed that we should collect contributions from members in kind, namely, in the shape of their self-spun yarn. The suggestion met with immediate and enthusiastic response and members of the club, who number only fifteen, contributed among themselves about 500 yards. This gave us sufficient resources to carry on our normal activities during the year. I may mention that the members are almost all regular spinners, some of them doing the complete process from raw cotton to yarn. Hence there is not much difficulty in making yarn contributions. Our monthly subscription has of course always been in the shape of yarn—one hank per month.

We have thus got over the difficulty of approaching outsiders even for small contributions to meet the expenses of our normal activities. This experiment has given us new inspiration and has opened a new vista of self-help and co-operative effort. This experience may provide a useful example to other workers elsewhere.

Jaipur, 10-8-39

NEELBHARAT PRASAD

[This is good. Only let us understand that the idea of yarn contributions or any other contribution in kind is not a virtue of necessity—namely, difficulty of obtaining monetary contributions, but is based on principle. Even if there is a boom in the money-market and people are inclined to contribute money very liberally the suggestion of Shri Naradasa Gandhi is not to accept money contributions.]

R. G. ME

ASHRAM OBSERVANCES IN ACTION

(By M. K. Ganguli)

Introduction (Continued)

The Ashram was established in a hired house at Kachra on May 22, 1915. Some citizens of Ahmedabad undertook to finance it. At the beginning there were about 20 inmates, most of them from South Africa. Of these again the large majority spoke Tamil or Telugu. The chief activity in the Ashram at this time was teaching Sanskrit, Hindi and Tamil to the old as well as the young. The young also received some general education. Hand-weaving was the principal industry with some carpentry as accessory to it. No servants were engaged, therefore cooking, sanitation, fetching water—everything was attended to by the Ashramites. Truth and other observances were obligatory on them all. Distinctions of caste were not observed. Unreachability had not only no place in the Ashram, but its eradication from Hindu society was one of our principal objectives. Discrimination of women from some customary bonds was insisted upon from the first. Therefore women in the Ashram enjoy full freedom. Then again it was an Ashram rule that persons following a particular faith should have the same feeling for followers of other faiths as for their co-religionists.

But for one thing I was solely responsible, and I am indebted to the West for it. I refer to my dietary experiments, which commenced in 1928 when I went to England for studies. I always invite members of my family and other co-workers to join in. The experiments were designed to achieve three objects, viz. (1) to acquire control over the palate as a part of self-control in general, (2) to find out which diet is the simplest and the cheapest so that by adopting it we might identify ourselves with the poor, and (3) to discover which diet is necessary for perfect health, as maintenance of health is largely dependent upon correct diet.

If in England I had not been under a vow to be a vegetarian, I might perhaps never have undertaken experiments in diet. But once I began to experiment, these three objectives took me into deeper waters, and I was led to make various kinds of experiments. And the Ashram too joined in, though these experiments are not a part of Ashram discipline.

The reader has perhaps now seen that the Ashram set out to remedy what it thought were defects in our national life from the religious, economic and political standpoints. As we gathered new experiences, we undertook fresh activities. Even now I cannot say that the Ashram has embarked on all possible activities that I can think of. There have been two limitations. First, we were sure we must eat our meat according to our cloth, that is we must manage

with what funds were placed at our disposal by friends without any special effort at collection. Secondly, we should not go in search of new spheres of activity, but if any activity naturally suggested itself to our minds, we should go in for it without counting the cost.

These two limitations spring from a religious attitude. Religious attitude is faith in God, that is doing everything in dependence upon and under the inspiration of God. The man of religion conducts such activities as are sent by God with such resources as God places at his disposal. He never lets us see that He Himself does anything. He achieves His aims through men inspired by Him. When help was received from unexpected quarters or from friends without our asking for it, our faith led me to believe that it was sent by God. Similarly when some activity came to us unsought so that not to take it up would be sheer cowardice, laziness or the like, I thought it was a Godsend.

The same principle applies to co-workers as to material resources and to activities. We might have the funds and know how they are to be used, but we can do nothing in the absence of co-workers. Co-workers also should come unsought. We did not merely imagine but we had a living faith that the Ashram was God's. If therefore He wished to make the Ashram His instrument to spread any activity, it was for Him to place the requisite men and materials at the Ashram's disposal. *Florida, Teksas, Kerala and Maharashtra Activities* have all been conducted more or less according to these principles consciously or unconsciously. Ashram rules were observed at first with some laxity, but the observation has become stricter from day to day.

The Ashram population doubled itself in a few months. Again the Koorub bungalow was a hardly suitable building for an ashram. It would be for one well-to-do family but not for many men, women and children engaged in various activities and observing brahmacharya and other vows. However we had to manage with what housing was available. But very soon it became impossible to live in it for a number of reasons. As if God wanted to drive us out of it, we had suddenly to go out in search of a new site and to waste the language. The curious will look up the Autobiography for an account of these events. There was one defect on the ashram at Koorub which was remedied after we had migrated to Sakaram. An ashram without orchard, farm or cattle would not be a complete unit. At Sakaram we had cultivable land and therefore went in for agriculture at once.

Such is the prehistory and history of the Ashram. I now propose to deal with its observances and activities in so far as I remember them. My diary is not at hand. Even if it is, it takes no note of the personal history of the

Ashramites. I therefore depend upon the memory alone. This is nothing new for me, as Autographs in South Africa and the Autobiography were written in the same manner. The reader will please bear this limitation in mind, as he goes through these pages.

(Translated from Odia by V. G. D.)

THE DISCIPLINE OF THE FAST

Shri Gopinath, Secretary, Sarva Sarva Sangh, observed a seven days' fast from 2nd to 8th August. He broke the fast on the morning of the 9th with coconut water. The breaking of the fast was presided by the retention of members from the Opponents, singing of bhajans and bhajans. This was followed by singing for about 20 minutes. Before breaking the fast, Shri Gopinath addressed a few words to Virga in the morning who were present there. His translation is reproduced below.

"The urge for a fast had been coming to my mind for a long time. Still, as time I had become driving and yet I did not materialize. But when the August Opponents there set me the responsibility of the Secretary, side of the Sarva Sarva Sangh, the idea of a fast gained further strength. I felt that I should develop within me some strength and capacity as would enable me to analyse and digest the pulses of my colleagues. Whenever I met Virgish I made clear to him that my sole purpose in undertaking this new responsibility was to bring together the constructive workers, who today work apart from one another, and to make their work in tandem. I do not know how far I shall succeed in it but nonetheless I am my aim. I have not planned any other constructive work. The last Virgish meeting made this very stronger. We all criticize Government, but what have we done? Let us ourselves be such as would that we are shaping ourselves away from one another. What I am saying is that we are not working together with one aim and goal. All these things strongly and so I made up my mind to undertake the fast and I began it.

"I remember that it was a great thing. In fact, I imagine that it is necessary. Indeed I feel that an age of fast is near and we may have to continue this discipline. Many like work to say so. It is the voice of Government are in the hands of persons who have sympathy for us. But it is very likely that they may no longer pass into the hands of a party completely opposed to our constructive programme. Hence men talk of abstinence will not do. It is necessary to develop our strength.

"When I brood about the idea of a fast to Ramadani, the religiously approved of it. You must not, therefore think that this fast was directed against any particular sect or person of this place. There is nothing of the kind.

"Three things should be borne in mind in a fast. The fast should never be undertaken through anger, ill-will, or vengeance towards any one. Self-purification is possible only if the mind is elevated and calm. Secondly there should be no thinking about the fast itself while the fast lasts. It remains more silent. Thirdly one should not think of one's health during the fast. One should think only of God and maintain cheerfulness of mind. I observed bhajans yesterday. It proved very beneficial to me. I mentioned once Virga the 14th verse of the Opponents collected by Shri Virgish. I recited it 3 or 4 times and I was of a good deal of work. Taking plenty of water and such other things are but minor details. But the main aim is the creation of a fast."

(Translated from Hindi)

RAMAYAN

HARIJAN

Sept. 18

1955

CHEAPNESS

For life, air is more important than water, water more important than food, and food more important than cloth. Nature has so provided that what is more important is also more easily available and less capable of being exclusively possessed. One has only to keep his mouth open and allow his lungs to be exercised to supply himself with air. Water requires greater effort to get and consume, and is capable of being exclusively possessed to a certain extent. Food is still more subject to these handicaps. It requires labour and also a base for production—not to speak of tools. And this gives rise to the complicated question of ownership of land and its produce.

Cheapness depends upon two factors: abundance of supply and difficulty of exclusive possession. To the extent water is capable of exclusive possession it too loses its cheapness. This happens, for instance, in the case of water in private wells, tanks, streams, parts of currents running through one's lands etc. Even if it were abundant and not needed by the possessor, he is able to charge some price for it. It loses its cheapness also where it is not abundant.

Since land has the base on which food is produced, so also food itself is limited and is capable of being exclusively possessed and has been so since it is still less cheap than water.

It is not possible to increase the amount of cultivable land beyond a certain limit and, though its productive capacity has not reached its maximum limit, the quantity of food will be in one particular period always limited. Food will therefore always cost something. It cannot be free or very cheap. That its costliness is further enhanced by the desire of exclusive possession exercised upon both land and its produce—the food—and by the employment of arable land to uses other than the production of the necessary amount of food. In order to reduce the costliness of food, it is necessary to increase the productive capacity of land, to employ as much arable land as is needed for production of abundant food in preference to other uses, and to reduce the possibility of exclusive possession of land and food, at present secured by the institution of private ownership. All land and its produce must belong to the State as Trustee for its people and each other being as it can reach. Whether a holder is a large landlord commanding hundreds of acres or a small farm of a few hectares, the possession or legal ownership over it and its produce must be deemed to be on behalf of the State. (The word, State should be understood here in a wide sense. It does not mean the Central Government or the

Government of a province but the smallest local Government.)

The institution of private property, the desire to possess one's lands and house and to have as much of them as possible, and to consider all surplus profits of one's lands or industry as one's own wealth is very deeply rooted in people's minds. Many people think that it is an inherent inseparable trait of human nature. They believe that it is the only incentive, which can make man work energetically for creating wealth. I do not believe so. But it is true that it has established itself for a long time in human societies and it might take some time to get over it. It might also need graded stages to convert man from a worker for selfish ends into one for the welfare of the State. But it is necessary that this should happen and we must endeavour to discover methods for achieving it.

The abolition of the zamindari and talukdars systems has removed the absolute landlord to a certain extent. It was necessary. The next thing necessary is to bring about a right adjustment of relations between landlord and tenant cultivation and agricultural labourers.

Our present economic and social order, based on individual and separate proprietorship is very crude. It does not enable a cultivator to realise that it is not sufficient that his own plots of land should be well cultivated and yield good profits, but that his neighbouring fields should also be cultivated in the best manner possible and that he stands in line of the neighbour's cultivation is lost. Rather, under the present system, a cultivator has often the devilish desire to adopt methods which might injure the neighbouring lands and their proprietors. For instance, it is not an uncommon experience in villages that, if there is a common well between two fields, their proprietors will vie with one another in causing damage to each other's fields, and in that evil rivalry both the fields will deteriorate in quality and they will bring their own bankruptcy through mutual litigation. The system, which makes it possible to partition property not capable of being physically divided in a profitable manner, must be ended. In a factory owned by a limited company, a holder of even fifty per cent of shares cannot claim a physical partition of the factory and ask for specific possession of half the factory. He might seek to become its managing director on the strength of his fifty per cent shares, but that would mean possession of the whole factory. In the same way the land of a village must not be physically partitioned, if it could be tiled together with greater advantage, or has a common source of irrigation. Each field must be assessed, in accordance with its capacity to produce its staple crop of cereals in a normal year, and it should be assigned a capital value, not in terms of money, but in terms of produce. Assuming that absolute landlordism has been totally abolished previously, and all the fields in the villages are so assessed, all of them should be regarded as one

unit, constituting one single village industry, of which each fatherless owner is a shareholder in the extent of the crop-value of his share. A small plot should be assigned to each cultivating family, whether it fatherless-owned any land or not for what may be termed "personal hobby-cultivation." This is to satisfy its patriotic sentiments for land, to enable it to make experiments, to grow fruits, vegetables, flowers etc., particularly liked by it, to keep its goats, cattle, poultry etc., and for other similar purposes.

The rest of the land must be cultivated as village land. An estimate should be made of the cereals, pulses, vegetables, etc. needed for (a) the full maintenance of the population for at least fifteen months, (b) payment of wages, in addition to food, to enable wage-earners to purchase their own necessities, (c) payment of revenues and other dues to Government, (d) payment of 'protection levy' if any, (e) payment of interest on debts if any, and (f) expenses of and incidental to education. Whether some of these items are paid in cash or kind, and whether its clothing and other needs are produced locally or purchased from outside, these are charges which have to be met by the village, before there can be any surplus for capitalization, innovations and improvements or sharing of profits. The sum total of these items is, therefore, the minimum agricultural wealth, which the village must produce in order to live.

But the village must produce much more than this in order that it might improve its agriculture, provide for public hygiene, sanitation, schools, roads, etc., raise the standard of living of its population, pay rewards or bonuses to regular workers, and, lastly, dividends to share-holders. The last two payments are possible only after making due provisions for the other items, but they are items, in which labourers and share-holders would be personally interested, and they would realize that these are possible only if they all worked together with all their energy. They would be all workers whether they directed, managed, supervised, or acted as labourers according to their capacity.

The interest in the share could be transferred wholly or partly to the owner's dead. On his death, his heirs would take each part of it as each might be entitled to. It would not need physical division of the land, except that provisions would have to be made to assign a plot to a new family entering into a community either from outside, or through division of the family.

This is roughly the kind of organization which I think should replace the present one. Whether it should be set up through co-operation or partnership, is a matter of convenience.

It should, I believe, result in a united effort to work on the land with zeal and hope, and in creating more food. One would be also interested in showing that the production is more than that consumed. There would be no exclusive possession of individuals either over land or its produce. No there would be no cause for concealing the produce as at present. All these are factors which lead to cheapness.

Wardha, 14-9-55

K. D. KASTURIBHAI

NEED TO REJUVENATE THE CONGRESS

Shastri seemed to be a member of the Congress in the year 1931. He continued to guide the Congress after that on all matters in which his guidance was sought. But he never again entered the Congress ranks of its members. Shastri judges his death to be a challenge for a change of the Constitution of the Congress in which every adult subject of the Republic could be a member of it without having to pay any fee. He also thought on the process of rejuvenating the old Indian political system as a part and parcel of its external machinery. Later on he advised the Congress to make direct, prove and go back to villages to serve them, and to transform itself into a *Loka Shiksha Sangh*.

Shastri always held that real power rested with the people and not with the few who ruled. To go to the masses in whom the public had to help them in raising their administration was his objective. The Congress, in his opinion, should be defunct and then Shastri and I ran a *Loka Shiksha Sangh*.

The present Congress did not accept his views with all their implications. It has kept the Government ready 'very in hand' but in other matters it has proceeded to follow Shastri's ideas of a *Loka Shiksha Sangh* from within itself.

The Congress membership rules and the election process based on partytags and effective members are all very well. It was hoped by the leaders of the new Congress Constitution that if the constitution for being a member of the partytag was really laid open, then it will lead to the creation of a body of servants of the nation. According to the Constitution, they must have some very serious qualifications. They are

- (1) to be national sources of ideas,
- (2) to induce understanding in every class,
- (3) to be teachers,
- (4) to be believers in international unity and to have equal regard for rights of other people,
- (5) to believe in equality of opportunity and

these are all. These are great qualifications. Such qualified men are to vote for effectiveness of the Congress organization. Persons who in addition to their possessing these primary qualifications should have the additional qualifications of putting in three days in day some services to the nation in the shape of constructive activity are to be the effective members of the Congress. The effectiveness are to be elected from amongst these effective members.

The matter about the effective membership this year has shown that persons have been placed as effective members, who have not these qualifications. In the meeting of the AICC in February last, the effective-membership issue has been made up and laid up to the voting of the coming September Session of the Congress.

The Congress has watched itself and so to speak, it had the courage to shelve the matter but has gone to the core. It has applied the Congress's hands to one spot. But it is only a partial work that has been done.

In the persons requiring themselves as qualified members of the Congress ranks persons have high qualifications. But they, a very small fraction will pass the test. It that is so the Shastri Congress is meeting with the sanction of persons, whose heads qualified for voting is questionable. With this back that in the structure of the Congress there is a real personal democratic organization. Can the Congress Parliamentary Board go to send up candidates for membership of highness with this back here, and not strive to do something revolutionary to restructure the structure of the masses? I don't think it can be accomplished.

But the matter is not past remedying. The 'Shastri Congress' can proceed to form a body for revivifying the membership qualifications of the qualified members. Those who are not qualified shall have their names

selected. The previously qualified members only will remain in their parastates. These parastates may then fill up the gaps of representatives of the Congress. The disappointed ones will undoubtedly have to wait, during the Congress session for the persons who have previously passed the test.

The number of independent members in the country is very limited particularly now. The number of those who have achieved independence in every field is also limited. The inspirations have to be understood and lived and tested in regard to the immediate goal of the support for the qualified membership. If this is done, there will be a great purge and a beginning for the making of the front which in many ways shaped the failure of Congress leaders. If the Third Congress will do this one thing it will be laying the foundation for the making of the Congress really a representative and actively personal organization, which it is not today.

The General Secretary of the Congress has complained that "we do not find a mass of graduate and legalists in Congress in the hearts of the people today for what they are in it." This should lead to a reworking of the fronts. One the Congress the tradition of contacting divisions with the same accomplishments which is observed in Governmental structure? The Congress had already taken to corrupt practices eleven years ago in 1924 when Gandhi left it. The Congress has not been able to purge itself of corruption all these years and therefore it has been losing its hold on the people of the people. Let us beginning to work at Delhi for purging the Congress of its parasitism and of selfishness and it will be a step for bringing back Gandhi to the Congress, which means taking one step for losing the representation of, work and the capabilities of the struggle that it implies. The declaration of objectives, however high-sounding will be of no use in securing loyalty of the people to the Congress. It is perfectly apparent that the Congress is losing its hold on the masses.

If the Congress will strictly and judiciously observe its own membership rules and conduct divisions in a way that, consistently regard its objectives, then it is bound practically to find that power comes from the bottom. With an active realization of this error the Congress will be in its own way moved to shed itself of power without bringing it about. The Congress then will be inclined to reorganizing a front, achieving the objective of obtaining world peace and at the same time allowing sixty per cent of its annual revenue to be spent on armaments. Either the Congress will be outside of Government, or the Government will be outside of the Congress. The latter will be in the Government, only if it is able to reject its role which has entailed violence and arms races even for self-defence. Defence and offence are inseparable terms when parties are taken, group offensive action may be interpreted as a defensive strategy for stopping the aggression of the opponent.

As the present material it is able to expect the Government of India to reduce military expenditures. People depend upon the military for defence. Any increase in the number of Armory Plants or addition to the army are linked with a mass of greater security. Under the circumstances the Government may not find a way to eliminate military expenditures. These expenses have to be met. The General Revenue is largely obtained from land-taxes. There must be rich people and distilling large industries to supply the necessary revenue. The large industries compare and kill the cottage industries. But these comprising large industries are prohibited for the working of the Central Revenue and therefore are contributing to the share of the military expenditures.

Under these circumstances the Congress defining membership qualification comes to the point that a method for the beginning of a better way for the future for the creation of a new India. The qualifications laid down for parasitism if actively followed it will lead to a great revolution in the following way:

1. The third stage, and its implications. Every

qualified member is to be a national bank owner. After ten years we need not look for a better word than 'banked' including constant working of itself. The word 'banked' signifies the fact that constant use of bank money is regarded as a qualification for membership. The implication of banked working of itself is great. It lays the foundation of the cottage industry of handicrafting and weaving and further works in a cycle for the introduction and protection of all cottage industry for meeting the primary necessities of life.

Today the third-stage is dying. Less and less bank is being used and the Congress is having less and less privilege. Third scenario the Congress directly with the poor people—the masses. It is that qualified members of the Congress shed themselves, wholly in third every day of all the 365 days in the year that a demand for bank is created which its money value will amount to 1 to 4 acres of Japan. Congressmen referring to be qualified members will have to work the handicraft and thereby lay the foundation for making bank the national work.

The cotton spinning and weaving mills will not be entered into thereby. Already our cotton mills are exporting cotton to supply other people with of cotton goods. To the extent the national war between bank is that extent the Government will be directing the mills to export more and more of their products outside India and making mill cloth more and more dependent has been recognized. It is a recognized practice to make factory products even costly for home consumption in order to secure the export of those products. But when in this process a mill becomes unnecessary it may be closed down without regret. The third stage therefore makes a beginning for popularizing bank and the high underlying the use of bank. The cottage industries thrive all along the line and people become more and more cottage-industry oriented.

The bank that the masses for ornament and in money create the necessity of armed protection. This demand, this can be broken only if the people become non-dependence on bank and therefore parasitism. The third stage makes a beginning for this. And when the people are parasitism in the correct sense, the people's Government will have an incentive to make into the army expenditures, and for its feeling will not be tied to the mills as the present Government is. When this comes to be the brave people of India will be able to lay down their arms and declare to the world that India is an "open continent" as consistently intelligent countries declare along China as open China. India will then be able to inform the intelligent world that she believes in living in peace and in dying for peace and has laid down the arms. If a country does become an aggressor or India, India will stand against such aggression through her non-violence. India will have the strength of going ahead without killing and even in such will not extend to slavery. The non-violence was violent slavery will be the real peace message of India to the world.

More social education of present Indians, as we have been making today, is of little use. The soul of the Indians were at an early day at the heart of the Indian home on the human impulse of the anti-human will than be non-violence.

2. The Unreliability of Cash. There is more in this than it appears. The language is "He is qualified member" does not observe or recognize non-violence in any shape or form." This is to be regarded as an unrelieved way of expressing of what Gandhi laid down as the qualifying clause for being a member of the Caste Social League or caste. "If a Hindu is not a Hindu, he is not a Hindu in any shape or form in his own person or in his family."

The use of non-violence is on the reaction to it is unrelieved conflict. One may not and think from the hands of a revealed non-violence, but when it comes to

a shrothra or marriage ceremony, he may shift the responsibility of standing for shrothra unavailability in his daughter's or son's or friend's marriage ceremony or in the shrothra ceremony in his own house or where he is invited to participate. If the unavailability is created separately, he cannot take part in it. And thousands of Congressmen today think nothing of participating in these socio-religious functions where there is a breach of the qualifying clause. If the unavailability clause is really respected with its full implications there it will give the strength to the Shiksha, Sevak and Sevakini to the extent which it looks today. The strength will be born of purity and non-violence which is hatched by the observance of unavailability.

Despite the present law of the land and the new Constitution the socio-religious customs of the Hindus are not purged of the tinge of unavailability. A more observance of this qualifying clause will create a social reform, which will make India to be true to her promise and her great culture as an exponent of the age for creating a peaceful atmosphere for humanity all over the world.

Let the members of the Hindi Congress take note and create conditions for cultural observance of the qualifying clause for psychology.

RATNACHANDRA DASGUPTA

Bombay, August 14, 1962

SELF-SUFFICIENCY IN COTTON

(1)

One of the problems created by the Partition is now to obtain supply of cotton needed by us. Against 48 lakh bales produced by all-India, the present production of Bharat is only 25 lakhs. Taking the present population of India to be 35 crores and the average per capita consumption of cloth 18 yards, we would need 63 lakh bales to meet our requirements. In order to fill up this deficit pool, the Government has recently artificially enhanced the prices of cotton so that the farmer may be induced to increase its cultivation. Leaving aside the question, how far the enhancement of the rates would benefit the farmer and assuming that this would tempt him to enlarge the acreage of cotton cultivation, would it not adversely affect our food production and make it more difficult? Then there is also the shortage of jute, and the acute shortage of sugar. The official of every department of agriculture exhorts the farmer to extend the cultivation of the crop to which he is attached, and the poor farmer is puzzled as to how he can find space for all these crops in his limited land. As for the land which lies fallow, there is not enough of it even at present for the cattle, with the result that the condition of the cow, whom we need for the agriculturally useful bullocks and the nutritionally important milk is deteriorating day by day. Madhya Bharat offers an instance in point. Until recently it enjoyed a good reputation for cattle-breeding, and provided about half of the cattle needed by us. But the tractor cultivation which has been introduced there has begun to destroy this age-long occupation. The conclusion is clear: the "grow more food" campaign of this nature will not succeed. And then, how long would the India Government be able to suffer the huge loss amounting to crores of rupees by their artificially

fixing the rates? Besides, the control over the sales of these products lies mainly in the hands of U.S.A. She can raise or lower the prices at will and thus cause harm to the cultivation of that crop here. There is yet another question—the one pertaining to the transport of cotton to all parts of the country. In the absence of facilities for transport the villager does not get his cotton at the right price or in good condition, and the cotton grown in villages in the far-away interior does not fetch the right price. This problem will last so long as cotton is grown only in a few selected areas, for there is no likelihood that we will have enough and easy means of transport in the near future.

Again, since India does not produce fine and long-staple cotton, we have to import the variety from foreign lands, and spend crores of rupees on it so that our Dollar Reserve is running out. In order to stop this drain, emphasis is being laid on the cultivation of fine-staple cotton. But it is, perhaps, not realized that this will affect the per acre yield of cotton, as also the percentage of ginned cotton to losses. Moreover, fibres of the cotton of foreign seed being less strong than those of the indigenous cotton, the cloth manufactured out of it is less durable, thus may for practical purposes reduce the average of 16 yards to as low as 12 yards only per head. Inevitably, therefore, we shall have to replace the present unco-ordinated and non-self-reliant, ill-organized centralized system of production by a decentralised, self-reliant production plan capable of being worked out in every place. It is indispensable for making up the shortage of cotton if for nothing else. It follows from this that we should—

(1) make use of land lying absolutely useless without encroaching on land suitable either for growing food or cattle-pasture;

(2) instead of wasting our energy on the cultivation of crops virtually controlled by foreign countries take to cultivating cotton in our courtyards, back-gardens and elsewhere within the compound of the house, and be self-reliant;

(3) if the cattle-power does not suffice, utilize man-power and pay adequately for it, instead of employing the machine;

(4) adopt a variety of cotton suitable for every soil and climate;

(5) give as much importance to the durability of cloth as to its fineness;

(6) looking to the present economic condition and backwardness of the peasants, select only such varieties of cotton as the cultivators can easily grow and profit by.

(7) and before setting about doing any of these things, shake ourselves free of the spell of money and adopt the ideal of self-sufficiency based on honest work.

Bombay, 15-9-62

SARADHAR MAHE

(Continued from 166)

3074

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TWO ANNAS

NOTES

Field-Marshal Smuts

Field-Marshal Jan Smuts died at Portofino, South Africa, on September 11. He was 89 and had been ailing for some weeks past. He played a very prominent part in making the history of South Africa for nearly half a century. He was also an able collaborator of Mr Winston Churchill, in the last World War. Gandhi's sympathy started under his regime. He had to resist General Smuts' policy for a long period and to undergo repeated imprisonments. But ultimately, Smuts became a great admirer and friend of Gandhi, made peace with him, and remained friendly towards him till the end. It is said that he was as great a philosopher and a farmer as he was a great politician. Gandhi provided him with a pair of sandals made by himself. He preserved it as a memento. He was an opponent of the present Prime Minister of South Africa — Dr Malan. But I doubt, if there was any real difference between the views of the two on the fundamentals underlying the racial policy of South Africa. I believe, it was a question of degree rather than one of principles. However, his attitude was more friendly towards the coloured people of that land than that of the present Government. His death will, therefore, be greatly regretted in South Africa by the coloured people there. Personally he was a man of very simple habits, verging on asceticism.

Wardha, 13-9-50

Misleading Returns

Correspondents have often called my attention to false and misleading returns made by village officers in respect of areas cultivated for particular crops. It appears that official directions to cultivators require them to use 60 per cent of their lands for growing food crops, and 40 per cent for other crops. But as other crops are more profitable in the shape of money-value, most of the cultivators, with the knowledge and connivance of village officers, evade these directions by various methods. They either make a statement which is false from the very beginning, or pretend to sow in the first instance food crops to the required extent, and then after the report is made, uproot the food crops and sow

other seeds in their places. The local authorities get reports which do not accord with facts, and their calculations based on paper reports later turn out to be grossly away from the actual product. More provision of severe penalties for making false returns will not do. Punishment might bring a few coins to the Treasury or send a few people to prison for a while at State expense. The main object is to get more food and not more work for magistrates and police and jail officers. The production of food must be secured. Positive ways of stopping evasion and the attempts to do so before it is too late should be devised.

Wardha, 13-9-50

K. S. K.

Cattle-breeders Wanted

All over India there is a demand for carrying on cattle-breeding work in a scientific manner, but for want of qualified workers it does not progress. To meet this, the Sardars Sangh, Wardha, has decided to take twenty-five workers this year for training in the Goga Vidyapeeth. The course will be for a period of 14 years, the first year being devoted to training in cattle-breeding and the remaining six months to taking practical experience in running a dairy.

The new class will commence from 1st October 1950. Intending trainees should send their applications before the end of September, 1950. A stipend of Rs 20 per month will be given to each trainee, which will meet the charges for food. No tuition fee is charged.

The qualifications needed for the trainees are that he should be a black-weaver, must know Hindi and should have the capacity to run an independent dairy; he should also have some knowledge of English and fondness for cattle-breeding and a will to stick to it. He must be prepared to do hard physical labour. Such workers will, after their training, be sent wherever required. As far as possible, efforts will be made to find employment for the trainees in their own provinces.

Pay will vary according to the capacity of the worker, and may range from Rs 75 to Rs 150 per month, including all allowances. The Sangh cannot, at present, undertake to provide employment for every one; but considering the demand

for such workers from all provinces, it is hoped there will be no dearth of employment for qualified workers.

ASHOKKUMAR SINGH
Secretary,
Ordere Singh, Dargah, Wazirpur

All-India Spicers' Association, Sevagram — Asian Quack Relief Fund

In order to facilitate donors' desires of contributing to the Governor's Asian Quack Relief Fund, in response to the appeals issued by the President, the Prime Minister and the Deputy Prime Minister of India, all branches and Members of, or certified by, the All-India Spicers' Association have been instructed to accept donations of bank or hand-upton yarn or money for this Fund. The price of yarn so received together with cash contributions will be forwarded to the Governor's Fund.

Caution

Donors must insist on taking a proper printed receipt from the officer of the branch or Member and must satisfy themselves that the branch or Member belongs to or is certified by the All-India Spicers' Association. Every authorised branch and Member must bear on its sign-board and its receipt books the name All-India Spicers' Association (in Indian languages, Ashok Kumar Charitra Singh) in full. In case of doubt, they will consult the list of certified branches and Members published by the Sangha, and not pay contributions to any not included in that list.

SPICERKUMAR SINGH
Secretary, All-India Spicers' Association
Sevagram 5-6-50

CARE OF TEETH

Shri Dinkarrao Desai, Minister for Civil Supplies (Bombay), a few days ago, had offered his own prescription to replace all the tooth-pastes in the world. His prescription was: Three parts of salt and one part of soda-bicarbonate. All tooth-pastes are waste of public money, according to him. This may or may not be a valid claim, but it reminded me of an article published in the *Reader's Digest*, July 1950 issue, under the caption "How to Lose Teeth—decay" by Charles W. Freeman. The article is of great importance both from economic and scientific points of view. The writer has recommended some simple rules based upon experience. They are as follows:

(1) Brush your teeth night and morning as usual, using dentifrice or even plain water.

(2) At all other times after eating, or indulging in candy or soft drinks, take a drink of water, and before swallowing it, swirl it round in your mouth a few minutes. This need not attract attention and can

be done without inconvenience or embarrassment. It will dissolve, if not all, some of the sugar remaining in the mouth and also wash away the acid that already may have formed.

The increase of tooth-decay, according to the writer, is due to the tremendous consumption of sugar. The yearly intake of sugar has increased from 5 pounds per individual in 1924 to 54 pounds in 1948 in U.S.A. Tooth-decay runs mainly on fermentable sugar in food. Some sugar lodges between the hollows of teeth, and rapidly transforms into an acid which attacks the teeth. The action is so sudden that it reaches the peak within 30 to 35 minutes.

The rules recommended by the writer are so simple, and I think were well known to the Indians long long ago. Especially the rule of swishing and rinsing the mouth with simple water immediately after any intake, was so common in older days that even kiddies were asked to observe this rule strictly, right up from their childhood.

Civilisation had its own crimes, and the fundamental rules of health and cleanliness are now being observed in their breach. The main preventive agent according to the writer is simple water. This, too, is not being used for swishing and rinsing the mouth after each intake, probably, because it offends the so-called decorous dignity, and etiquette.

Will the Indians observe these fundamental rules of cleanliness and prevent tooth-decay and save the waste of public money on unwanted tooth-pastes?

F. S. SODATE

(Note: Dr Chandolal Doshi, the well-known dentist of Bombay, is strongly of opinion that it is as important to wash the mouth with water before taking any food or drink as after doing so. Particularly, when one is suffering from pyorrhea or other tooth or mouth ailment, it is necessary to wash the mouth before taking food or drink, so that any pus or other deposit may not get mixed with food and enter the stomach. This, too, is in accordance with the traditional training in Hindu families. The rise of modern brushes is not free from danger. They need to be disinfected every day both before and after use, this is rarely done. I have seen them harshly washed with a little water and kept in any dusty corner. There of such brushes have to go to dentists earlier than those who do not use them.)

—K. G. M.)

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THE NEW ECONOMY

[The following is addressed to Britain and the Western Powers. The arguments apply with much greater force in India. —E. S. M.]

The economy of the Industrial Revolution is doomed, for already a new economy is rapidly taking its place. The achievement of a reasonably balanced economy and thus of a large measure of self-sufficiency is a national right, a spiritual necessity and in the right order of things. The substantial economies of India are the product of greed, and when power politics have brought virtual economic and spiritual bankruptcy and must be superseded by an economy that is based on human need, spiritual and economic. It is a national right to shape the new destiny, to satisfy the material and spiritual needs of its people in larger measure and thus, to provide the widest possible variety of occupations for the creation and development of their creative power.

Britain along with other Western Powers has for over a century based on the cheap labour of the primary producing countries and especially of the Far East. That order of things is rapidly coming to a close, which means that the Western Powers have also entered at last, a reasonably balanced economy.

Several factors was the outcome of a nation and others attempt to find a better way of life for the reason that capitalism had effected. We now know that it failed in its objective that Western Civilization took shape of the spiritual values without which no civilization can abide.

Our job, in fact, is to find that better way of life for which the whole world is looking, and not leave the people of Britain. That "way" will place in their right order material and spiritual factors so that both may make their maximum contribution to the achievement of that abundant life which the human and to its stem and better measure knows is to which man's reach.

Towards a Qualitative Civilization

The whole of the modern world enters the modern that are the most basic of them, in which we have a process of international civilization and make possible for the first time in the modern world the pursuit of a qualitative civilization. Our world demands and our planet would undergo rapid change. There would be a demand for a new kind of social unit in which industry diversified into agriculture and which was limited in size so that each member could feel he had a responsible place in it, could embrace it in his thought and imagination. Another demand would be for small industrial units, co-operatively controlled, in their personal responsibility and creative opportunity should be experienced by all. This set up would in turn call for new industrial techniques, the aim of which would be to get machines to their right use which is to make men in making things of the highest quality and luxury. Not every industry can be diversified in this way, but very many can. Also inquiry has proved that things are not of industry could provide cheaper commodities under a system of industrial decentralization operating within a regional economy.

Here lies a great new field for the play of the co-operative genius which the Co-operative Movement, if it is needed in the establishment of a large number of small co-operative productive and distributive units in every area, for the improved, over-specialized, over-centralized and over-centralized industries and commercial organizations of our time. The supersession of today need to be recognized that the primary objective of all the co-operative phenomena was "in equal society." The issue of economic justice little into the picture of course, but fully as important was the issue of spiritual equality, which in real means the right of every person to creative opportunity and responsible social living.

This age has quite forgotten that the function of the State and of the machine is to enhance the quality of personal and social life, the State by offering in such present the maximum opportunity of self-expression and the machine as an aid thereto by taking over the drudgery

work in the wheel arms of the loom. To this end the State should see to it that remuneration are kept small and that the machines of material and political responsibility be placed in their hands. The politics of a new society should be derived from its economic life, the organization and control of which should largely rest in the localities, in villages and small towns, organized into regions.

But the most important fact connected with the new economy is that it calls for a change of emphasis in the "standard of living" from money values to creative and other spiritual values. Our money standard of living is going to fall in any case, but that will matter little if we gain in spiritual values, and we shall all be the better for living under more simply. To this end it is necessary to change the relationship between man and his work. When quality is the aim of production, and responsibility and creative opportunity are the inheritance of the worker, the latter experiences satisfaction that are non-existent in specialization, repetitive industry, and there will lift him above the money values and the deplorable levels of the mass mind, who is a product of such industry.

One age has completely failed to realize that in our time a man is right here with a day on the machine is to transform him into a machine. As such work cannot possibly interest him, let alone satisfy his creative nature, he works for money only, and increasingly tends to buy all his pleasures with cash. There has been the spectacular growth of mass sport and gambling in recent years, and the decay of home life and religion.

Let the country take warning, man's man, who is the product of industrial civilization which civilization now supports, will be down democracy in the end. He has already bypassed culture and religion, and in the day of crisis he will bypass democracy. We are well on the road down which Rome went to her doom, for we have recognized the fact that specialization, mass production, for cheapness in order to capture foreign markets, means the production of the huge mass and a cheap civilization, and ultimately of the totalitarian State. It is therefore clear that economic freedom is not enough. The final end of Nationalism is not the level of men's freedom but the quality of their life. As men learn, so we they.

It thus remains for us to erect the social, economic and political framework in which the rights and values that are necessary to the good life may be the possession of all. This calls for nothing less than the re-orientation of civilization on new foundations, which are: as I believe, the creative and moral values of Christianity. On this foundation each person will be able to find the way of life for himself which is also the way to social unity and international peace. Only when the human person functions as a creative, socially conscious and socially responsible being can there arise a stable and happy society, and only when the nations of the world are free to pursue an economy which enables them to offer to all their citizens the satisfaction of creative living can there be that international harmony for which mankind longs in vain today. This means that the foundation of personal, social and international well-being is respect for human personality, and the establishment of the social, economic and political conditions in which it can flourish to the utmost.

The First Steps to be Taken

The obvious starting point in building the new economy is in launch a bold agricultural policy, in the development of which the sustenance of the food, produce in British agriculture. Including the best cultivation on organic and culture and so without development and integration should be solidified. Here also the aim should be to provide a creative, reasonable and satisfying life for the agriculturalist, and maximum average production, both of which can best be achieved by small or family farming. The Labour Government has made a beginning in this direction, but its policies rest on more than truth

the fringe of the problem. If one thing has been made more certain than another by the course of the last thirty years, it is that Britain must grow a very much bigger percentage of her food than she has been in the habit of doing for many decades. The accepted policy of recent days, agriculture in manufactured exports, is the obvious belief that this is in the advantage of the nation, must be abandoned.

WILFRID WALLACE

(Adapted from The Third Way)

HARIJAN

Sept. 23

1946

THE RATIONING SYSTEM

If rationing has to be maintained means must be devised to an arrange it that normally there should be no temptation to sell or purchase on the black market. Rationing is introduced on the assumption that the stock of the rationed article is very limited, that if those whose capacity to purchase or consume the article is inordinate are not controlled, they would deplete the market to such an extent as would make it impossible for poorer classes to get even their minimum daily needs. Government would also find it difficult to possess sufficient stocks to meet its own regular and emergency needs.

The difference between the rich and the poor of our country is extremely great. The sentiment of generosity and concern for the needs of the neighbour is either not sufficient or not rationally developed. Some will store enough to last not for a season, but for three or four years, and they will replenish these stocks as soon as there is a favourable market or an apprehension that prices might go high. There are others who are not extravagant and who live in a narrow groove. But their generally manifests itself in holding luxurious social and religious functions and in accommodating only their own kith and kin. Consequently a price rise case is made out for the rationing of articles of primary needs and control of prices of several articles of secondary needs. I confine myself in this article to rationed articles only.

The Government does not claim (except in a certain contingency) to take possession of all the stocks of rationed articles by whomsoever held in India. Nor does it bring the entire population of India under the rationing system. It attempts to take under its control only a part of the available stocks and population. I think if it is even the largest stockist. The greater portion is held privately either by producers, export-stockists or consumer-stockists. This means that the rationing system does not attempt to close private marketing altogether. None of the stockists need the ration card and can dispense with it. If they are allowed or asked to do so. In cases like Delhi, Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and the like, a family which term should include servants, clerks and others residing

in a common kitchen with an average income of, say, Rs 1,500/- a year per head does not need to be rationed by Government. For smaller cities and towns, the figure may be put down at Rs 1000/- a year per head. These should shift for themselves, except when overruled by a minority.

The rest of the population should come under the rationing system. But the rest should include all the rest, and not, as at present, only the city and town people, the armed forces, refugees and the like. That is to say, villagers without land or with insufficient land should also get the benefit of the rationing system. If the object of rationing is to prevent starvation, it should be realised that hunger starts from the village. It is the unemployed and underemployed people of the villages that throng into towns and cities, and make famine and hunger so visible that even the blind may see it. Hence, a system of rationing which overlooks the village and unnecessarily includes the well-to-do seems to me unwise.

Another drawback of the present rationing system is that its notions of just and equitable distribution are either of mechanical equality or of distribution graded so that the quantity increases in proportion to income. It also vests discretionary powers in superior officers to give extra rations on certain grounds. This leads to corruption, flattery influence, political manoeuvring and the like.

An equated stand, Government is unable to follow the full daily requirements of the ration-card-holders. At present, in some of the States, it gives only a half of the full ration, and that, too, irregularly. Naturally, therefore the card-holders are compelled to help themselves for the deficit either with substitutes for rationed articles (subsidiary foods, *par* khandsal etc.), or purchases from the general market. Technically, the general market of rationed articles is regarded as the black market. But there does not appear any sense in condemning the whole of it as such since it is not the aim of the Government to monopolise the production and sale of the whole of the nation's stock of the rationed articles. It is a black market to the extent it charges more than the prices of these articles at the ration-shop. But a citizen is free, for instance, to buy anything outside the ration-shop, even at ration-shop prices, and a trader can sell it only clandestinely and at a great risk. The risk itself provides the incentive to charge exorbitant prices. He charges extra price to several hundred customers, so that, if he is backed up on an unfortunate day and has to pay a heavy fine and litigation expenses, he does not, on the whole, stand to lose.

All this dishonesty and secrecy, I believe, can be avoided and trade can be made more honest and open, if there was a system of graded prices in the rationing system. I shall explain this point next week.

Wardha, 11-8-46

K. G. KARNIKWALA

A BLUEPRINT FOR THE MINISTRY FOR FOOD AND AGRICULTURE

One of the critical situations that the country had ever faced is before us today. We may well say that perhaps the outcome from this situation may be even more bleak and unforeseen than that of the Bengal famine of 1943. In view of the serious situation some good may be done by placing before the public a few suggestions for consideration.

Planning had told the view that the problems of Food and Agriculture should be the backbone of the Government as it provides the very tap for the nation's sustenance. At any rate it should be given the strongest voice in the Cabinet who has the necessary determination and insight and who can control and coordinate all other departments towards a single-minded programme of feeding and clothing the nation. This policy should be embodied in priority over all other considerations. Unless such an important place is assigned to it, it would be futile to hope to solve this problem by tinkering with it, or by expending nationwide spectacular stunts.

While the space of our disposal we cannot give a detailed programme but merely indicate the broad lines on which the question has to be attacked. We shall take them up under different priorities—immediate, short term and long term programmes.

Immediate

The most elementary step is to conserve that which nature produces. All such crops which destroy, partly or wholly, nature's gifts should be checked on being introduced into, which should never be done with a strong hand. Such a programme of conservation will need control of the processing of natural products. Under this programme will come the complete banning of rice and four mills, sugar factories and vegetable can plants. These acts of man destroy the nutritive value without adding any nutritive qualities. They also take the nutritive, more important, and more vital values. With food nutritive value should govern our considerations rather than nutritive content related methods (calorie).

Great attention is due to the methods of preservation, transport and marketing of the produce. For lack of suitable processes a considerable amount of available food is transferred from the use of man to that of rats and worms. There too there on the programme should be considered as unpardonable waste and should be dealt with severely with neither fear nor favour.

In distribution and consumption great care has to be taken to direct food according to the needs of the various sections of the population. Our country has different sections with their own peculiar needs. The poorer masses depend miserably altogether on cereals for their diet. There should be allotted a larger quota of cereals than the upper classes who can supplement their food from other sources, such as milk, meat, fish, eggs, vegetables and fruits which are altogether above the reach of a good many of the producers. The marketing system in India cannot blindly follow the methods adopted in foreign countries which are accustomed to a sophisticated diet of a higher order.

Attempting to change the eating habits of the people 'suddenly' without creating a necessary background of a knowledge of dietetics can only cause a lagging stock of the persons involved. Given a little time it may be possible to make those who eat raw rice in India to be better able to prevent the evil effects of poisoning that it can people to take immediately in India unadvised of action will be to make any serious misadventure.

If we are in supplement our present supplies by imports it will be necessary to attract any dollars or foreign exchange for obtaining food and primary needs. That the Government's financial conditions are covered foreign exchange available in the market should not be diverted to obtaining expensive machinery and other costly equipments for large-scale production of luxury goods. These items called above will form our 'bread and

Butter',

We have come to this stage that may be looked upon as our thirteen programme. This will include offering inducement to the producers by not making an undue claim on their production. Government schemes should encourage all small producers who cannot produce more than what will leave them an income over 24 sh. per head per day for a conventional diet. The present government plan is certainly operative on the small producers and, as it operates, the larger producers manage to escape. This allows the nation production into the black market and creates a breeding ground for wholesale corruption.

The programme of increasing the military power and the imperialistic India of displaced persons from Pakistan have increased the pressure from the parasite sector of the population. This India can only be lightened by inducing a good many of this sector to become producers. The Military, extending during inactivity or during other operations, should be made to produce bulk of their food needs. Many of the young recruits had from rural areas and are acquainted with agricultural processes. They can be enlisted once to occupy themselves with food production during the agricultural season. This programme will also be useful to introduce improved and modern methods into agriculture. The military camps may be located on marginal cultivated lands which can be improved by mechanical methods of dealing with such lands, that adding in the extent of soil under cultivation. Finally, the displaced persons may be given the responsibility of feeding themselves in a group system and converting themselves into producers rather than remain parasitic as individuals. They should not be provided in kind in foreign goods, as they are being encouraged to do at present, by providing them with seeds and in all the cities.

Very careful looking out of all land under cultivation crops may be undertaken. While people are moving they can be the crops afterwards adapted to words of living crops—crops such as Virginia tobacco. Arguments advanced today about the extent of average under such crops being small and hold no water in a favourable land.

Long-range

To increase production, great more steps may be taken with a long-range programme. In increasing a few, lands may be required where may be increased in capital every drop of water they carry, results may be obtained by a scheme of bunding and re-planting afterwards may be undertaken and further bunding may be resorted to.

The general supervisor has further agricultural as problems may be directed towards production of the ground seeds and supplying them as a large scale to small cultivation.

The Agricultural Colleges with their research sections should be looked upon as an insurance against disaster and under-employment. The highly paid staff should be conscious of the fact that the responsibility will be taken the any shortage of food and that they will be readily liquidated if they fail to justify their existence by not seriously dealing with any threat of a shortage in the food supply of the people. They should not, but content purely with laboratory experiments or carrying out their work even as a commercial body. It should be their duty to see that their findings work out in the Indian home in the interior. Our Agricultural Department has to intensify on their extension work and take upon themselves the duty of seeing that the most intelligent farmers are geared up with the latest achievements of science by a network of demonstration farms which will carry light and leading throughout the land.

Other things

The first of all economic activity especially in the agricultural sector is the labour. If it was in the field operations for lifting water for drinking and for transport. The cost not only of the water and provision of labour

coating, it has several sub-varieties bearing white, yellow and red flowers. They are known as *Andhra* (బింద), *perakapatti* (పెదకపత్తి) *kandapatti* (కందపత్తి), *madam* (మామ), *gajjar* (గజ్జర), etc. Hybrid varieties of *Andrapas* have also been produced. Their seeds differ from the pure ones by their hairiness. Some coloured cotton has also been grown.

The plant of the tree-cotton grows from 4 feet to 15 feet high. It gives a good crop for 2 to 3 years. The crop in the first year is not much, but it goes on increasing for the next three years. In the fifth and sixth years it maintains its level, whereafter it declines and falls considerably low in the eighth. If the new seed is sown in the seventh year, it will begin to yield a good crop in two years when the old tree should be rooted out. If proper tending, watering and manuring are done it may continue to give its yield for a longer time. It gives two crops in a year, the first in the months of April and May and the other in October and November. It is immune from 'stem weevil' which usually attacks the ordinary annual crop, but it is the 'breeding ground for another kind of insect 'hole-weevil', which feeds on it. When elsewhere it does not get anything to eat, this silver-coloured insect repairs to this tree and thrives there and injures not only this particular tree, but other crops also later on. Therefore a month after the summer crop, it had better be pruned. Soon after the crop is over, watering should be stopped. And then, the three lower branches along with 2 inches of three sub-branches of each of these should be preserved and the rest should be pruned. All the earth round about the tree except within a circle of about 3 inches round about the foot of the trunk should be filled with manure and given water once or twice before monsoon.

The size of the cotton is 1 inch to 2.5 inches long and gives a thread of 20 to 300 counts. The seed is sown towards the beginning of the rainy season. Pits, 2' x 2' x 1', are dug, and if the soil is poor, they are filled with manure made up of equal quantities of cow-dung, urine, compost, night-soil-manure, bone-powder, ash, oil-cake etc. and common earth. They should be 6 feet to 8 feet apart from one another depending upon the quality of the soil. Two seeds may be put in every pit, 3 inches apart from each other, and half an inch below the surface. A month after the seeds have sprouted, the one which is stronger should be retained and the other plant should be kept rooted out. The earth around should be kept soft and weeds should be constantly removed. There is no need to water the trees after the rains. But the crop is richer if the tree is watered once every month in winter and twice every month in summer. Before the seed is sown, it should be kept in the sun for three days, or be submerged in salt-brained water on the pre-

vous night. This will make the tree more immune from disease. A kind of berile, brown, green or black in colour, patches itself on the leaves of the growing plant and eats them. It should be destroyed and the tree dusted with ash. In winter, the bud is infested by red-coloured round insects. The best way to destroy them is to prepare a mixture of kerosene oil and tobacco solution and to shake them into a tangle of it. This will prevent the cotton elements from becoming weak, withered and discoloured. The ginning can be easily done on either the spinning board and reel or the ginning wheel. Since this cotton has a long fibre, the carding should be done either after the patented manner prevalent in Andhra, or the bagama manner of Bihar, or on a carding bow with a loosely tied gut. The patil-mash is more suitable for cotton with long fibres. The Andhra and Bihar methods will be useful also for spinning. These methods have to be learnt from over one. This is not, however, to suggest that this cotton cannot be spun on the ordinary spinning wheel. The fine-thread spinners will care to use it with the same ease as they do glazed cotton, with a little practice, of course. The patil-mash is easy to learn for all.

The suggestion to use the pit-ash in the cultivation of this cotton, might look ridiculous in this age of the machine and technological advancement. But it may be recalled that during the last war when England was besieged by Hitler's blockade and suffered from scarcity of food the people of Britain had taken to this seemingly pious tool and successfully saved the country from starvation. Ever since it has become a part of their national character to rage in the open space within the enclosure of the house a small garden of fruits and flowers and exotic plants. It may be mentioned here that Gandhi insisted on hand-labour for agricultural work in his address at Phoenix in South Africa. Formerly the house-garden was a normal feature of people's life. Telukdas refers to such gardens in his description of *Apalika*. They destroy dirt by absorbing the refuse of the house and drain-water, add to the beauty of the surroundings, make for health, pay materially and devote clean and refined tastes. Today, more than ever, India needs these green spots inside every house, bright with fruits and flowers. They may also lead to substantial improvement in our agriculture if only people would proceed to do the job scientifically, with an observant eye, in the spirit of research.

The A I S A has distributed the seeds of this variety to some individuals and institutions interested in this work. They are requested to keep a detailed account of their experiments, a table with the name of the place at the head, showing monthly growth, disease, yield of

cotton, the quantity of ginned cotton and the seeds, the length of the fibre, the count of the thread spun therefrom etc. They should submit their reports regularly so that we may know what variety of it will suit which place, and which one will be most useful. This will facilitate our work of coordinating these various experiments and help us to arrive at the right conclusion from the point of view of self-sufficiency.

Benigan, 13-7-50 DADARSHI WALK

(Forwarded from Shikar)

LEPROSY AND HEREDITY

On page 214 of Harijan, August 26, 1950, the following passage occurs in Sharmu's article "Prophets, the Father of Harijans":

"Marriage is a sacrament and trust. It demands that we should bring forth only good children. Personally I may do little damage by being bad. But if our children and their children are bad they are capable of doing greater harm to the world. It is said that all the reformist generation children require the character and defects of their ancestors. Take for example the case of leprosy. It remains and haunts man till the seventh generation. That is why Gandhi advocated brahmacharya."

The writer unfortunately emphasises two harmful erroneous notions regarding leprosy: (1) that it is hereditary and (2) that it has a moral stigma. It is not true that "leprosy remains and haunts" till the seventh generation." In fact, if the children of leprosy patients were protected from close and prolonged contact with their infective parent, they do not contract the disease. Where the disease is passed on to a member of a succeeding generation, it is through contact, not by heredity. This is seen by the fact that when children move closely with patients who are not their parents, they are liable to get the disease. Shri Sharmu's reference to leprosy is a very unfortunate error, besides giving currency to an erroneous notion of leprosy. It also mentions leprosy in a context which emphasises the stigma against leprosy. Gandhi advocated the removal of our common ignorance about leprosy and the unjust stigma against it. Those who would remind us of what Gandhi advocated in one particular or other should not forget what he advocated about some other particular.

Finally, let me say that it is specially unfortunate that the passage in question should appear in Harijan.

T. N. JAGANNATH

(Note: I gladly publish the above. Modern science is scientifically and, we are told, unanimously of opinion that leprosy is not a hereditary disease. Hansen, the Norwegian discoverer of the leprosy bacillus, put forth this view about a hundred years ago, and it is said to have stood the test of time.

Leprosy is not also, like, say, venereal disease, associated with immoral conduct. To look upon the victim of this disease with the suspicion that he must have been guilty of some moral lapse is doubly unjust to him, and adds to his misfortune. Like a patient of tuberculosis or cancer, he needs our sympathy and care. It is less contagious than tuberculosis.

So much for correcting the impression that might have been created by the reference to the disease by Shri Sharmu. At the same time, it may be mentioned that Shri Sharmu's reference was just casual in the course of a different topic. I would also say that the fact that leprosy is not hereditary does not diminish the importance of brahmacharya to its patients, and thus Shri Sharmu lays stress upon. In the present condition of our society, it is very difficult to segregate the children of leprosy-victims from their parents, which is imperatively necessary for their protection. The possibility of the children contracting the disease is so great that there is no wonder that the disease has been regarded hereditary. Besides, there are other factors to be considered. Though the disease may not be directly inherited, it is not certain that those tendencies, which make a person susceptible to contracting the contagion, may not be inherited. Take for instance, asthma. It is not regarded as a germ disease at all. But you do not come across a doctor or a surgeon who does not ask the patient, whether his parents or grandparents had it. He asks that question because it is found to run in families. It may be due to inheritance of similar formation of lungs, nose, digestive apparatus, bloodvessels etc. The disease itself may not be hereditary, but the soil congenial for it may be.

Shri Sharmu gives the belief of Appendix, and it may be erroneous. Nevertheless, his main advice, namely, his patients should practice brahmacharya, is sound.

Wardha, 6-8-50

E. G. M.

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TWO ANNAS

CHARKHA CELEBRATIONS

The first eight days of October will witness throughout India the celebration of Gandhi's 81st birthday. The first of October has been set apart in Bombay and Guzerat for the observance of the Harijan Day. During the rest of the week spinning will be at the centre of all other programmes. This is quite appropriate, as the charkha is Gandhi's greatest gift to the world and the visible symbol of his message of Non-violence. It is also in accordance with the practice initiated by Gandhi himself who gave the name of Charkha Dinotsav to his date of birth. Those whose faith in the charkha has grown with the passage of time, make his birthday celebrations an occasion for demonstrating their faith in it by organising the charkha and Khadi programmes in various ways. Even those who are not regular spinners give it the place of honour as such occasions for expressing their love and faith for Gandhi.

And yet the charkha is the most difficult item to understand among Gandhi's ideas and programmes. Not that his other ideas and programmes are easily understood and accepted generally. Indeed, Gandhi is such a complex personality that he is acceptable in a general manner to very many only as dissociated from his various ideas and programmes and taken as just a good and righteous man. In association with a particular idea or programme, he ceases to be acceptable very widely. For instance, as associated with removal of untouchability he might be acceptable to one section only, with social reforms, to another only; with friendliness to Muslims, only to a third, with truth and non-violence, only to a fourth, with basic education, only to a fifth, with charkha, only to a sixth and so on.

But there is a remarkable feature in the acceptance of Gandhi with this or that item only. It will be observed that generally those who are able to accept whole-heartedly his ideas and programmes of the charkha find less difficulty in understanding and accepting most of his other ideas and programmes. But those who are sceptical about the charkha accept, if at all, only a particular item of his other ideas. For this reason also, the charkha is the centre of

Gandhi's life-message and it is very material that the place and importance of the charkha should be fully understood by all those who profess that the ultimate good of mankind lies in following the way shown by Gandhi.

In a way food being the first necessity of life, it would appear that agriculture should be regarded as the centre of the economic constructive programme. Co-ops, spinning, weaving and various village industries should all revolve and adjust themselves round agriculture. Indeed this had been suggested by some to Gandhi, and similar suggestions are made even now. Gandhi had no misgivings about the importance of agriculture in India's economy and he took keen interest in it. His experiments of satyagrah in South Africa started with agriculture and not with the charkha. This he had not even seen at the time, and yet instinctively he had placed the focus in the forefront as Dard Sarani (1900). With further experience, his faith in a grew to such an extent that in 1936 he declared it to be the Sun of the solar system of village industries at the Poona Congress. Why should it have been so?

As I think of it, the reason is this. Whether agriculture is a paying or a losing occupation, man will always need and produce food, and even if there is an ever increasing mob of villagers to cities, a greater number will yet remain and stick to agriculture; they might do so voluntarily or under sheer compulsion of circumstances, but stick they will. But even though there is as much need for the production of cloth in every home—that is, for people becoming self-reliant in the matter of cloth—the mill industry ran and has destroyed the spinning wheel, and created an illusion that home-spinning is not necessary for getting cloth.

Even granting that cloth stands lower than food in the list of the prime necessities of life, it is necessary to realise that the prosperity of agriculture is linked with and dependent upon the charkha. The cramping of the charkha—i.e. the people's capacity to produce their clothing requirements in their own homes—has been and will be harmful to agriculture, particularly food cultivation.

Among large-scale factories the spinning mill was the first to destroy village technique and economy. The *charkha* was a small mill installed in every house. It is true that as it was driven by manual power and consisted of only one spindle, its speed of production was slow. But that slowness had the advantage of providing occupation to all. As an earner of wages, spinning was probably the least-paid labour even in old times. But because of the cheapness and simplicity of life of the age, it could yet contribute a decent share in maintaining a family with thrift consistent with decency.

The advent of the spinning mill under these conditions of life injured the villages in two ways. The large spinning factories, which had come into existence first in foreign countries, were on their entry into India, established in cities. Their mechanism made it possible for a single labourer to power a hundred to two hundred spinners out of employment, and a whole mill compelled several thousand spinners to discard their wheels. The spinning mill was soon followed by the weaving mill. This, in turn, did the work of nearly twenty hand-loom weavers through a single worker, thus the hand-loom weaver also became rather unwanted.

The cloth so produced had the appearance of being cheap. No wonder that it created the impression that more cloth could be consumed for the same amount of money. It was again no wonder that a better wage could be paid to the mill-labourer who produced for the employer as much yarn as a hundred to two hundred *charkha*-spinners, and wove as much cloth as about twenty hand-loom weavers. So, in the villages surrounding the cities, people thought that there had come into the country a boon which gave better, cheaper and more cloth, and better wages to boot. The number of mills and other large-scale factories increased rapidly, and the labouring population of villages to which cities were easily approachable found that there was a good demand for them. They found their problems of unemployment and underemployment solved for a time. But the agriculture of these villages began to suffer, because the wage standard of local labour increased beyond their means. Cloth having become cheaper and more abundant than before, all those who were not compelled to stay at home nevertheless began to flock into the cities in search of employment. Agriculture became an economic competition. To add to this, a great demand arose for land surrounding the expanding cities, and it began to fetch heavy prices. As a result, agriculture first began to be given up by these villagers. The remarkable thing about it all was that all this appeared as being economically advantageous.

Meanwhile, technical workers advanced at a rapid pace, and large factories of various types began to grow. The march of villages towards cities grew in pace, and it is still in progress.

Distant villages received mill cloth before they received a mill for their labourers. Here was ready-made cloth, which was more attractive, of finer texture, cheaper in cost than the one they could produce for themselves only after devoting a good deal of time by way of personal labour and bargaining with artisans. It is no wonder that both the wise and the simple were all taken in. The *charkha* was rapidly discarded.

With the disappearance of the *charkha* from the home of the agriculturalist, other industries — weaving, colouring, cloth-printing etc. — dependent upon the *charkha* also broke. There also ran stories of high wages and "enjoyments" available in cities. So all such artisans as also other labourers and all those who had received by this time rudiments of education began to forsake the villages. Thus, agriculture in distant villages also began to suffer.

Let us remember that agriculture is a very great sector depends in our country on the mercy of nature. It is inherently a seasonal occupation only. Again, from time immemorial, it has been always subject to several forms of calamity and almost binding nature, viz. the whims of the ruler and the landlord, the caprice of religious and charitable institutions, the deeds of bandits or robbers, hostility to the servants of the State and the landlord, donations collected by Brahmins, lawyers, beggars and other expectants, payment of interest on and return of capital to the money-lender, celebration of marriages, shraddhas and other ceremonies, entertainment of guests and the like. With all these out-of-pocket expenses, the agriculturalist could hope to save something only in a particularly lucky year. All these out-of-pocket charges have continued, if not increased, the dependence upon nature has also continued, indeed, on account of heavy destruction of forests for some generations past, nature has become rather more erratic than ever before, his own domestic budget has also become more lopsided because of the rise of new carriages, hotels, bath-houses, expenses of education, hospital etc., which voraciously ate up all sales. There is nothing on the credit side to balance against this. On the contrary, he has lost all those items which used to be savings, e.g. of the *charkha*, which with all its low production and wages, was still an item on the income side, of agriculture due to low cost of cultivation on account of cheapness of labour and help of such adult members of the family, who have since gone to work in cities. That he has still stuck to the land is not because agriculture is tremendously lucrative, but because he does not know what else he would do.

and where he could stay if he abandoned the land. Thus the decline of agriculture is closely linked with the destruction of the *charkha*. It is also closely linked with the huge destruction of the cattle wealth of the country.

I would like to say in this connection that the principle involved here is not primarily whether the spinning wheel should be a machine worked by human power only, as opposed to mechanical power. The fundamental point is that yarn should be produced and woven on every house, or at any rate on every unit by the joint labors of its members, for, in the first instance, their own full consumption and, only thereafter, for sale. The question *whether* and *how* far mechanical power may be employed for doing this has its own importance, which is to be considered from the point of view of the best way of utilizing human and animal labor for the advancement of agriculture, cow-breeding and village industries. It is not tabooed merely because it is mechanical. It is quite possible that the *charkha* might in course of time develop into a small mechanism of the type of the sewing or knitting machine and become capable of being set up in a small factory of 25 to 50 workers. But if it gets divorced from agriculture, both agriculture and cow-breeding — particularly cultivation of food crops and rearing of bullocks — are bound to suffer, unless agriculture itself gives up its present character of being a seasonal occupation only, and develops ~~into giving full employment to all who produce it from one end of the year to the other~~.

It was given to Gandhi to perceive the intimate relationship of agriculture and the *charkha*. He regarded it as his greatest duty and present to the world. If the place of the *charkha* in Indian life is not realized, India cannot become a prosperous and fully employed country except by establishing her control over some other large nations, and exploiting them for her benefit.

Hence it is that the *charkha* occupies the centre of Gandhi's Birthday celebrations. At this stage it looks like the frantic effort of a person who is against the current of the galloping advance of waters of a river in spite. It is not easy, therefore, to have faith in the message of the *charkha*. Those who are in doubt, may not be found fault with. To feel anger against them is out of place. They must take their own time and find their own method to discover the truth that the *charkha* stands for. But once they discover it, they will find that it opens up before them quite a new way of thinking and evaluating life, which will help them not only in understanding the village industries programme, but also other religious, social and political ideas and programmes of Gandhi.

THE INVOLVED WILD CATTLE CATCHING PROBLEM

Over three years ago I started trying to interest the Government in this urgent and perplexing problem, since when I have been continuously endeavouring to get some kind of practical scheme organised for the systematic catching of wild and semi-wild cattle — but without result. I am afraid the many friends, in various villages of India who responded to my request through the columns of *Morning Star* for information regarding herds of these wild cattle, must have long since given me up as a bad job. They sent me heart-rending tales of the damage done to crops by ever increasing herds in their areas, and begged me to get my scheme started as soon as possible, so it would be a tremendous task to the States and at the same time would help the 'Grow More Food' campaign.

I can only assure these friends who wrote to me, that I redoubled my efforts. The Army, to whom I had appealed through the Commander-in-Chief, responded magnificently and arranged every detail for a detachment of horse-men to be kept ready at Saharanpur Barracks Depot. I had hoped that this might bring the Civil Departments up to the scratch, but no! We are still where we were. I suppose the civil authorities think the work is not worth doing. The village public, however, seems to have a different opinion.

It is clear from the information I have received that there are thousands and thousands of wild and semi-wild cattle throughout India. With the prohibition of cattle slaughter their numbers are certainly going to increase. If any further delay takes place in the tackling of this matter on an All-India basis the cattle problem will get completely out of control. From my experience of wild and semi-wild bull catching in Punjab, my belief is that this work, if handled properly, can be made to pay its way. I must confess, however, that I am worn out by my long struggles with the machinery of Government. My health is no longer what it was, and I cannot now-a-days travel about. But this work has got to be done if we, who call ourselves devotees of the cow, want not to have to hang our heads in shame. I, therefore, appeal to the *Gowda Sangh* and the *Gowark Samaj* jointly to take up the responsibility of this tremendous task.

Just as I was writing these lines, a party of peasant pilgrims came into my room. They were on a visit to the Hindu shrine of Nilkanth on the edge of the Gairwal mountains, where I was then staying. Typical sturdy, weather-beaten types they were. As I looked at them I said to myself, "You people are the foundation on which the whole of society depends." I put down my pen and asked, "Where do you come from?" "Barilly district," they replied. The wild-cattle problem being apparent in my mind, I enquired whether they had that problem

in their village "Oh yes," they exclaimed, "there are quantities of wild cows around our village, and they do a lot of harm to our crops." "Are the cows of good quality?" I asked. "Very fine," they said "and they give plenty of milk. The male calves are worth a lot of money, and get caught by daring cattle dealers."

The next day, when I descended to Amangashan on my way to Tafari Garhwal, some more peasant pilgrims came to my room. This time they were from the Meerut district. They had the same wild-cow story to tell.

So this is the present condition of things in our unhappy country.

MEMORANDUM

HARIJAN

Sept. 30

1946

GRADED PRICES

We reckon that a normal labourer would need not less than 15 ounces of cereals per day for his full need. Indeed a strong man doing hard labour might require as much as 25 ounces. Government knows that it cannot provide the full need from its own stocks. It must, however, make sure that the Government and the people will together possess in the aggregate more than 25 ounces per head per day. It should be not less than 20 ounces and may well exceed 25 ounces. This should be secured as far as possible by production within the State itself. To the extent it is impossible in the immediate future to do so, it must import from the surplus provinces or, as a last resort, from abroad.

Since centralisation of stocks is neither desirable nor feasible, the retaining should not be on the assumption that Government is in possession of all the stocks in the State. It should become its largest stockist only, and, as explained in previous articles, it should procure through, and keep these stocks mainly in the possession of, co-operative societies, parichayats or such charitable institutions as serve all sections of the people impartially.

The total Government stock might be about three-fourths of the total need, and retaining, too, should extend to the partial needs of three-fourths of the population. The rest of the people should be allowed to shift for themselves, except where a sudden emergency arises. So too, the remaining needs of the masses must be met by the people themselves. Three-fourths of the total need would mean not less than 15 ounces per day or about 24 ratis per annum per head. Since Government must keep sufficient stocks on hand for discretionary and emergency purposes and make due allowances for wastage and unexpected losses by fire, loss and accidents, it

is clear that they cannot retain even 12 ounces per day from the stocks which they have tried to possess. At the same time every unit would not need the full 15 ounces which is calculated as the normal need. So they should frankly say this.

"We propose to give 8 ounces per day per head to all those who come within our rationing scheme. It is not convenient upon any one to store within it, and we do not propose to undertake the responsibility of those whose average family income is above Rs 1,000/- per head per annum in large cities, or above Rs 500/- per head per annum elsewhere in the country. The rest would be entitled to enter into the rationing system but the Government would welcome people, who, though entitled, large drawing upon their cards whether wholly or partially. The self-denial will make it possible for Government to give extra rations to those to whom the ration of 8 ounces is grossly insufficient and who are too poor to purchase the balance from the ordinary market. In order to encourage such self-denial, Government would pay as *kakhas*, *jarys*, a quarter anna for every two ounces forgone."

"The rationed 8 ounces will be sold at Government purchase price— all overhead charges being borne by Government. Let us assume that the purchase price is 2½ annas for 8 ounces. But in order to meet the needs of those to whom 8 ounces is quite insufficient or who need extra ounces for particular approved purposes, Government would be prepared to sell extra rations to the maximum extent of 15 ounces per head. If it holds sufficient stocks on hand. The price of the extra rations will be graded and may be varied from time to time, and the sales may be suspended at any time without previous notice. The following is an illustrative scheme of gradation."

"For personal consumption on regular cards

Required	8 ounces at 2 annas 2 pies	8	1 pice
For the extra 1st 2		1	1 pice
" 2nd 2		1	anna 0
" 3rd 2		2	annas 0
" 4th 2		4	annas 0
Total for 15		10	annas 2 pice

"For particular approved transactions subject to such rules about numbers etc. as may be prescribed

For	8 ounces	1 anna
Extra 1st 2		1 anna
" 2nd 2		1 anna 4 pice

"The maximum to be allowed being not more than 12 ounces per capita."

By undertaking upon itself the duty of purchasing and distributing rations, Government enters into the realm of business. It must, therefore, do it as a business. But as the purpose of

the business is to provide "unto the last" man of the State, the principles of business would be different from those of ordinary commerce. In ordinary commerce, big (wholesale) merchants get articles at cheaper rates, than small (retail) purchasers. In a business on behalf of the masses, the small purchaser should get articles at cheaper rates than the big one.

The above method will provide an effective and automatic control over profiteering and black-marketing. If merchants sell their cereals more cheaply than Government, it is all welcome. If they ask exorbitant prices, purchasers will prefer to buy from Government. There will be no need for money. As Government itself would sell at profitable rates, it will be able to pay better prices for purchases by way of procurement. It will, at the same time, assure itself that none may die of starvation. As the stock increases, it will raise the scale of the minimum ration which it will sell at purchase price. These prices would also vary according to the quality of the cereals.

There are several articles, which will admit of this kind of treatment; e.g., p.w., sugar, kerosene, petrol, cotton, tobacco.

Wardha, 11-2-58

M. C. MANDREKAR

THE PROBLEM OF FOOD PRICE

The problem of food price raises a complicated issue. On the one hand every one wants that food should be available in abundance. A commodity, the supply of which is abundant, would be naturally cheap. All those who are not landholders would wish that food should be as cheap as possible. Probably more than 80 per cent of the population would come under this head. Their interest lies in having abundant food at cheap rates.

On the other hand, the owner of agricultural land, depending for his livelihood upon the sale of his produce, demands the opposite. He wishes to cultivate crops which bring higher returns in terms of money. Since cotton, tobacco, ground-nuts, plantains etc. fetch higher price, it is profitable for him to cultivate these rather than food crops. He demands that if he is to be induced to grow food crops, it is necessary that the prices of food crops should be made sufficiently attractive. Thus the interests of the landed producer and the landless consumer conflict. Indeed, some economists recommended that since India is an agricultural country the prices of food should be raised. But it seems to me that this recommendation rests on the wrong assumption that the fact that India is an agricultural country is equivalent to saying that India is a country in which a majority of the population possesses land. This is not correct. A majority of the population consists of landless agricultural labourers or landholders with so small holdings that they hardly produce enough to maintain themselves throughout the year. Hence the interest of a majority of the popula-

tion does not lie in high prices of food. It is only a small fraction of landlords who might be benefited by high food prices.

This situation indicates that there is an inherent defect in the present system of landlordship. There was a system once prevalent, at least in Gujarat and Saurashtra, in which the land belonged to the whole village, no individual being regarded as the owner of a specific plot. The village produced its requirements of food, cotton, oilseeds, tobacco also if they used it, after providing for the shares of the ruler, contemporary public institutions, animals etc. and also for the requirements of the people of the village for the year, the balance was sold. Only the surplus amount for sale was subject to valuation in terms of money. The quantity of water and food necessary for the maintenance of the village was not capable of money value, even as air could not be valued in terms of rupees, annas and pice. Not that this system was evolved to perfection. There were many defects in the system of distribution, since society was divided into aristocrats and serfs. But in a fair and just democracy, the interests of 80 per cent of the population who are not landlords and of landless will not mutually conflict under a system like this. Such a system should be brought into existence with necessary modifications to suit the present requirements.

The world lives on food. Though the demand that the price of food should be raised is that the landlord could be induced to grow food crops is improper. The proper demand is to make in the introduction of such a system as would make food cheap and plenty.

Wardha, 10-2-58

M. C. MANDREKAR

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XI

Christians. Knight is he who is capably correct in his conduct towards perfect strangers who are in need of help, but who can make no return to him and who are unfriendly even to render a few words of thanks.

(Written in English)

XII

As we acquire more skill, we are able to put in more work with less strain on our physical and mental resources. For instance when I began to turn the spinning-wheel with my left hand I spun only 50 rounds on the first day. I took much time and experienced great fatigue. But when I had acquired some skill I spun 300 rounds in less time than I had taken over only 50 rounds at first and also felt lesser strain. I am now spinning on the Idagun spinning-wheel on which my output yesterday was only 24 rounds and I took heaps of time over it. But today I spun 50 rounds in less time than what I gave to spinning yesterday, and with less fatigue as well. What is true of a single individual and his insignificant looking activity is true of big institutions and their extensive activity.

We s'g d'ist — 'Toge to skill in action,' as the Gita puts it (II-50). Action here is service or sacrifice (sewa). All our troubles arise from lack of skill. When we acquire the requisite skills what is at present troublesome will be a source of pleasure. I am strongly of opinion that one should not feel any strain in a well regulated institution.

This is what you are in the Ashram for. But no one else can impart it to you. Every one should extract it from the atmosphere for him or herself. If you are unable to do it, you cannot stay in the Ashram for long, though unscrupulous persons might drag on. The Ashram is really an institution where a person is free to run according to his capacity. You should yourself create an atmosphere favourable to your growth. You may invite your friends to keep you company in the Ashram but that would be a selfish thing. As a matter of fact you should make friends with every one in the Ashram. Give him what you have got and take from him whatever he has to give. You will be blundering badly if you think that most of the Ashramites have nothing to teach you. For I feel that there is no one in the world from whom we may not learn something or other.

XIII

(To a new Ashramite who suggested that we should ask them to stay in the Ashram, and allow stray cattle to consume the food crops in the Ashram farm for the Gita rule on re cultivating opium-plantations (see) in chapter II, verse 41.)

The questions you have raised cannot be settled with the help of logic alone, for if they

are, the legitimate conclusion would be this that a man should feel unto death. The idea of atonement (penance) appears to be a consequence of this train of thought, and is only the half-way house to such a feat. But that becomes impossible to man even if he makes this impossible possible, his mind will rise in rebellion and create several worlds of its own. I think that the Gita teaching arose from some such line of thought. The Gita first of all points out the numerous evils of life and secondly tells us how we should live so as to make continuous progress towards it. Its teaching may be thus summarised: 'Discharge fully whatever duty comes your way as you march to your goal, but be detached from the fruits of your actions.' This is the principle we apply in solving the problems which face the Ashram. As for thieves we would certainly invite them to join the Ashram if we could, but as we have not still acquired the capacity to assimilate such refractory material, we deal with them as we think fit in view of our spiritual poverty. As regards stray cattle and insects which damage our crops, we have not still been able to devise non-violent methods of dealing with them. We therefore do some violence to them out of sheer helplessness. To drive out stray cattle by shouting at or beating them, to frighten birds away by throwing or pretending to throw stones at them, to destroy insects in course of ploughing operations or otherwise to catch hold of snakes and carry them out of harm's way or to permit people to kill them if that is impossible, — all these things are, I am aware, violation of the Ashram ideal. But the Ashram and its members are far from perfect. Therefore they take such action, although it is wrong. Thus alone can they find out the way to the Eternal City. I have not the shadow of a doubt that to give up all activity is very much worse than to act as we are doing. The author of the Gita says, 'all action is doomed by defects as fire by smoke' (XVIII-48). Therefore we should be humble, do our allotted duty in a spirit of service and realise that we are mere tools in the hands of the 'Great Carpenter'.

(XII and XIII translated from Original by T. G. D.)

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TWO ANNAS

THE NASTIC CONGRESS

Despite apprehensions expressed by several papers and individual Congressmen that the Madh Congress might make a sensational event, my own feeling was that so far as the session itself was concerned nothing of the kind was going to take place. A radical departure from the current policy, even if contemplated, does not usually take place, unless there is a preponderant majority in its favour. The election of Tandon as President, a victory of the majority, was a victory of the majority. It is a matter to the winning party that it must sleep to escape the minor details if it does not want a schism in the organization. Delegates on both sides for subject there did not take two sharply divided sides, constantly realized that they must control themselves so that Pandit Jaganmohan Bhatia should not feel that his position was being weakened. Whatever the result, there would be about him in the minds of a section of the delegates, every one seemed to think that he must continue in power. And as the delegates adjusted themselves to that position.

In the same way as the voting in the election of the President operated as a warning to the winning side, that as the resolution on controls must be taken by the Prime Minister as a significant warning to him. Out of more than 1,000 delegates only about 300 delegates cast their votes on this resolution, and the official resolution was (or was moved?) only by a narrow majority. This should be regarded as a practical victory of the minority. It shows that a considerable motion even among Congress delegates—yet to say the general public—in unable to understand the policy of the controls. If they are necessary and good, people must understand how they are so, and their advantages must become obvious to the people. What is obvious, however, is the amount of ignorance, capriciousness, corruption, black-marketing and demoralization which they have created. Either the controls, at least a majority of them, are quite unnecessary, or the way of improving and working them is too crude, dishonest and inefficient. In either case the present policy must be radically revised.

Immediately before the election, Shri Purnachandras Tandon wrote, "The Prime Minister is the pivot of our Government." In his presidential address he took good care to support

him. The Congress has also strengthened him through the various resolutions. I believe that on the disposal of future business, the differences if any, which might be looking very large in abstract, will resolve themselves satisfactorily in actual practice.

To my mind, the most important item in the future business is the purification of the Congress organization itself from within. The selection of candidates for the next general election is regarded by some as the most important matter. My humble opinion is that unless and until the organization becomes a clean body, the selection, no matter to which body the work of doing it is entrusted, cannot be done in a way which will bring credit to the Congress. In what way Shri Tandon's proposal to purge the Congress of evil is a matter which the public will weigh with interest. I hope he will not mind, as he has said, if the number of members is reduced to a handful in order that the standard of honesty may become high.

Wardha 10/4/33 K. S. NARAYAN

CONGRESS RESOLUTION ON KHADI

"The Congress is of the opinion that in all schemes for increasing the production of wealth in the country it is essential that the vast manpower in the villages should be progressively utilized. Employment should be given to the millions who have no land to cultivate or whose holdings are so small as to leave much time at their disposal for other useful employment. There should lead to the general adoption of a policy of encouraging and expanding home industries.

Khadi, which Congressmen have, for years, adopted for their use on political and economic grounds, is the central home industry which can give employment to a very large number of our rural population. Several other subsidiary industries can be helped by an increase in the production of khadi.

The best way of assisting khadi and other home industries is to give them the benefit of scientific research in the fullest measure.

"With improved technique and co-ordination with large-scale industries, the disadvantages of village industries in respect of quality and price as compared with the products of large-scale industry will greatly diminish. To overcome where handicrafts still remain, Government should give further assistance in suitable form, particularly by the purchase and use of khadi and other products of village industries as much as possible."

GANDHIJE "HINDU DHARMA" *

(Abstract from the *Discourse* Introduction)

Gandhiji was born, brought up and lived his entire life a Hindu. He called himself a *devotional* or orthodox Hindu, who based his beliefs on the ancient Hindu scriptures. He drew freely, it is true, from other religions also. But the main source of his religious life came undoubtedly from the religion of his forefathers. Hinduism was his life-breath, the very marrow of his bones, and he clung to it through all his tempestuous career as a child to his mother's arms. He looked to the *Shastras* for inspiration and guidance, called it his mother, and moulded his life on the *Gita* ideal of the *karmayogi* who did his duty irrespective of pleasure and pain, or the *satyagrahi* who attacked his passions in selfless pursuit of the Divine. So much was this true of him that one may rightly say that his life was nothing but the *Gita* ideal in action. Next to the *Gita*, Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina* formed his great and drink.

He tried to put into practice the Hindu ideal of *ahimsa* or unity without difference, and so regarded all men, without distinction of race, caste or creed, as one. Not only men, but also all living beings as symbolized by the cow were, according to Hinduism, to be treated with sympathy and fellow-feeling. Thus, accordingly, formed an essential part of Gandhiji's teaching and practice. Then again he believed, as Hinduism always taught, that all religions were equally ways of reaching God, and therefore to be looked upon with friendliness and respect. He lived a life of renunciation, austerity and self-control, so characteristic of Hinduism. *Karma* remained for him a never-fading remedy for all ills, and he died with the name of *Karma* on his lips.

Even like the prophets of old, Gandhiji feared none but God. He condemned uncompromisingly the evils that had crept into Hinduism and sought to remove them. He exhorted Hindus to live up to the best teachings of their religion, and called on all to pursue truth, morality, and love and service of fellow-beings. He would not allow the scriptures to stifle man's conscience. His ultimate appeal was always to the still small voice within, even if its verdict was in conflict with the *ahimsa*, so long as it was in conformity with truth and non-violence. His religion was, therefore, a religion of freedom and growth, not of bondage to tradition and authority, and therefore of stagnation and decay. In him we have a great prophet similar to the *Isaiah*, *Mohammed* or *Christ*. His teachings come from the depths of his being. They were the outpourings of a soul in living touch with its Maker. He spoke with authority and conviction, an authority which came from a realization that he spoke the word of God. No Hindu, no student of Hinduism, indeed no individual whatever his religion, can afford to ignore his teachings, as

they have a universal appeal. If Hinduism has a future it is Hinduism, as presented by Gandhiji, that has it in certain and abundant measure. Gandhiji's Hinduism is the Hinduism of old in all its pristine purity, reform and practiced under modern conditions. Hindu doctrines and terminology, which at times appear to us as today as strange, outworn and unattractive, disclose new meaning and value as interpreted by Gandhiji. In him Hinduism speaks to modern man in his own language.

RENEATH KUMARAPPA

INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION TO PEACE AND GOODWILL

VII

Gandhiji's scheme of rural organization holds good not only for India but for the world, and there are thinkers in the West whose views are similar to his. For instance, Gustave Lebon, the French sociologist, writes in *What Is Man?* (Sheed & Ward): "Man is not made for solitude, but neither is he made for multitude. Man is made for the village. Man is made to live in small vital groups beginning with the family and the local community, and extending to the fellowship that arises normally from participating in a common undertaking or from following the same craft. These groups alone are capable of putting him in the way of fulfilling his self and correcting his necessities with order and grace." (*Times Literary Supplement*, January 15, 1945, p. 331).

And Aldous Huxley, in course of a bold exposition of Gandhiji's ideas, writes (*Prejudice Abolished*, August 1946, p. 326): "His social and economic ideas are based on a realistic appraisal of man's nature and the nature of his position in the universe. He knew that the triumph of advancing organization and progressive technology cannot alter the fact that man is an animal of no great size and generally of very modest abilities. On the other hand, he knew that physical and intellectual limitations are compatible with practically infinite capacity for spiritual progress."

"What sort of social, political and economic arrangement is most appropriate for men susceptible on the borderline between the animal and the spiritual?" Gandhiji said that men should do their actual living and working in communities of a size commensurate with their bodily and mental stature, communities small enough to permit of genuine self-government and assumption of personal responsibility, federated into large units in such a way that the temptation to abuse great power should not arise. The larger democracy grows, the less real becomes the rule of the people, and smaller the say of individuals and localized groups in deciding their own destinies. Again, love is an emphatically personal relationship. Consequently it is only in small groups that charity (in the Pauline sense of the word) can manifest itself. The existence of a group is no way guarantees the emergence of charity between members, but it does at least create the possibility of charity. In

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a large and differentiated group the possibility does not even exist, as most members cannot in the nature of things have personal relations with one another. 'He that seeketh not knowledge, not God, for God is Love' Charity is at once the means and the end of spirituality. A social organization so motivated that over a large field of human activity it makes a manifestation of charity impossible is obviously a bad organization.

"Decentralisation in economics must go hand in hand with decentralisation in politics. Individuals, families and small co-operative groups should own land and instruments, necessary for their own subsistence and for supplying the local market."

Stokely points out that if Jefferson, the great apostle of Western democracy, had had his own way, there would have been not only left-right states but also thousands of self-governing wards in the United States. Jefferson was in favour of "decentralizing government to the local".

ADVANCED PLACEMENT AND HIGHER EDUCATION

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Managers	2	0	0
Non-Managerial Employees	8	0	0
Non-Managerial Executive Director	20	0	0
Not already acknowledged	878	4	0

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The following points from the minutes of the meeting of the A. I. V. I. A. Board of Management are published for general information:

The Secretary reported that the new approach in Adult Education through craft work founded on the system of Basic Education, now called Green Village Nal Taka, began at Magsawadi on the 1st July last. There are at present 48 students of whom 12 are women.

The annual report and Audited Accounts for 30th June 1955 were passed and ordered to be published.

Mr. Shrikhande and Mrs. Laxmi P. Agar have resigned their membership of the Board of Management as they felt they were no longer able to contribute anything to the work of the Association.

Now that the Sarva Sava Sangh has come into existence to carry out all the various forms of constructive work formulated by Gandhiji to enable the work to be carried on more efficiently and effectively the Board decided to merge the Association with the Sarva Sava Sangh. The President was authorized to take the needed legal steps to implement this resolution.

HARIJAN

Vol. 7

1939

UNDERSTANDING THE CHARKHA

By the time this falls into the hands of the readers, the celebration of the Charkha Week will have reached conclusion. Whatever Gandhi's birthday might have been celebrated in India during these days, spinning must have found a place in the programme. It might have been done intensely or just symbolically according to the faith of the organisers, but it could hardly have been omitted altogether.

The Narik Congress has defined its faith and policy regarding khadi in a special resolution on the subject. (This text reproduced elsewhere).

The resolution is good as far as it goes. But in its expression of the hope that "with improved technique and co-ordination with large-scale industries, the disadvantage of village industries in respect of quality and price as compared with the products of large-scale industry will greatly diminish", the framers of the resolution betray a lack of realisation of the problems of village industries and the implications of "co-ordination with large-scale industries".

Shri Purushottamdas Tandon in his presidential address also dwelt upon khadi at some length and made important observations. He said—

"In the field of production, the vital question is whether we will give our support to the policy of starting big mills and factories and centralising industries and of moulding our social structure to suit that policy, or whether we will extend our industries through the vast number of villages in the country and help the inhabitants of villages to take to production in their homes. The system of production of wealth has a deep effect on all aspects of man's life, including his mode of living and his food and to a great extent determines the level of his culture. In this matter, I have been a supporter of the principles of Mahatma Gandhi.

"I submit that important industries where a large number of labourers can live and work together at one place, should be treated as exceptions. For the fulfilment of our ordinary needs, we aim should be to get the workers to undertake production in their villages and homes while living with their families. In this method I see the protection of human and moral values. If we accept this policy we should make organised efforts to produce our necessities in villages and in this work encourage and enforce the spirit by our personal example.

"The leadership of the Government lies in creating a demand throughout the country for the articles that we wish to produce in villages. The ordinary rule about cheap and dear will not apply in this matter.

"It is the duty of the entire country to take part in the production, use and propagation of khadi. Such is, of course, the duty of individuals. It is much more so of Governments following Congress principles. To me it appears to be proper for the Congress to emphasize that Government formed by the Congress must follow a policy of encouraging the consumption of khadi and the products of our village industries. If the Governments and their officials take up this work with faith and zeal, many of our existing economic problems, which today appear difficult and complex, will be solved."

He also pleaded for village self-sufficiency, and giving "the art of producing things" a place in education as a means for the development of character and bringing about self-sufficiency. He laid down,

"There should be no person without work in the whole country, every one should make a proper use of his time and should give whatever time is left after his ordinary avocations to the production of useful things.

"The need is that we should make our limited resources go to their utmost capacity. Governments must be alert to not allowing the tendency towards pleasure and luxury to lower the level of society. One of the chief items in the list of the functions of a Government should be the investigation of means for keeping the moral discipline of society. An all-out effort to achieve a society with moral grandeur, should be the object of our administration. This was Gandhi's conception of *Ramrajya*. The existence of the Congress will be justified only if it advances towards this consummation."

Shri Tandon has rightly laid a great emphasis on the necessity of engaging and encouraging the public by the personal example of the leaders. I also share with him the belief that "if the Governments and their officials take up this work with faith and zeal, many of our existing economic problems, which today appear difficult and complex, will be solved."

The question is how these 'personal examples' are to be set and the faith and zeal to be made visible. The speech and the resolution deserve to provide employment through the charkha, to push khadi by creating a market for it, and to discourage the ordinary rule of 'cheap and dear' for this purpose. But it is remarkable that there is not even a passing reference to the duty of the believers of khadi to spin with their

own fingers. Here both the Congress resolution and the Presidential speech fell short of the expectations and laudable endeavours of Gandhi, whose name was more than once mentioned in this connection.

The Charkha Singh had worked for 22 years intensively and successfully for the production and sale of khadi through spinning for wages. It distributed during the period some scores of rupees in wage-cum-rent, besides providing decent employment to several hundred middle-class people and laying by a good capital fund for itself. But ultimately Gandhi came to the conclusion that if khadi was to take root, spinning for wages would not be able to achieve it. And he laid down the following maxim in 1945:

"Spin, spin with understanding, the spinner must wear and the wearer must spin."

"(1) To spin 'with understanding' means, to realise that charkha, that is, spinning, is the symbol of non-violence. Reflect, and it will be clear to you.

"(2) 'To spin' means to pick up cotton (lagan) from the field, to separate it from its seeds with a rolling-pencil, to-card it, to make strands of it, to spin it to a desired count, to double-twist it, and to wind it into a hank."

Congressmen need not be reminded of the persistent attempt made by Gandhi to make them regular spinners. Several times he tried to introduce the spinning franchise and the yarn subscription for becoming a primary member of the Congress. During the 'infidential satyagraha' campaign against war, he laid down the knowledge of spinning as an essential qualification for offering the Satyagraha. They need not also be reminded of the equally persistent manner in which they failed his endeavours and often deceived him as the observance of these conditions while they lured. As a body the Congress never could understand his emphasis on spinning, and its significant absence in the Congress deliberations shows that the want of realisation continued as before.

However much this may be a matter for concern and regret to the constructive workers, it is clear that the Congress cannot be blamed for not doing what it does not understand. It is spite of want of understanding, Congressmen occasionally take part in spinning demonstrations, constructive workers must thank them for it, and again and again try to explain to them the connection between regular self-spinning and khadi and village industries programme. Until this connection is realised I am afraid that the Congress resolution as also the moral uplift of the Congress organisation will remain an unrealised dream. Congressmen instinctively knew that if spinning was a necessary condition of membership, they could not enrol lakhs of members. This they regarded to be essential to

make the Congress a powerful party machine. And 'power' they understood mainly in the sense of material power of money and numbers, and not moral power. It was easy to wear khadi even lazily—it was also easy to evade it or to observe it in a make-believe manner. But it was not easy to spin and to pay subscription in the form of yarn. Though there is nothing in the world where fraud cannot be practised, still it is less easy to practise fraud in the spinning of yarn than in the wearing of khadi. So, again and again pressure was brought to drop this qualification of membership from the Congress Constitution, until Gandhi, as a votary of truth, more than once suggested that even the khadi qualification be rather dropped. I humbly submit that the introduction of spinning as a qualification for membership will provide a more efficient means for the purification of the Congress organisation than anything yet devised. It will also furnish the moral leaves for the abrogation of the ordinary rule about 'cheap and dear' in the matter of khadi and village industries. If Congress leaders and ordinary members regard their own half or two hour as too valuable to be spent in spinning, and would rather devote it to smoking and taking tea with important or behavable visitors than to spinning with them during the intervals, it is not to be expected that even the most stupid villager would be willing to spin for as much as even eight annas a day, if, for instance, ball-making gave him a rupee per day. And he would also rather spend his leisure hours in gambling and smoking than in plying the charkha which is traditionally a woman's work, and which gives less wage than what he considers to be his right market-price for eight or ten hours of leisurely labour.

The office-bearers both in the Congress Government and the Congress organisation and their respective staff from the Chief Secretary to the poor most attach to spinning yarn and wearing khadi the same value as they do to "standing in attention" at the time of a rally of armed forces or the flag-salutation, or to putting on the right dress on ceremonial occasions and during office hours. Moral value means the value of discipline.

Wardha, 25-9-50

K. C. MANDREKAR

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Some Suggestions

By Rajendrakumar

Second Impression

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THE MADRAS GOVERNMENT'S INTENSIVE KSHAKA SCHEME AND THE A.I.S.A.

Madras Legislative Council, Secretary, All-India Students' Association has turned the following statement:

The Honourable Minister's Allegations:

Mr B. Panamaram, the Madras Minister in charge of the Madras Government, introduced Kshaka Scheme, is reported to have said in the Assembly, in reply to questions from members, that "the A.I.S.A. were doing nothing, not particular in extending the best Kshaka help to any of our old death in intensive Kshaka Scheme areas and they were in any that unless the people wanted the help of the State they need not be helped."

This statement is not correct. In fact, in the earlier part of the same proceedings, Mr Panamaram himself admitted that "the A.I.S.A. engaged in building up co-operatives with the Government in the form of this scheme, besides the Government did not accept the recommendations of the Association that the entry of sales and loan business should into the centre should be banned."

The Cause for this Statement

We are not in a mood to blame or criticize the Government in respect of this Kshaka Scheme but we wish that the A.I.S.A. should be re-considered. Matter is in the opinion of the A.I.S.A. the Government scheme was a very important one it wholeheartedly responded to its creation for the first time in spite of many difficulties. Undoubtedly we had to withdraw from it with deep regret. Let us explain why we had to do so. We feel as much it speaks us on this subject but in view of the Minister's remark given above, it has become necessary to issue this statement, especially as the Kshaka being public are deeply interested in this scheme. In doing so, we shall confine ourselves to a few very relevant points only.

Genesis of the Scheme

Dr B. Panamaram the Mr T. Prakasam had given us as our part in Kshaka work since it was first introduced in Madras—about the year 1946. He had no idea then about the way of doing it and was of the opinion that the A.I.S.A. was working on things like Kshaka that work could be developed by large and branch. When he became the President of Madras Presidency he got a reform proposed according to his ideas which aimed at making the Kshaka in the Presidency autonomous in such through it had in a period of about 11 months. The A.I.S.A. thought that there was little chance of getting such a scheme successful in such a short time and without some essential conditions being fulfilled. The failure of such a scheme would have harmed the cause of Kshaka. The Secretary of the Association, therefore, wrote in lines to say that the Association was interested in this matter and would like that the Kshaka should be confined as so to make it possible for Prakasam, readily responded and decided that a Representative (the late President Theodor Christensen, to have consultation with Gandhi) and the members of the Association. As a result a moderate scheme was drawn up, which was to be worked in some small areas only. These were the areas where the A.I.S.A. had already been doing Kshaka work on a large scale. In most of these handover years was being already produced in very large quantities. The adoption of this was given by the Government in the first instance was suggested to limit the need of securing on principles of such years in subsequent years like have the very idea, as would have had in the due to other underdeveloped areas. Through the years was being already produced in a fairly substantial quantity, the first contemplation of Kshaka had been always, and a substantial part of it had to be sold, were the rule to other and distant places. Chrysanthems were therefore, to be created there by State of which the local people including the peasants, would themselves cultivate their own fields in a greater extent.

Conditions for Success

The scheme originally drawn up contemplated many direct co-operation of various stages, beginning from introduction of extending Kshaka into the stage of working Kshaka. Kshaka work must not be based on such co-operation and Gandhi said, "Co-operation there should be, but it should be the co-operation of voluntarism."

At that period, uneducated Kshaka desired not to try work from those areas. The study scheme could not point the temptation of getting it away to them. The result of extending this to include would have been that part would not have been available for the use of local people. Of course, such ideas was unrealistic in their nature of their time. The conditions were therefore considered essential for the success of the scheme, namely, the introduction of the operations of the Kshaka, that which means and making the Kshaka work more in their areas.

When Mr T. Prakasam met Gandhi, the latter asked him a question the purpose of which was "Can the Kshaka be worked up as an thing with the intention of extending and working Kshaka?" The latter understood the implications of the question, and the Madras Government decided to extend the number of the creation of new units and adding of more villages and towns in the existing Kshaka units of the State. With these understandings the scheme was introduced in the District, 1946 at Villupuram (Puducherry) and Karaikal (Puducherry) and by January 1947, the A. I. S. A. started work in the District, with the well developed Kshaka centres in the six of those areas. The scheme was transferred to the Government by another organization which was doing Kshaka work in Madras.

Declaration by the New Ministry

In April 1947, there was a change in the Madras Ministry and the new Government gave up the old pro-British policy of the Government. As regards the Kshaka, the Kshaka scheme, however, the Madras Ministry that Kshaka scheme declared on behalf of the Government.

I wish to make it clear that there is no difference of opinion on the part of the Union in regard to the need for going forward with the Kshaka scheme. The Kshaka scheme that was already approved by Government and is being worked in Madras will be vigorously pursued. We also propose to implement elsewhere the Kshaka scheme passed by the A. I. S. A. at the meeting in Delhi held in 1946 for the extensive development of Kshaka. The Kshaka part of the scheme has already been introduced in some selected places. The extension part will be introduced shortly in 25 other places. I wish to mention that there will thus be no deviation from the policy as the Kshaka regarding the development of Kshaka.

The A. I. S. A. resolution of the 15th August 1946, referred to above, said:

1. Government should introduce Kshaka in all the schools after the Kshaka school and normal training schools of the Kshaka within a period of 5 years and there should be a Kshaka in every village attached to every school.

2. Kshaka production should be undertaken as a part of village Kshaka work through multi-phase centres.

3. Workers should be trained in the various Kshaka processes and practices in which work should be undertaken by the State.

4. The employees in the co-operative extension and agricultural department, who have to work in villages and towns employed by District and Local Boards should be such as have passed a Kshaka examination as all those employees will come they or other have to deal with Kshaka in village Kshaka work.

5. Government should not be allowed to work in Kshaka under the name of Kshaka.

6. Government Kshaka Departments should make use of only handover years.

"The handicrafting and weaving of handloom yarn should be introduced in Java."

Let the Malayan Government say what they have done towards giving effect to this resolution, which they had promised to implement effectively.

1947 Conference with the Federal

In July 1947 there was a conference with the then Premier Mohd. Rasmadun Raddiah with Shri Jagan, the then Secretary of the A.I.L.A., and the Association's regional committee in the three districts to discuss several aspects of the Institute's Khadi Scheme. Shri Jagan suggested that in order to make the scheme successful it was absolutely necessary to adopt immediately two measures, namely (1) restricting and ultimately stopping the entry of mill yarn and mill cloth in the Institute Khadi areas, and (2) prohibiting the unrestricted commerce from operating in the areas either for purchase of yarn or for production and sale of cloth.

He wanted the Government then to take on the job of enforcing the scheme if this could not be done.

The next quote from the official report of this Conference:

"After discussion it was agreed:

"1. that the immediate problem of the scheme should continue to be worked in the 7 centers.

"2. that the elimination of unregistered dealers should be done in all the Institute 7 centers and in the area limited by named villages in a belt of ten miles around it, and

"3. that the distribution of mill cloth should be stopped in four of the 7 centers, two in Andhra (Vengaladapalem and Narsimhal and two in Tamilnad (Aravali and Velakudi), where spinning had progressed sufficiently to enable the people to utilize themselves with the handloom yarn produced in the area."

Implementation of Conference Decisions

It was a year after this decision and about eighteen months after the inauguration of the Scheme (which consisted in itself a plan to eliminate the unregistered dealers) that an order was passed by Government to stop their operations in these areas. The execution of this order, however, was not strictly enforced and work dealers continued to operate in the same business there. The steps were taken by the Government to eliminate them early enough although it was necessary to do so in the interest of the scheme. It appeared that the Government had a soft corner for them. Though their selfish activities being prejudicial to the cause of handloom, had been denounced all along by the Congress Working Committee and by prominent Congress leaders including Jeyaraj, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and others, Government were so reluctant then to them on the ground that they should be allowed time to dispose of their goods. This was unnecessary because the disposal of their stock had nothing to do with their going on buying fresh yarn in their areas.

On the question of the ban of mill cloth, there was a long and continuous correspondence between the A.I.L.A. and the Government. In the course of this correspondence on 15th August 1949 the Secretary of the A.I.L.A. had written to the Marathi Chief Minister "We would request the Government to again review at this stage the whole situation and to decide whether the scheme has to be continued or not. It is our considered opinion that it is absolutely essential to control the entry of mill cloth and mill yarn within the areas to make the scheme successful. If the Government do not think it possible to do so, we say that the scheme should be given up. Any way it would not be proper for us to continue to be a party to this unbusinessable scheme and expense without that essential condition being fulfilled. In the event of the Government deciding to give up the scheme, we would take back the handloom spinning centres and work them as before. The mills and mill cloth will have to be sold at proper rates. We would be prepared to take cloth and pay the price in cash."

Second Conference, 1949

In pursuance of this correspondence the next conference took place on 15th September, 1949 with the then Chief Minister Shri P. B. Keshavnarasimha Raja, when there was a clear indication that the following points will be favourably considered by the Government.

1. Continuation of mill cloth ban in the four selected centres of Vengaladapalem, Narsimhal, Aravali and Velakudi.

2. Introduction of legislation to prevent handloom cloth produced in the four centers from being sold outside the centers and to allow it to be taken outside for sale.

A letter dated the 16th October, 1949 from the Secretary to the Government, in the Marathi, A.I.L.A. said: "As urged by the representatives of the A.I.L.A., the Government has decided to reconsider the question of restricting mill cloth imports based in the four Institute handloom centers (yarn and) and introducing legislation to prevent handloom cloth produced in the same said four centers from being sold within the four centers and allowing it to be taken outside for sale."

The Secretary A.I.L.A. again went on pressing the Government to take steps in respect of the ban of mill yarn and mill cloth and intimated that in case they could not do so the A.I.L.A. would have to withdraw from the scheme. Unhappily after a long time on 10th April, 1950, the Government wrote to say that the Centre could not agree to ban the mill cloth as there were certain difficulties. It further stated: "The issue of the distribution held between Shri Jagan, the then General Secretary, A.I.L.A., and Shri B. Venkateswarlu I.C.P., the then Provincial Textile Controller, Madras in connection with the framing of the scheme. Following 1949 there that one of the points raised upon by Shri Jagan for the removal of the scheme was as follows: 'Stoppage of mill cloth and yarn should not be forced down from the top and should be ordered only in response to the public demand.'

Are the Government Justified?

The first complaint would not have been necessary in view of the fact that Government policy of a restriction on mill cloth. Indeed almost everywhere this is a cloth originally contemplated under the scheme of no less a person than the Premier Mr. T. Prakasam himself who was no stranger about it. But after the change in the Government and policy, Shri Jagan had to go and did all along press for the ban of the mill cloth. The Government accepted his demand as stated above. Is it now fair on the part of the Government to say that the A.I.L.A. were themselves not particular in enforcing the ban? If that was the case, why did they not point it out for long three years during which the A.I.L.A. was persistently asking them to take that step? And they said so at the time of the conference in July 1947 the A.I.L.A. would have withdrawn from the scheme then and there and would have been saved the expense of travelling and working for so long a time.

It is a different matter whether or not there should be a ban, or at all whether the Government consider it practicable or not, and whether there should be restriction that is preventive of circumstances or not. The A.I.L.A. does not consider the step suggested by it to be a compromise. At the first stage the Government themselves decided to control the textile mills in the State at the time. At the next stage they agreed to take steps to prevent the mill yarn and the mill cloth entering in the four areas, and finally the matter came down only to mill handloom centres in which dealers to sell their stuff in these areas. It affected a few traders only. As far as the handloom was concerned, they were not to be prohibited from buying mill cloth. Only its availability at their doors was to be stopped. Some of the local Khadi Committees already requested the Government to ban the mill cloth from their respective areas. The Government may or may not do certain things but the question is whether they are justified in their attitude.

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HARIJAN

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TWO ANNAS

NOTES

Shri L. Kameswari Sarma

I note with regret the death of Prof. L. Kameswari Sarma of Pudukottai (Andhra), at the young age of 33. His father Prof. K. Lakshmana Sarma is one of the promoters of Naturopathy in India, and is regarded as an authority thereon. Shri Kameswari after taking his M. A. degree with first class honours devoted himself to the cause of Naturopathy and travelled far and wide in India to popularise Naturopathy principles. He had been constantly travelling since March last and evidently broke down under the strain.

The readers of Harijan might remember his article on "Internal Sanitation" published on 2nd September '35. Who could have thought that the author would die four days later? He died at Bombay on 6th September, following a short illness.

That an advocate of "Life Natural" should expire is a proof that the laws of life are still rather ill-understood by us, or even if understood, we do not or cannot follow them.

The death is a loss and a blow to the cause of Naturopathy.

Wardha, 5-10-35

The Tyranny of Controls

A village dealer writes

"Four recent articles seem to show that your seat is bent the controls has become damped and you are moving in the vision of the Prime Minister. This is wrong and regrettable. Let me give you a few specific instances to reveal to you the tyranny of controls in villages.

"I shall take first the instance of grain. Recently the control rate of grain has been fixed at Rs 15/- per maund. This is the rate prevailing at Akola (Bihar), which is the principal market for its wholesale purchase. My village is at a distance of 40 miles from Akola. Of these, 15 miles have to be negotiated by motor-bus and 7 by cart. We are sure to publish the the information at villages what the control rates are, and they are supposed to be the same both at Akola and in my village. The village dealer purchases his stock at Akola at Rs 15/- per maund and very naturally and honestly adds to it the charges of transport. This means that he can never sell grain at the controlled rate in his village. He hardly expects that in doing so he is committing an offence. But neither is there for a control officer that watching out of these dealers and prosecuting him as a black-marketeer. To avoid this year-long prosecution, the dealer feels obliged to one officer if

he is not aware to accepting a bribe. And he makes up for such irregularity he must try by concealing to meet such regulation. This is the reason for the so-called 'black market'.

"Take also the instance of sugar. It sold some days ago at Rs 3 to Rs 4 per cwt, and even now the current price in the 'black market' (which is not a secret market) is Rs 1-12 to Rs 2 per cwt. The stock of sugar in small village shops is generally a reserve for officers, members of parishads and other influential people. The ordinary folk would not be able to purchase it at all, except by concealing to pay a premium over the controlled rate. But if the controls were lifted, I assure you that it would sell cheaper.

"For this we need not go far to seek in Maharashtra. While the control of control in Karnataka, the village dealer adds only one anna per lb to the purchase price. During the control period, it had to be purchased at Rs 4 to Rs 5 a lb.

"It is disappointing that a distinguished paper like Harijan should fail to mention the Prime Minister of this obvious evil."

The letter is in Gujarati. I have touched it up a little only in the interest of giving it a proper form. The arguments are supplied by him. I confess that I could not have presented the case more forcibly than this semi-literate frank village dealer whom I do not know personally.

Wardha, 27-9-35

Botanical Names

In the article "Self-Sufficiency in Cotton-II" by Shri Dadasaheb Malik, published in the Harijan dated 23-9-35, some Latin botanical names as equivalents for annual and perennial cottons respectively have been used. I am informed that the spellings given are erroneous. I request the readers not to accept the names given there as correct. No names were mentioned by the writer himself, but they were supplied by the editor's office and the dictionary referred to was, it seems, not accurate; hence the mistake.

Wardha 5-10-35

K. G. M.

Gandhi's Bust

The Government Granite Factory is situated at Arramandla, adjacent to the road between Ooty and Coonoor. A big bust of Mahatma Gandhi is installed at the main gate and it does not fail to attract the attention of all those who pass by the road. What a great incongruity this kind of adoration of the peace-loving Mahatma is, can better be imagined than described. It is true that most of us have not noticed Gandhi's

low of peace and mass of us have not accepted his economic, political and social theories. But should we denounce the sacred memory of that great and peace-loving soul by installing his bust conspicuously at the entrance of a textile factory, where arms and ammunition are manufactured on a large scale for military and security purposes?

Calcutta—4-8-50

L. M. Baid

Member,

Committee of India Society

Long Vacations

The increasing area of short National Public Service vacations. The work in various sectors and other Government offices should be so adjusted as to suit the movements of the people. Much has been written before on this subject in the columns of *Harjan*.

—E. S. S.

Our country being an agricultural one, our schools and colleges should have vacations not in summer as at present but in the rainy season at convenient intervals. This will enable students, excepting those in towns and cities, to be useful in agriculture and the entry of the intelligentsia in the field of agriculture will help produce better results.

The Government is not able to get out of the old beaten track. Those who are directly interested in agriculture are incapable of organisation. Those who are confined in the matter generally follow ordinary occupations. They do not realise the condition and needs of the people.

The old village schools of pandits used to remain closed in the rainy season as teachers also used to work in fields. They used to reopen schools after the 15th day of *Shrith Sudhi*. Foreign missionaries who run schools in poor villages have also adopted the same practice.

Courts and Government offices should remain closed in the rainy season. In the monsoon when cultivators have plenty of work in the fields to have to attend courts adversely affects agriculture.

None of the poor students and teachers go to a 'health resort' in the summer vacations. Classes could be held in the morning and the evening without inconvenience.

In the *Yashwanth* at Varanasi we used to observe long vacations at intervals during the rainy season in a way to suit agricultural operations. All the students and teachers used to work in the fields. In such an arrangement students study, help agriculture and enjoy close communion with nature.

MAHENDRAN PANDYA

(Translated from Gujarati)

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FAIR FROM THE MADDEN CROWD

(By Sumit Anand)

In April last I attended the great Kumbh Mela at Haridwar. It is a recurring phenomenon every twelve years. It is always an immense affair and a headache for the authorities to manage. This was the first of its kind after the advent of Freedom. The Uttar Pradesh State Government as well as the Central Government spent enormous sums over it, and social-service organisations from all over the country co-operated.

The authorities functioned with a zest. The entire area of the town, suburbs, the numerous river-bank islands and surroundings, were converted into one vast camp with several zones, each under a superintendent of police and a magistrate. Sixteen temporary bridges were constructed across the Ganga. Police was drafted from all over the State. Sanitation, food-stuffs at controlled rates, traffic-polling left nothing to be desired. Every one felt for the first time that we had come to our own, and had far an unorthodox notion on the D day (April 15th), when thirty pilgrims were trampled upon and crushed at a single spot, the arrangements were flawless.

Over a million pilgrims had their dip at the Sacred Pool on the Ganga on the appointed day. Sadhus of every church and sect had mastered in their thousands from every part of India. They had their hours appointed for the holy bath when all civilian traffic was suspended and crowds lined the shores in perfect discipline to watch their huge processions with decorated elephants and bedecked riders—heads, of various churches within the Hindu fold. They went with all the pomp and paraphernalia—strings of their various sects. The processions included those of caste priests who walked in twos in army discipline, and I counted over a thousand of them. They had decorated their entire bodies with ashes. Many had huge pyramids of matted hair on their heads. They have nothing but "the directions" as their wearing apparel" (Sethi says).

The wandering fraternity of sadhus and ascetics constituted a big wing of the pilgrim crowd at Haridwar. Every third or fourth person on the streets and along the sacred ghats was a well-known sadhu. All five brothers, I was told, ran for their feeding. This of course, included that of a high percentage of spurious stuff—leaguers, khans, addings, leaguers and crooks who invariably infiltrate the world of sadhus on such occasions.

I may not attempt to record all my impressions here. It was an experience of a lifetime. The Hindu sentiment for the river and the cow, I fancy, has been somewhat akin to that of patriotism in the West. Nationalism is at recent growth and an innovation for the Hindu whose ancestors spoke and taught of the whole world—rags, of God's entire creation—as one family, one 'nest' or 'nest' of God's beings.

All this sounds glittering indeed, but for its obvious counterpart, consisting of our practices as illustrated in the exercise of our privileges of birth and kind and in our treatment of the lowly who formed the large majority of our social units.

I found great consternation prevailing among the public over the Government having covered them all, in respect of the forthcoming Census, under the denomination of "beggars" in their afternoon gatherings derogatory references were made and essential epithets heaped at the nation's leaders who headed the Government, and various appeals were made to organize against this "affront". Even autographs were solicited by some. Others counselled moderation and the representation of their case to the Central Government who "were their own men after all and not without sympathy and understanding as to the place and the role of wealth in Hindu society" (This direction has been since modified.—Ed.).

These multifarious attractions apart, I was determined to search for that genuine type among the media world who represented the highest life of Hindu conception. And I had the luck. Far from the smoking crowd about a thousand strangers were camping in river-bed islands covered with thick forests of her and rood. These were *Vindras*—the detached ones. They made tiny little huts of local grass for themselves, invariably along the river-bank, from where they could regard the Holy River day and night. Many of these huts barely measured a dozen square feet, in which a single person could crouch with difficulty. Here they sat cross-legged in perfect posture, tranquil and serene, and contemplated on the eternal verities of life. Their persons huts and surroundings were clean. Their camps looked tidy and well-planned.

They were not the wandering type who peddle stories to scare away the curious. They seemed sane and courteous, and their look was far from unintelligent. Most of them were vested in our ancient law, and some were great sages and scholars.

There were others who simply had tiny little huts on each-evening day out in the high river-bank, and still others who did not bother for any shelter at all. They sat under trees or lay bare on the sands of the dry river-bed night and day. They possessed nothing. Most of them had a 3 inches rag on and a space was drying on a nearby tree, besides a bowl of dry pumpkin or coconut. Many of them did not go to the distant fire kitchens daily for food and often declined it when brought to them. Friends had sent me some money to meet essential needs of deserving souls, such as blankets, shawls, umbrellas, eyeglasses, torches and medicines. I made an attempt to distribute some of them among these outcasts, but save in 3 or 4 cases they politely declined to accept any— even food-stuffs.

Tranquility reigned supreme in their surroundings and one dared not disturb even a blade of grass without a pang. Speaking and talking seemed vulgar. One felt inclined only to inhale and drink the serenity of the atmosphere.

On the evening of the total moon-eclipse which was scheduled for the small hours of the morning, I joined a party which was to go hiking all midnight amidst the enchanting beauty of the forests and the hills in flooding moonlight, with the Ganga flowing by, and the stars radiating on the banks. The full moon rose behind the mountain ranges and was to show in full flood all after midnight. The units built of the Forests camp were huddled in moonlight and the sands in the dry river-beds were one vast sheet of silver. Perfect tranquility enveloped the earth. We wandered long, apart on the sands close to the main current and watched the Ganga flowing in hushed silence. No one spoke. The rushing current had abandoned its clamor and was inaudible as if in awe and reverence to the silent signs. The whole scene was simply bewitching. That memorable evening shall remain engrained within me for life.

Amidst the enchanting scene we came to a large spacious hut where an elderly saint was delivering a discourse before an assembly of about 500 auditors on the eternal verities. Pandit silence reigned and every one listened with rapt attention. "Enchanted light of the flooding moon outside filled the quiet hut, and one could see the face of the speaker in bold outline. The delivery was in flowing classic Hindi, punctuated with apt quotations from the *Vedas* and *Upanishadic* texts. The whole atmosphere was saturated with reverence and devotion. It reminded me of some of the most sublime orations in the annals of the Congress when Gandhi addressed the All India Congress Convention gatherings on momentous issues before the nation.

As I listened to the classic discourses he delivered sage before my mind to a giant stature. He was indeed a master genius. But a greater surprise was still to come to me. As the discourse approached its conclusion, the modern cast around me. I rubbed my eyes and wondered if I was hearing to an ancient master or to a modern Radhakrishnan. I listened.

In spite of the various evils that have crept in the Hindu outlook and corroded my faith, I was not unmoved by our vision in the search of ultimate truth. When I survey the history of human intervention in the field of higher values and ethics, I find that the Hindus were a people who had a sense of unshakable grandeur. Truly in the search of human nobility to search for happiness they realized that real happiness consisted not in the multiplicity of wants but in their abandonment, and they sought themselves in a stage where the values among things presented itself as nothing. Even a rag for a homeless, and a bowl of salt consecrated was looked upon as an extravagance. To the Hindu mind the object for the highest success was not in

who possessed much material wealth but the one who possessed nothing.

"It is thus decreasing to find the modern tendency in the country to run after power and gold lives and good looks who suffered privations all their lives but their country's cause had called upon today to maintain many establishments derived by foreigners to serve their own purposes: their progress, luxuries, industries and other paraphernalia. This is in sharp contrast with the teaching and promise of the Master, who, as India's various representatives, included in appearing before Congress in his identity and status. It is all unnecessary in the extreme. I sometimes feel as if a change is coming over the Hindu mind itself. It was once to fall as easy a victim to false values after all our achievements of the past, we may justly appear in the eyes of God and men as principal heirs of an unbroken patrimony."

These minds and riches do not leave their solitary glories and come out from their cocoons for the Great Pair in order to exhibit their erudition or attainments. They in their humility come to learn, to avail themselves of the assistance to form and reform themselves, to share the enabling environment and as if to rebuke the spiritual atmosphere.

HARIJAN

Oct. 14

1930

PRINCEWORTH

While I regret in the same way as Shri J. C. Kumarappa, Shri Harichandana Mahade's misrepresentation of Gandhian ideology, I record with great pleasure the promptness with which he has redressed some of the longstanding grievances and disabilities of small-scale manufacturers of salt in the States of Madras, Bombay, Saurashtra and (I believe, also) Rajasthan, after taking office in the Central Government.

One of the first freedoms which Gandhiji had insisted upon being conceded to the villagers was that of free manufacture of salt. Upon the formation of the Congress-League Ministry, he had succeeded in getting the salt-tax abolished in pursuit of the new policy, the Central Government published a Press Note on 22nd April 1928, which, among other things, provided as follows:

"Everybody individuals or groups may freely produce salt in any land in which they had heretofore spent for this purpose, and by whatsoever process they desired, + + + provided that the total area of land covered by the working set up by an individual or group was not more than 50 acres. No license was needed and no application for license need be sent to any Government authority in such cases. The provisions of the Central Salts and Sulfur Act, 1924, will not stand in the way of the right of the small-scale manufacturers mentioned above."

The Press Note rightly claimed that the Government's new policy was greatly in advance of the concessions granted to villagers under the Gandhi-Irwin Pact of 1931. Furthermore, the Pact did not permit the sale of such free salt outside the villages, or to be carried except on foot. The new policy removed all restrictions on the sale and transport of salt produced in units of not more than 10 acres in area. Of course, the manufacturers were required to observe rules made with a view to ensure that the salt so manufactured was wholesome for human consumption. On that score, the general experience has been, I am told, that the salt of small manufacturers is superior to that of large contractors.

This Free Salt is, indeed, a Charter of an important right to the villagers. It should have been given very wide publicity. But somehow, I am told, it was not published even in all the State Gazettes, and people came to know of its substance slowly through rumours. They were naturally happy over it, and began to show activity to take advantage of it.

But the restriction on salt manufacture had been imposed for nearly three-fourths of a century, and during this long period strong vested interests had grown up everywhere. They were known locally as *sardars*, *contractors*, *jobbers*, etc. In some places, as in Bombay, several contractors had formed companies, and had virtually monopolized the trade. Salt Commissioners found it less bothering to deal with a combine than with several competing applicants. So they encouraged the formation of such combines. Indeed, during the last stages, they insisted that the various licensees must combine into one or two joint-stock companies with which alone the Salt Commissioners would deal.

In Madras, there were large areas of land which were capable of producing salt, but which had hitherto neglected for years on account of the Salt Laws. These lands formally belonged to a few landlords, but were not regarded by them as a valuable possession hitherto. So the poor residents of villages could make any use of them they liked, without molestation by the landlords. The Charter of 22nd April, 1928, gave the villagers an important village occupation. This aroused the jealousy of the landlords, who began to molest them in various ways. They could drag them into Courts, and they wielded influence in Government offices.

Some of the tenants were Harijans. They had already begun to manufacture salt in exercise of the new rights. But they were afraid that some new rules had been made, and three times came again in the way of the unlicensed exercise of the right. They did not understand what the matter was. They approached Shri S. Ganesan, a Harijan avvak of Madras. He inquired into the matter. After considerable

where, he discovered that the right conceded by the Press Note of 23rd April, 1948, had been virtually withdrawn later on by what purported to be an Executive Order of the Salt Department, dated 1st February, 1949. He asked for a copy of the order. "The Deputy Controller would not give an official copy, but after a great hesitation permitted me (Shri Ganesan) to copy the Executive Order, no 18-7-50". The Order runs thus:

"With reference to the Press Note dated 23rd/4/48, it is further notified that 12 acres (that one small-scale factory less than 30 acres in or is grouped in a particular area, and their total average capacity 10 acres, all the manufacturers shall have to get a license before they can manufacture in the said area, and they will be subject to all the regulations governing the licensed factories."

This order was in clear contravention of the letter and the spirit of the Press Note of 23-4-48. It was not even published in the Gazette.

Shri Ganesan immediately made a representation to Shri Harakrishna Mahesh, who had taken over charge only a few days before. Shri Mahesh was good enough to study the subject as quickly as possible, and the public will be glad to learn that the order of the 1st February, 1949, has been cancelled, and will be pleased with Shri Mahesh for having set the matter right.

He has similarly done the right thing in Bombay, Seremban and Telukang. As stated above, combine of industrial contractors had almost monopolized the manufacture of salt in Bharughoda and Sankhar. Shri Bhagwati Doshi, a public worker near about the Bharughoda area, took interest in the matter and pursued it with perseverance in the interest of the actual producers of salt, namely, the local apirias (salt cultivators). He tried to create co-operative societies among them. He explained their case to Shri R. K. Sefree, Chairman of an official Salt Committee, and made him take interest in the matter. Dr S. P. Mookerjee, the then Minister of Industries and Supplies, had just begun to study the matter, when he relinquished office. But, I believe, he had already passed orders abolishing the system of dealing only with a few registered dealers through their combines.

After Dr Mookerjee's resignation, an attempt seems to have been made to get the above order cancelled. But Shri Mahesh has not only upheld the order but has taken steps to see that co-operative societies of actual workers are encouraged.

Shri Mahesh deserves congratulations for this piece of service to the villagers. I hope officers of the Salt Department will work salt regulations in a manner consistent with the spirit of the Press Note of 23rd April, 1948.

A BLASPHEMY

The Madia Congress had decided by a majority of votes, in favour of keeping controls. There was a strong backing of the ministerial element from the Prime Minister downwards. Unaffected by such strong influence, what would have been the common-man's vote? It is not difficult to surmise. The President himself wrote to have drawn attention to "the large number of dissentient votes". Able statesmanship does not go by counting votes. To stress the feelings of the public is the first requirement of political leadership.

Shri Harakrishna Mahesh, the Minister for Industries and Supplies at the centre, is persistent over the numerical superiority of those who cast their votes in favour of controls and appeals for public help in support of their efficient working. In his mind he seems to have forgotten rules of logic. He says, "If it is intended that the Government should intervene in the solution of various economic problems... no objection should be raised in the various laws controlling production, distribution and consumption of goods". There are always more than one way of doing things. Objecting to one method is not to agree certain things should not be attempted at all. People call for the banning of venereal. Is this not also a form of Government intervention with production? They ask for prohibition of strong drinks. This is asking for interference with production, distribution and consumption. There are controls and controls and ways differ.

Shri Mahesh himself admits that unless the administration is backed by public opinion, control laws cannot be administered efficiently. It should be clear, even to him, that as regards controls there is a sharp division in public opinion. Then how is he going to tackle the situation and enforce controls?

Shri Mahesh argues that if the people do not want controls they should not expect the Government to solve the problems. Is this right? We may not want controls that lead to black markets, corruption and bribery, but we do want controls that will release lands from the cultivation of Virginia tobacco and other money crops and bring them back to growing food. We do not want a Cottage Industries Board that equalises production to earn dollar exchange, by exporting images of Sarawati carved in ivory, so that we can export cowpall rials! The name of the Board itself is illogical. We ought to call such a body either "Dollar Exchange Board" or "Dyeing Boxes Industries Board". If this Board can induce the Government departments to use hand-made paper, that one item itself will give employment to thousands of villagers and revive an artistic craft that is dying. Are we catering to the masses by the way these Boards are administered? To criticize that does not mean we do not want Government to take

Shikharaj, Tejshahaji, Main, Bani-	
malji, Surashahaji, Chaharaj, B. Saharaj	
Three Tejshaharaj Ammal, Madam	10 0 0
Three Rajaji Majaraj Ammalaji	10 0 0
Three Khancharaj Rajshahaji Daul, Marwar	10 0 0
	400 0 0
But already acknowledged	400 0 0
	800 0 0

INDISCRIMINATE DESTRUCTION OF FORESTS

The western part of Rajasthan is a desert, but the south-east part of it still several years ago abounded in forests and had plenty of water. For some years past, however, forests are being regularly cut down, with the result that this region has begun to experience droughts. In February last, the Rajasthan Government had arranged a village industries exhibition. The Forest Department of the Provincial Government studied both of the occasion and made a display of charts and other literature designed to inform the public on the value of forests. It revealed that because of the destruction of forests many acres of green cultivable land every year was changing into an arid desert. The problem it raises is worth our serious consideration.

The destruction of forests is being done mainly for two reasons. The inhabitants of big cities like Bombay and Delhi use charcoal for cooking purposes. The forests in far-off regions are cut down, the wood thus produced is burnt into charcoal which is then sent to their cities long distances. Besides this, there is another and a more serious reason. In our enthusiasm to increase the means of transport, the number of motor-buses is going up, and they are run with gasoline produced from charcoal in the absence of petrol. During a day's run, a motor truck consumes two tons of coal, which will work out at only around a month. A tree, assuming that it is properly watered and protected, takes 15 years at the minimum for growing to a stage when it can be safely cut down. This will give us some idea of the enormous waste we indulge in by permitting the consumption of coal in motor-trucks.

On the one side, we destroy thousands of trees for the so-called facilities of transport and, on the other, we talk of tree-plantation to make the loss good. The situation is ludicrous in the extreme. Clearly in this rivalry between destruction and conservation, the latter is bound to go under.

In Rajasthan, besides drought and the aridity of soil, it has led to another disaster. The forests used to be the only source on which tens of thousands of Afghans living in the valley of the Aravalli depended for their livelihood. They made hand-powders, barks, oils and other articles of domestic use, sold them in the neighbouring towns and eked out their ex-

istence. Now, since the forests are cut down, they have been reduced to the lot of the jobless refugees. The curious part of the situation is that while a house has to dance attendance on potatoes and tubers and wait for days on end to secure permission to take from the forest his small amount of wood useful to him for irrigation, the contractors are greedily cutting down thousands of trees every day and nobody ever seems to mind it. This is not the State's only inconvenience. His traditional and independent occupation of plying the bullock-cart is also gone, on account of the rapidly increasing number of motor-buses and trucks. Briefly the following are the main catastrophic consequences flowing from the destruction of forests: (1) scarcity of rains, (2) loss of forest wealth, (3) scarcity of grass consequent on lack of rains, (4) insufficiency of fodder for cattle, (5) reduction in the quantity of ghee and milk and cattle manure and, last though not least, (6) scarcity of food.

I, therefore, earnestly appeal that the Government should take early steps to ban the consumption of charcoal in motor-vehicles, else there can be little meaning in the elaborate and expensive programme of tree-plantation.

BETWEEN BURNING

(Note: It is not suggested that there should be no large-scale cutting down of forests at all. But it must keep pace with the speed with which new forests are raised, rather the latter should exceed the former. It is a question of spending within the limits of one's means. The plea is that in a good many things, which the Government does today the first principle of sound economy is ignored.)

—K. G. M.]

(Translated from Hindi)

A NEW EXPERIMENT IN CURRENCY

[A summary of Lord Viscount's speech on 13-10-1950, at the inauguration of the introduction of new currency. In place of money by the All India Spinners' Association in Bangalore.]

Beginnings of a New Experiment: Today is the centenary of our Swaraj. Each year comes and passes, leaving new experiences in the life of an individual as also of a nation. A person who reflects upon his experiences discovers truths and finds on new lines makes a progress in his personal march. One who does not do so degenerates because lacking in this world stands stationary. What is true of an individual is also true of a nation. It is therefore gratifying that a new experiment is being initiated today.

Implication of Introducing periods: To initiate a new experiment it is not necessary to find an occasion. Any day will do. Any day which makes us work on a new thought is sufficient. But people usually think more deeply during periods of jubilation. In the evening the old life light slowly gives place to darkness and nature undergoes a great change. Such occasions prompt to creative thinking and making changes. There also produces a similar effect. There are phenomena of rejuvenation and our moderns look advantage of them and prescribed observance of religious vows in marriage and mourning. At such time periods the individual thinks deep and makes a new resolve. He will be helped by the energies which lie in the universe. The resolve which we have made today will be backed by the Divine Power.

I entirely agree with the Bombay Press Note (22)

The contention that these orders are against the fundamental rights provided in the Constitution guaranteeing the culture, language and literature of all sections of the people is not correct. The learning of an additional language cannot adversely affect the culture, language and literature of any people."

Mumbai, 9-10-60

K. G. NARAYANAN

POST-BASIC EDUCATION

Questions have been asked as to what would happen to the pupils who complete the eight years' course of Basic Education. Will they be able to go for higher education? The action taken by the Government of Bihar regarding this matter is given in the following resolution published in the Bihar Gazette.

"The first batch of pupils of the Memorandum Pathshala which the early installation of the type was to introduce in Bihar, will have completed in December, 1960 their four years' Post-Basic school education, as contemplated in the scheme of Post-Basic Education, a majority of them should be qualified for direct entry into conservative occupations and professions on completion of the Post-Basic or multi-level High School course, but an appreciable number of them, being the most intelligent and the ablest, should be directed for higher University education or technological education of equivalent standard. The Bihar Education BOARD has to form an accurate estimate of their professional aptitudes so far as to find out for what occupations and professions they would be most suited. It has also to train its well-meaning of their general enlightenment, and then equip students with a view to suggest suitable planning for their higher and further education. It is agreed that their University education should be a sound development of attainments of the Basic and Post-Basic stages and that the recommendations of the Bihar Universities Commission particularly regarding the establishment of Rural Universities, might be helpful in suggesting a suitable line of such a development. With a view to achieve the above objectives Government have decided to appoint a High Education Committee for guiding the Higher University education or technological education of equivalent standard of Post-Basic boys consisting of the following members:

1. Mr. C. K. Karmar, IAS, Development Commissioner, Patna

2. Mr. J. C. Mahesh, IAS, Secretary to Government of Bihar, Education Department.

3. Mr. E. W. Arpanapathi, Secretary, Bihar Board Technical Schools

4. Mr. Chandralekha Malik, Director of Public Instruction, Bihar

5. Dr. J. R. Puri, Director of Agriculture, Bihar

6. Mr. Phalgunprasad Varma,

7. Principal Management and

8. Principal Amritnagar, Bihar

The last three being representatives of the Bihar University appointed by the President of the Bihar University

9. Secretary, Bihar Education Board, Bihar, — Secretary, of the Committee

"With a view to secure the suitability of the pupils following the different courses for direct entry into conservative occupations and professions and

for the continuance of their training by the State and by the non-official agencies, there shall, according to Government, have also been (1960) the Bihar Education Board consisting of the following members:

1. Mr. E. W. Arpanapathi, Secretary,

Bihar Board Technical Schools

2. Mr. Chandralekha Malik, Director of Public Instruction, Bihar

3. Mr. Puri, H. D. Mahesh, & J. Puri, Bihar Education Board, Bihar

4. Secretary Bihar Education Board, Bihar — Secretary of the Board

The Government, Bihar will have the authority to set up different speciality committees (committees for different departments and agencies and the Government Departments and the University have agreed to lend the services of specialists for working on such committees.

"The High Education Committee and the Government Board should submit their recommendations to the Government for their consideration by the beginning of October 1960.

Shriyama

P. V. JAYARAMAN

CHARITABLES AND WORSHIP

"Charitables is next to godliness" and the latter cannot be realized without the strict observance of the former. With due respect to the sacredness of most of our temples it is pointed to observe dirt and dirt as well as about them. It is particularly so in pilgrim centres such as Varanasi, Benares, Math, etc. In these temples, in the name of God many precious food materials are wasted for what is called abhishekam. Heavy milk, ghee or oil etc. are poured over the images. Idols are broken and the nutritious coconut water goes to waste. If all the milk, oil and coconut water that is used in these temples and pilgrim houses were collected, it would make a decent quantity to feed some of God's starving children. Our "offerings to God" should not mean offerings in a wasteful manner. If our traditional ceremonies are out of tune with clean and intelligent behaviour, they should be suitably amended or altered. Our Bhakti, wholehearted religious deeds and well-wishers of Hindutva should initiate and popularize bold reforms and prescribe simpler and improved rituals for our masses.

Referring to the uncleanliness of Kashi Vishwanath temple, Gandhi writes in his autobiography (p. 277)

"The authorities should be responsible for creating and maintaining about the temple a pure, sweet and serene atmosphere, physical as well as moral. Instead of this I found a place where smoking shopkeepers were selling sweets and toys of the latest fashion."

"When I reached the temple, I was greeted at the entrance by a stinking mass of rotten flowers. The floor was paved with fine marble, which was however broken by some dozens innocent of aesthetic taste, who had set it with ropes serving as an excellent receptacle for dirt."

"I went near the Juna-cup (Well of Knowledge). I searched here for God but

HARIJAN

Oct. 21

1950

VANASPATHI AND MIDDLE CLASSES

I have not been able to discuss vanaspathi for some weeks though I have received several pertinent articles and communications on the subject. I shall refer today to an article by Shrinani Sarojini Mehta, a well-known writer, social reformer and advocate of women's rights in Gujarat. She has pleaded against the banning of vanaspathi on the ground that such a step would cause serious inconvenience to middle-class families, who are not rich enough to purchase pure ghee at its present high price and by reason of their established habits of life and traditions, cannot use oil in its liquid form in the preparation of their dishes. The service of liquid oil on a plate or rice to members of their class would be against etiquette. It would also not be tolerated by sensitive throats and lungs. Some preparations which are meant to be consumed during the course of several days would not keep in good condition if prepared in liquid oil. They must be prepared in ghee or vanaspathi. In these days of all-round high prices and the prohibitive cost of pure vanaspathi has come as a welcome relief to the middle-class housewife who has to keep her husband and children pleased with tasty dishes and entertain friends in a manner befitting the position of her husband. The food must not smell of oil and must not lose its taste by rancidity. She must economise without appearing to be a stingy house-keeper who makes confections in liquid oil. The question must be considered also from the point of view of a housewife, who has young children and frequent guests to look after, and should not be decided by men, with logic unrelated to the art of house-making.

Having been born and brought up in the same class for which Shrinani Mehta has put up this case I have no difficulty in understanding her point of view. It so happens that a majority of the Hindus who govern our country at present also belong to the same class and so there is little chance of their not giving a sympathetic hearing to her plea. If any of them are stubborn, probably their wives will pull them up. The apprehension, rather, is that since the Government of the country is in the hands of the people of our own small class, interested both financially and socially in the maintenance of this industry, they may fail to summon up courage to look to the interest of the masses, and take a decision against their own, since it is in conflict with that of the people.

Who is this middle-class, to whom vanaspathi has become so indispensable in the course of less than 25 years? It does not comprise all those people, who are usually referred to as

middle-class people. Socially, (to mention just by way of example), Shri Parashottamas Thakurdas, living in a palace on the Malabar Hill at Bombay, and a kinsman of his perhaps as near as a sister's son in law or a daughter-in-law's parents—living in a small rented block on a by-road of Bombay, and a poor clerk who has just begun his career on terms of getting food in lieu of wage, are all regarded as middle-class people. Shri C. Rajagopalachari and a poor Tiffinised stranger working as a primary school master on Rs. 30 per month, are both middle-class people.

Of these, Shri Parashottamas Thakurdas and Shri C. Rajagopalachari need not go in for vanaspathi, even if pure ghee cost Rs. 25 per seer. Economically, they have ceased to be middle-class people. At the other end, the primary school-teacher and the new apprentice do not take ghee and cannot take it, even if it was available at less than a rupee per seer, if the oil also became cheaper proportionately. He has used oil from his childhood, and will use it until his pocket begins to show good savings. Hence, economically he too does not belong to the middle class. He is still below it.

The middle class with that partiality for ghee or anything resembling it, which Shrinani Mehta describes lies within the range of a family income of about Rs. 500 per month to less than Rs. 1,500 per month. These people find it difficult to purchase ghee and at the same time do not wish to give up the pleasure of doing so. And to order that they can keep up their pretensions they want the Government to allow this industry to go on even though it has spent cash to the genuine ghee industry and ultimately to cattle and agriculture. Is this just? As a member of this very class, I ask Shrinani Mehta and the members and this whole class to consider: What is our number in 'B' cross?

Shrinani Mehta complains about the non-keeping steadily and alternate effects of liquid oil. Though ultimately it is a matter of habit, this is partly true. I say partly, because for curing the oil of these effects, it is not necessary to hydrogenate, that is, saturate the oil. Refined and deodorized oil will neither smell nor taste like oil and will not get as quickly rancid as fresh but unrefined oil. Though refinement has its own drawbacks and is not needed by the people in general, it may be allowed for the sake of these sensitive stomachs. But after doing this there is no ground for further treating it with hydrogen. It is the hydrogenation that is objected to as an immediate step.

Shrinani Mehta has also repeated two arguments supplied by the adversaries of the industry. One of them is that the objectors must first increase the stock of ghee, and make it cheap before asking for a ban on vanaspathi. Is this possible? Can a village industry like manufacture of ghee, depending upon healthy live cattle, ever prosper against the competition of a

modern large-scale mechanical industry." The industrialists understand this perfectly well but purposely present a spectacle designed to mislead simple-minded and uneducated people.

The other argument is that water is used as an adulterant of milk, hence water should be also taxed or coloured. This also is a pretentious argument invented for confusing the mind. Is water prepared by man? Is it made in a factory? Is it available only in shops? Does man prepare the same relationship to give us water to milk? Shri Sarabhaiji. Dasgupta has devised a simple and cheap method by which one may find out from any sample of milk how much fat contains it but. Hence, if the best milk should contain 5 per cent fat and is priced at Rs 1 per acre by ascertaining the amount of fat a given sample contains, one can price it proportionately. Thus if milk is adulterated with water, that test would enable one to eliminate the price of water. Just as you do not pay the same price for dilute hydrochloric acid as for pure one, but are supposed to pay proportionately, so milk adulterated with water alone runs so far as the price factor goes be correctly priced. In the case of share which treated with soap-salt this is not possible.

Wardha 7/10/52. K. C. BHASKARWALA

COMMUNALISM AND INDIA-PAKISTAN RELATIONS

There are moments, when, through God's grace, we catch in right and all wrong. Pakistan Nation in fighting the spirit of communalism, which again seeks to rear its head in absolutely right.

There are two things before the country Communalism and India's dealings with Pakistan. The two are separate.

Communalism is the way to death. It was because of communalism that India has grievously suffered. The partition of the country was due to communalism. Communalism is against the time-spirit, the spirit of the age, against the ancient but tremendous spiritual forces that are at work over the heart and mind of the race seeking to make them conscious of their deep and fundamental spiritual unity. It is against the highest spiritual enlightenment against divine plan and purpose. It would be going back to the Dark Ages.

If Pakistan does not deal rightly by her Hindu and Sikh minorities, that is altogether a different matter. India should not by any means neglect them. The partition has not altered India's fundamental relation with them or released her of her moral responsibility before God for their security and welfare. India should never take an attitude of dislike or moral condemnation of oppression, but should insist with the whole force of her being that Pakistan should and must deal well by her Hindu and Sikh minorities. If India fails in it, she would

have to answer before God. She would not deserve to be independent. But that surely should not in any way influence India in her attitude towards Indian Muslims or in her treatment towards them. Indian Muslims are Indians and are not responsible for Pakistan's actions.

The Ganges will not flow back to the Himalayas. Revival of Hinduism or Hindu dharma, even, as some people understand it, in a narrow sense, is not of the question. This is not in the divine scheme of things. What was in the past, shall never be again, as it cannot, in this changing world. Our rich fathers never knew of Hindu dharma or Hindu culture. All that they cared for was dharma pure and undiluted truth, righteousness. Their whole conception of dharma and culture was universal and eternal in character.

This is an age for the survival of any national or communal religion. Hinduism or Islam, or Christianity, or Buddhism in spite of the excellent things that are in each. This is an age for a synthesis of all religions. God is One and Religion also is One and the Same. This is the grand truth that men have to learn in this age and they shall have to be, as they are being made over-poweringly conscious of it. Forms differ. But forms are non-essential, hence terrestrial Hinduism, Mohammedanism, Sikhism, Christianity, Buddhism—we are all of One Religion. God is our Greatest Common Father. God is our One Common Father and we are all His children, and have to behave with one another as such. This is no age for Hindu Mahasabha or Muslim League. This is the age for Hindu Mohammedan Christian-Sikh-Buddhist Mahasabha—understand. Some persons Mahasabha I know so that some of our old accustomed habits of thought and action, we must do so. If we do not do it willingly, we shall have to do it under the compulsion of circumstances.

What the world needs, is a revival of Dharma—Religion universal and eternal—in the hearts of men, not of any national religion. God will not permit a. Manmade need to be acted as One God. They need one universal religion of love, piety and brotherhood.

For the last 25 years, our religion has held that the problem of communal harmony was greater than the question of independence. India today is being buffeted by a India will stand or fall by her right or wrong solution of this old problem. Our sacred verse it tell her soul runs to the highest spiritual height, to a universal standpoint in all things of life. Again and again we have insisted on it that Hindus and Muslims must forget that they are Hindus or Muslims and remember only that they are children of the same Father, that in love they could be free. To the One God they have to go and unite heart with heart, and go hand in hand. Through God's grace, that shall be.

SRINIVASARAO KRISHNABABU,
President, Anandam Math.

INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION TO PEACE AND GOODWILL

THE

'One should bring a bouquet to an end with words' (एकं वाक्यं) — is a time-honoured precept, we will show accordingly with Rabindranath Tagore's last description of society in ancient India (*Modern Review*, April 1921, p. 433 D).

"In our country the King made wars, defended his territory and administered his law, but the social organisation has attended to everything else from the supply of water to the supply of knowledge so simple and naturally that the repeated floods of new sovereignty which swept over the land with the advent of such new era did not reduce us to ruins by destroying our otherwise not another us into wags, bandages by breaking up our social structure. The Kings incessantly battled against one another, but in our unimpaired bamboo groves, in the shade of our mango orchards, temples were being raised, rest-houses for travellers established and water reservoirs constructed, the village schoolmaster taught his simple lore, higher philosophy was not lacking in the tale and the village meeting places were resorted with the clustering of the Ramayana and the singing of ballads. The social life did not depend upon outside aid, nor did outside aggression perpetually mar the serene beauty

"The State is the sovereign power in England. The old-time rapacity in our country was different. In England the State is mainly responsible for the well being of the people, but in India this was so only to a limited extent. Not that the King had not to maintain and reward the sages who gave free education to the people in religion and science, but that was only in part. The real responsibility lay on the householder. If the King stopped his grants or even if the lord was Kingless these primary activities of the community would not suffer any serious check. Not that the King did not provide water reservoirs for the people, but no more than what all wealthy men considered it their duty to do. The neglect of the King could not dry up the water resources of the country.

"In England every one is at liberty to pursue his self-interest, his personal comforts and amusements. He is not burdened with communal duties. All the greater ones rest on the State. In our country it was the King who was completely free and on the people was fast the burden of their civic obligations. The King ruled and ruled, whether he spent his time standing to matters of state or to his personal pleasure was a matter for which he might be accountable to divine but on which the people did not have their communal welfare to depend. The responsibility for this was divided, in a

wide-felt degree, not among the members of the community themselves.

"For this reason what we understand as chaos permeated the whole social fabric, each one had to practice the discipline of self-restraint, each one had to conform to divine.

Thus shows that the seat of life of different civilisations is differently placed in the body politic. Where the responsibility for the welfare of the people lies their hearts the heart of the nation, and if a blow should fall thereon, the whole nation is wounded unto death. In England, the overthrow of the State would mean destruction for the nation, but disaster can only overtake our country when its social body, its army, is crippled. That is why we have never staked our all to meet a change of sovereignty, but have clung with might and main to the freedom of our society. It is, I say, because all good works in England depend upon the State, and in India upon the social organism, that in England to save the State is to save the country and for India to live it is preserve her social institutions intact.

"India has always been endowed with the power of binding together. Through adverse circumstances of every kind she has invariably succeeded in evolving an orderly system, so does she still survive. On this India I pin my faith.

"All the four great religions of the world are here together — Buddhism, Jainism, Hinduism and Christianity. It is evident that India is God's chosen country for the making of a supreme religious synthesis.

"India never sought for domination, nor unscrupled in Spain, China, Japan and Tibet, who are so careful in her teeth wounds against the advances of Europe, welcomed India with open arms as their guru, for she had never sent out her armies for plunder and pillage, but only her messages of peace and goodwill. This glory which India has earned as the fruit of her self-discipline was greater than that of the wildest of empires.

"The realisation of unity in diversity, the establishment of a synthesis under variety — that is the inherent necessary diversity of India. India does not admit difference to be conflict, nor does she copy an enemy or every stranger. So she accepts none, she destroys none; she shapes no methods, recognises the greatness of all ideals and seeks to bring them into one grand harmony.

"By reason of this genius of India Hinduism, Buddhism and Christianity need not fight here for supremacy, but will find common ground under the shelter of her hospitality. That common ground will not be an island, it will be more especially Hindu. And however foreign the several herbs may be, the heart will still be the heart of India."

THE HORROR OF IT

The Maharajah's Raju Mandir Kitchens Club was out at work. A batch of us were attacking a public latrine in Waialeale. The horror of the conditions of the latrine was indescribable. There was nightsoil inside and outside. The buckets were either leaking or overflowing. The little drainage was clogged in many places and clogging with filth. There was a pit into which the drains ran. What was inside that pit would have defied the analysts of any scientist. What we knew was that the smell that came out of it was more potent gas. People were going in and coming out in endless procession. We saw many going in with some cloth tied round their mouths and noses. That was to escape the terrible and foul smell. Even so they kept on going in. There was no other latrine in that thickly populated part of the town.

We made a quick survey of the place. We divided ourselves into four buckets. The first one dug a pit farther off, the second cleared the drain pit, the third removed the buckets and the fourth washed the floors and the drains. The clearing of the drain pit was a horrible experience. There was cement on the sides but none at the bottom. It had not been cleaned for weeks. Inside up to the brim was a thick, black substance, neither solid nor liquid. We could get no bucket from the scavenger in charge to put into the pit for clearing it. The scavenger was ill and said word that there was a small tin kept behind a tree. So we got our own bucket. It was difficult to clean the pit even with a bucket. How then did the scavenger clean the pit with a small tin? He must all the time have put his own hand up to the elbow into it. We too did clean the pit. It took more than an hour. But in one sense it was an undesirable pit because it had no bottom. The more you cleaned the pit the more you dug into lower filth. We managed to scrub it. We buried the whole area in the new pit covering up heavily with earth.

It was difficult also to remove the buckets because they were leaky or overflowing. People went in even as we were removing the buckets. No one hesitated even to use over-filled buckets. The washing up of the floors and the drains was also a hopeless task because there were cracks in the floors and in the drainage. We ended up by a good sweep all round. We had toilet from 8 a.m. to 11 a.m. We sat down in the shade for a while and wondered what would be the condition of the latrine in another week. We therefore collected a crowd, contacted a Mapan and spoke at length to them. And then we repaired. We were a strange little crowd ourselves. We had girls from the Papeete, Papeete Moore, Tamarua, Andara and Kamia and boys from the

various provinces. One girl was a South Indian Brahmin, Monobahad by name, and she had collected everybody in the work. We had no caste or class amongst us. When people join together for social work there comes to them a comradeship which nothing can equal. Social cast divides teachers and students into an unbearable bond of comradeship. *

As we were coming away something happened which was the climax of the story. We saw a fair-complexioned good-looking boy, not more than 12 or 13 years of age, approaching with a big bucket on his head. The bucket was full with something. We could not make out what it was from the distance. The boy came up under the shade of the heavy weight. We then saw that it was a bucket of nightsoil. He walked on to a little distance beyond the latrine where some drains were kept. Two were already overflowing with nightsoil. He went to a third and then lifted the bucket with great difficulty from his own head and poured the contents into it. It was a sight to see the delinquency with which he avoided soiling his own clothes or limbs. He then put the bucket down and stood back breathing heavily.

I went up to him and put my hands on his shoulders and asked him about himself. He was the son of the scavenger in charge. The father was married and so he and his younger brother were doing the work for the day. Even so we were speaking the other brother arrived and performed the same painful cleanup with his bucket of nightsoil. They were both nice boys and were at school. Their father and their grandfather were scavengers. They did not know what they would do after they had completed their school years. How could they? Do our schools teach boys and girls what they should do with their lives? They did not like the work they were doing but they had no choice of it either. Later we went to their house. It was a big substantial house with mats and benches, plenty of furniture and pictures on the walls. More than one allied family were staying in it and several adults were scavengers. We met the old father who showed us with some pride an old photograph of himself in a black coat and a turban. We came away not knowing whether to weep or laugh.

Why should scavengers have to work under conditions of indescribable horror? I am not going into the question whether there should be scavengers at all. But can we not have adequate number of well-built clean workers? Can we not give scavengers wheelbarrows instead of compelling them to carry the buckets on their heads? Is it not necessary to organize scavengers to make them put up a fight against the inhuman conditions under which they are compelled to work? Should we not educate them to have the courage to say that they will not

well, unless the Madhokshis have them the proper tools and equipment? The Harjan movement has come and perhaps gone without affecting really for the better the lives of our sweeper. And yet unthinkably was and is limited to a large extent on the work of an evening. No small effort however intense can solve the problem. What is required is a mighty national drive under some supreme moral leadership. Individuals must go on working but who will unite numerous individual efforts into a mighty stream of national purification? How long shall we wait?

L. NARAYANMURARI

THE ROOT OF THE FOOD PROBLEM

The food scarcity and the abnormal rise in prices have put us in an extremely difficult situation. The Government have been doing their utmost to solve it, but so far their endeavour does not seem to have yielded any tangible result. It is a serious problem which has dislocated and put out of gear the nation's life. Every one from the highest to the lowest feels uneasy. Having a few of the well-to-do, all feel at pinch. A popular democratic government cannot but feel extremely concerned over this state of affairs. That it does really feel so concerned will be admitted by all. What, then, is the reason that the situation is constantly moving further and further beyond our control?

To understand that we shall have to probe to the very roots of the problem. To say that prices are soaring because, in some parts, rains have been unusually heavy, or rivers have overflowed and flooded vast areas of land, does not offer an adequate explanation of the situation. There is another and a more fundamental reason. Gandhi used to say that our ever deepening poverty will, some day, reach the breaking-point and then it will become well-nigh impossible to control it. Today, we realise the truth of his apprehension. It is not that this tragic spectacle of poverty, high prices and starvation has overtaken us suddenly. It is only an aggravated phase of our chronic poverty growing apart day by day. The situation is now so far deteriorated that the poor cannot even take advantage of such relief measures as have been adopted unthinkingly to render succour to them. Take for instance the case of ration-shops started in the rural area specially for their benefit. The difficulty is that the people have not the money to buy their weekly ration at the right time. So what happens is this. A rich man provides them with money with which to buy their share of ration. But the ration as purchased has to be made over to their creditor, who later on sells it to them at higher prices. This is no tale, but a fact which I have witnessed with my own eyes. Unless the Government can set free those exploited masses caught in the tightening meshes of poverty and debt, I am afraid

nothing substantial will happen. Unless they can breathe an atmosphere of such freedom and opportunity as would enable them to realise their strength and be conscious of their duty, even the measures carefully devised for their welfare will turn out to be against their and the nation's good.

Let us give another instance. It relates to Bihar, but probably it is equally true of other places. There is a great acreage in the Patna District covering fully thousand acres of land. The reader can well imagine the quantity of grain he must be keeping. I can say with confidence that he continues to sell huge quantities at high rates in the black market, even today. One really feels puzzled when one sees people dying of hunger, while there is so much food lying starved.

The problem of "Give More Food" is, really speaking, the problem of inspiring the landless village-labourer pressing under poverty and over-work to take to this work. The success of the movement is absolutely dependent on his co-operation. But how can he offer his co-operation? He has neither the capacity nor the wherewithal. If he had the land and the capital necessary for agricultural work, the situation would have improved long since. It is clear that we should look for the reasons of this confusion in the economic and social structure of the country and the Government policy.

(From Bihar)

ROYAL VERONICA WALLACE

Students and Amma Relief Fund

The efforts made by students at various places to render help to the public struggling people of Amma deserve credit. It shows that the hearts of students are ever filled with tender feelings and sentiments. The struggle for existence has not yet hardened their hearts. At some places they have done manual labour and at some others they have forgone their work for helping Amma with funds. The other day it was reported in the newspapers that some students at Bana took to pickling leaves of cotton in the municipal garden in order to collect funds for Amma. Such help, even if small, is a most precious and pure gift. To all such students and their teachers I extend my commendations.

Wardha, 10-10-30

R. G. M.

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: K. C. MARSHALL



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AHMEDABAD—SATURDAY, OCTOBER 28, 1950

TWO ANNAS

NAVJYAN BUILDING OPENING CERIMONY

When Gandhi undertook to conduct the Navajyan and the Young India and started the Navajyan Press in 1919 his object was to serve the people. Hence he likened the Navajyan institution to an ever growing tree. That small plant, planted by Gandhi himself, has passed through many vicissitudes, has weathered many a storm and has grown into the big tree that it is today. It was Gandhi's wish that the institution should have its own buildings for its offices and provided its workers be housed in the vicinity forming a colony. His wish has been fulfilled today to some extent. The Navajyan Trust has been able to construct its own buildings for offices and gites and quarters for the nearly fifty of its workers. The opening ceremony of the new NAVAJYAN building will be performed by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel at 8 a.m. on Tuesday. The October Trust is an occasion for joy and thankfulness for us. But the thought that the Father of the institution, and Mahadevji, who contributed so much to its growth and development, are no more with us physically adds poignancy to the feeling of joy. We hope and pray for their blessings.

JYOTI B. DESAI
Managing Trustee

NOTES

Sardar Vallabhbhai's Birthday

Sardar Vallabhbhai completes 75 years of an eventful and brilliant life at the end of this month. Age has necessarily affected his physical capacity and hampered his movements and to that extent he is prevented from functioning as fully as before. But the mind is as alert as ever, and quick in making decisions and solving complicated situations. The quality of kindly love increases with age and every one who finds a chance of going near him experiences the parental tenderness in his words and movements. His opponents fear him, his followers respect him and they love unreservedly, and those who enter his family circle not only respect and obey him, but do so with love and filial affection. He is needed by the country. May he remain long with us in a fit condition to render service to the nation.

Wadia, 16-10-50

Shri Gangadharas Deshpande

Shri Gangadharas Deshpande completed 80 years in the beginning of this month, and Poona paid a fitting tribute to him in appreciation of his services to Maharashtra and Karnataka. Originally a loyal follower and colleague of Lokmanya Tilak, after his death he attached himself to Gandhi, and during the rest of his active life dedicated himself to his cause. He was until lately a good orator with a pleasant voice, and during days when there were no microphones, he could make himself heard with ease in large open-air meetings of five to ten thousand people. As his words always came from the heart, they moved the audience deeply. He got the title of Karnataka Kavi—the lion of Karnataka.

Age has told upon his health and power of hearing. Younger workers have relieved him of his former worries, and for some years he has been leading more or less a retired life.

Most people, as they grow old, feel that the world was going from bad to worse, and every succeeding generation was inferior to the one to which they belonged. This makes them take a pessimistic view of the future of mankind and feel worried and nervous. Shri Gangadharas is not quite free from such moods, but his faith in God sustains him and a lion-hearted fighter that he has always been, he never succumbs him completely. He has taken an active part in the shaping of Maharashtra and Karnataka in particular since 1903, and knows the various stages through which the country passed. In spite of various periods of depression, the picture from 1903 to 1947 is on the whole one of an ascending graph—a picture starting from the failure of an Imperial concession to the abolition of that Imperialism and the birth of Independence. If the present condition seems depressing and worrying, it can be only a temporary phase like one of the several which came over during the last 45 years.

Shri Gangadharas is a witness to all these ups and downs, and knows that the country has successfully got over them. It will do so again. May he see the country take a turn towards recovery and progress!

Wadia, 17-10-50

K. C. M.

Medium of University Education

Regional Languages should be the Media

The medium of instruction in a University should, in my opinion, be the regional language locally called the mother-tongue of the area covered by it. The national language should be a compulsory subject for all in all stages. To facilitate the exchange of professors and to enable them to serve the whole country they may be allowed to give lectures in the national language if they do not possess sufficient command over the local language. I think one will satisfy the demand for maintaining the unity of all India and also the claim for the mother-tongue as the substantially correct medium of instruction.

The Choice of Students Varies through Regions

The mother-tongue as the medium should be introduced immediately and should cover all education within a period of 5 years. More advanced languages like Bengali and Marathi should operate only in 2 or 3 years. And there very people and those of such India are used after the English medium. Some Mother-tongue think that they lag behind others in all India knowledge for want of masters over English. They do not realize that the college phase in all India which Sirs J. Nicholas studied was not due to the knowledge of English. The position of languages that in the demand of India leader was not the result of his mastery over English, because of people had possessed a greater command. With that deep the importance of the English language in the international field, that the knowledge in English as the medium of instruction is extremely disadvantaged.

I hope our leaders and students will not feel a pang in this traditional bias.

(Translated from Hindi)

Surat City, Sept. 1950.

Sale of Mill-cloth by Khadi-lovers

Q Will it be improper for a service-provider to accept a part of responsibility as a multi-purpose society selling mill-cloth? I think that so long as mills and factories are extant and vast numbers of people dependent on them for their food and clothing, rendering them suitable help cannot be a breach of khadi-faith. What is your opinion on this point?

A In our methods of doing public service we should take a long-range view. When immediate and urgent help is called for and necessities are made to meet trying situations, the long-range principles and views should not be abandoned. Our Government regards khadi to be an almost irreplaceable proposition. If we also think likewise we can think of running mill-cloth shops under multi-purpose societies. That is not regarded as unreasonable under the Service-provider thought. It is therefore my definite opinion that the extension of Service-provider regard mill-cloth as forbidden and should apply themselves wholeheartedly to khadi.

(Translated from Hindi)

Surat City, Sept. 1950.

HYABRA

Khadi Customs

It has become a blind custom with many of our people to throw coins, flowers, flowers, beads etc. into our sacred rivers. The throwing of coins at any rate helps neither the fish nor the poor. On the Ganesh-day some people reverently throw ornate ornaments even made of gold or silver into the sea. Once, when travelling, I observed that from my own

third class compartment about 35 ornaments and a change worth a rupee or two were thrown into the sacred Tungabhadra river. On an average such ornaments cost four annas. Thus supposing that during a year, in the whole of India about 10,000 ornaments are thrown into the sea and sacred rivers, it amounts to about Rs 2,000 and adding to that the amount of cash, we get a considerable amount which could be well utilized with much greater benefit to God's creatures.

Similarly in public functions where a symbolic garland would be sufficient, we observe instead hundreds of individuals and organizations wasting a lot of money on garlands sufficient to bury our leaders under flowers. On Holi, Deepavali and other festive days huge amounts are wasted on crackers, rockets etc. By all this I do not mean that the great enthusiasm of our people should in any way be curbed in the least but it requires to be moderated and properly regulated. Pious and enthusiasm are good and constructive only within certain limits. Also they become destructive as in the West. What an amount would be saved if only our leaders, in the same way as Gandhi did, refuse to have any thing but beads of handspun yarn and collect grains, each year etc. instead of perishable flower garlands, each costing at least a rupee, or sometimes even two rupees.

J. CHIDAMBARAM

KANTURBAGHAM

March of Sister Natchiketha Paul at the Foundation Laying Ceremony of the Kanturbagham, on Sunday, August 13, 1950, at Kanturbagham near Madras.

—M. H. I.

Prayerbook, Bible, Sermon and Hymns

Father's sermon was well received in the light of what in the history of Madhya Bharat. When I told the President of Madhya Bharat that I had great hopes and aspirations, I have not abandoned them yet. We are all children. We make mistakes and learn from experience. We are all human in the sense of democracy. We mean I hope to win in our other countries down here and there, and not just by holding other countries. After all, I hope to live in a democratic country. We have a great spirit in a Hindu body. We feel like a helping hand to the great God. Let the people of both of them be gradually to give us a new world, a new world. They will change in their own way. We were all children in their time. I have been referred to as the Deputy Prime Minister. I never think of myself in those terms. Jambhadracharya is our leader. He appointed me as his successor and had even mentioned this in his will. It is the duty of all people's mission to carry out his mission. Whatsoever does not do so from his heart in the proper spirit will be a danger before God. I am not a religious man. I am more of the fact that I am occupying. I only hope this world and the world. I will see what steps should be.

I passed up disappointed how people are allowed by the power of Father's mission and Chief Minister. I play all those who think in terms of power. It is all an empty show. The opportunity for service which God has given to the world will not ever come in a child's hand or a Hindu. The introduction of power affects authority and people go away from their path. It is only Natchiketha who came down from his boat, I think to give us a new world. It is only the power in his place, I still intend to see my people.

Today I see before me the whole picture of life and since I joined Ragna away. The last which he gave me is the I never experienced from my own mother. I was not lucky to have experienced my own mother's love the more than made up for it. Whenever personal love felt it for me I got it from Ragna and Ra. I feel, however, of great value, to have in practice over the first which Ragna made me I lay the foundation of the future.

As I told you before, I laid the foundation of Mother's House some time ago. I am today laying the foundation of this house. I am happy today that once before, in case, all this has a house for us. We all get involved in petty things and lose sight of the bigger perspective, the light for such a time being as the capital of a House. We do not consider for a moment the fact that we have entered, today, on the verge of a great all India battle line. This is a great Trust in the whole of India. After all India reaches its village, and today we are laying the foundation in terms of an institution whose main concern will be to serve men and women, boys and girls of the world area. It is a matter of great honor and privilege for India that it was decided to establish this center here and we have done so relying on the people of India and also able to give us every help and assistance. I would ask you and to think in terms of our own personal freedom. When we look into decision, we do not think in terms of India or America. We only thought in the fact of it the foundation. It is only when we think of India as a whole and not in terms of smaller units, when we make an organization of men or women, between the rich and the people between the rich and the poor, and when we consider all hand on the hand of Capital and all hand on the children of India, then alone shall we be able to establish America which was always the dream of Gandhi.

This is the day on which we have to work in order to build ourselves into life. When this Trust was formed I was in jail. While I was released, Gandhi told me that he had kept a place reserved for me and invited me to join it. I told him that my work was in another field and begged him to release me. I also told him that this was a work far beyond me. I told him that my business lay in business spheres. I told him that the Trustees were going to create a new world and I told myself too small for this huge task. But when Gandhi died, Chakrabarti, Mahabalan, asked me to join the Board of Trustees as its Chairman. I greeted my business and friends but he would not listen. He told me that he only wanted my name and personal presence and that they would do the rest. I could not refuse him. Chakrabarti has proved true in every word that he said. He has borne the main burden of all this work. He has spent me all the trouble that would have otherwise fallen on me to do this more and has worked tirelessly, spontaneously and with all his heart to discharge the trust that he placed on me. His when the question of laying the foundation stone of the house came up he called to me and spontaneously told me that this was a work from which he could not spare me so he had to go through. I told him that if I were alive I would do it and I am very glad that I am able to fulfill the promise.

As I am driving to this place somebody stated that I should live a thousand years. I felt rather uncomfortable. I was wondering what I would do with such a long life. Ragna did want to live 125 years, but a thousand died in the past of a disappointed fellow put on trial to his dream and desire. Nevertheless it is his that he has not gone altogether from our minds. I have shown him smiling more than that his end made him begin after he had been. Could not we live achieve their wishes in their lifetime in that they live more gloriously after their death, hope accompanied a great deal during his lifetime. He gave us our freedom and created men out of slaves. Like other great men he will live on in us. If we cannot, however, we shall always look to him

for guidance. Living stones on the wall with a family forever in us. We need not therefore live so much afraid of the shadow because he is always with us in spirit. We should only look to what he thinks for which Ragna and he stand for the principles which they practiced.

Like me, he was also uneducated. He could not read books, but could also give lessons. But also was the very embodiment of all that is best in our culture. His thought is that long list of victims of India and virtue like, love, Dharma, duty and others whose achievements were the pages of history. It was the good because of India that in this Kalyuga a woman of her virtue and character was born. We who are now establishing this centre have a great responsibility in that we have started a great one.

The centre will be established here but its branches will spread all over the country. It is a large undertaking. There may be some slight delay over the money that we collected and do not be others work. But they seem to forget that Indian and circumstances in matters of money were Ragna's outstanding characteristic. His Ragna made over every job that he received. That is how the Trustees are working and ought to work.

Chakrabarti that has just now told you in brief what we have done but the real work is to begin now and it has to be done by you all. We have arranged on the Highness the Rajgarhwal. I am sorry the Highness the Maharaja Maharaj is not here but I am sure, if he were here, he would also extend his help and sympathy. We can look for cooperation from these two and also from other princes. The Government of Madhya Bharat has made a gift of this land, situated in beautiful surroundings, with a hillside in the centre where we are sitting, a lake on one side and winding paths and a beautiful temple on the other. We could not have chosen a better site.

Now I only remain for you all to turn the child that is being born today. You have to nurse it with love, devotion and constant labour.

I am sorry that Chakrabarti Ragna is not with me. He would have been if I had not asked him not to because I knew that, if he did, he might not be in a condition to return. Even without his presence however he is with us. Who can wish him to be gathering whom we are thinking of the relief of the poor and afflicted? You have also helped in bringing from our friends here. All of us have their thoughts in this beautiful other place, but the real blessings we have yet to earn—and they will come from those great men and women who will benefit from our work. You are also happy in that Bhakshi Nayyar has been able to extend his facilities. His had been a daughter to the end has just returned from America. I had almost given up hope of her return on this occasion, but she is her responsibility and now with simplicity is. As a matter of fact, all of us will have to share the burden and help the growth of this Indian child. Tomorrow, the New All India Association gave me a note of the 4000 for a proper fund. I thank them for this gift. I hope the centre will be directed then by people, looking in this area and the Trustees will not have to spend anything on its upkeep. That is the main principle of its constitution. The idea which has only happened but lives on with us.

Money has been paid by the area. The land is fertile, water is abundant. Only by service however can you make it great from which you and the government is good who enjoy. If we believe in the Kalyuga of Ragna, and he we shall have an eternal humanity in a manner that will continue to our credit. On this day, when I am laying the foundation of this huge undertaking, I cannot do better than ask you to remember Ragna and Ra, to follow them and to put into practice what they presented and practiced in their own life.

HARIJAN

Oct. 23

1959

CONTROL OF GUR

Several correspondents have drawn my attention to a notification of the U. P. Government imposing restrictions on the manufacture of gur in the areas where sugar cane is produced. While the sugar-cane season lasts, the Governor of U. P. has been pleased to order that the crushing of sugar-cane in hand- or power-crushers etc. and the manufacture of sugar-cane juice, gur, rak, khandsari, or crystal sugar in an open-pan factory is prohibited except under a special licensing system. The order has come into operation from October 10th.

I tried to understand the rationale behind this order. It seems obviously against the interest of small-scale village industries, and the needs of the poor people. It also appears, prima facie, to be against the known laws of political economy.

It appears that, though the order is worded "the Governor is pleased to", as a matter of fact the U. P. Governor had no choice in the matter. The Governor, or rather his Government has issued it under the policy dictated by the Central Government. It further appears that even the Central Government is not quite free in the matter. It, in turn, has issued it on the demand of the sugar industrialists, who seem to have notified to the Government that unless they are enabled to buy sugar-cane at rates cheaper than what gur manufacturers pay to sugar-cane growers, they would not be able to manufacture the quantity of sugar expected of them.

In order, therefore, to oblige the sugar industry, the consumer is to be compelled to sell it at a lower rate than what he would be able to get in a free, open and competitive market. Since sugar-cane must be sold off before it becomes dry by presenting a sufficient number of purchasers from entering the market, the grower is to be compelled to part with his produce to a favoured purchaser. If selling at a very high price is direct profiteering, buying at an unfairly low price is indirect profiteering.

In support of the order we are told that owing to the dearth of sugar, the demand for gur and khandsari has increased so much that their prices are even higher than the control price of sugar. Hence there is a boom in the manufacture of these village products. If these village industries are allowed to thrive, the middle-class urban population and the quack-sellers, who cater for the middle-class, cannot have sugar in sufficient quantities, and they will get disatisfied. Hence the increased manufacture of sugar must be *curbed at all costs*.

It is pointed out to them that sugar is an item of only secondary importance and to only a few thousands. For want of it, as several Government spokesmen have themselves often pointed out to me late last year, on the other hand, is an essential requirement in the poor man's diet. In view of the poor quality of his food, it was as ever before. Since for some years past there has been a continuous deficit of cereals and oil in his diet, it has become even more essential to him now. The natural way of meeting the increased demand for gur and of reducing its price is to allow, not to any extent, its manufacture to its fullest extent. By imposing restrictions on its manufacture the price of gur would shoot still higher up thus making it even more difficult for the poor to get it. It is robbing the poor, in order to manufacture an article, at best, of secondary importance to a few well-to-do.

But the controlist mind seems to run in a direction contrary to that of natural economy. It seeks remedies for the difficulties created by it itself by inventing further controls. And so, gur, khandsari and village-made crystal sugar are also now brought under the system of controlled prices.

And with all these complications what is the guarantee that adequate supplies of sugar will be available at a cheap rate? The sugar industry is not a monopolised industry, run like the Post Office or Railways as a public utility service, or like the Chamber of Commerce as a charitable organisation. Nor is it the case that the sugar-industrialists do no other business than the manufacture of sugar. This industry forms only a part of their various commercial activities. And the greatest of these activities is speculation. Speculation includes various tricks, e.g. cornering any commodity whatsoever, combining together for maintaining a particular price, at times even reducing the price temporarily to drive out from the market the small manufacturer who does not fail to live with them; bringing about quick fluctuations in prices to pocket differences, gambling in the game of forward contracts etc. A sugar-industrialist is under no pledge not to speculate in gur and khandsari, or not to obtain a licence for manufacturing it through another concern under his control.

If it were only a question of regulating two industries of the same genre, with the help of an honest administrative staff and impartial and expert advice it might be possible to plan a well-ordered system of production, distribution and consumption so that both sugar and gur might thrive and benefit society. But the problem before us is not one pertaining to industrialisation. It is a problem of a vicious system of commercialisation. There is hardly any big industrialist as such in our country. Those who have succeeded that tale are almost all of them commercialists. Their main concern is not to make

a particular industry successful, but to make their commerce as it successful. And commerce is judged upon as successful, when it brings the largest amount of profit in the speediest manner possible. If the manufacturers of sugar will do it, they will make sugar, if its cultivation, destruction, covering, smuggling, forward-contracting and payment of dividends without delivery, attention of sugar into alcohol or charred carbon, or declaring a lock-out will bring splendid profits to them, they will resort to such courses. If you will pay better they will divert their energies and capital to that channel, if the imposition of controls will be profitable to them at a particular stage, they will maneuver to bring about that, if lifting them will suit them better, every thing will be done to convince the Government of the necessity of doing so.

How does the present system of controls curb this commercialism? The Government is at the mercy of Commerce and is controlled by it, rather than in a position to plan and control production, distribution and consumption of articles necessary for life.

A small artisan like a weaver or a tanner, and a small-scale industrialist like the manufacturer of glass, aluminium, glass etc have each only one source of livelihood — namely the particular craft or industry of each of them. Any interference with it is a wrong manner spells utter ruin to that artisan or manufacturer. Not so with the so-called industrialist. To him industries are like so many items of sale in a grocer's shop. The sugar-industrialist does not depend upon the manufacture of sugar only. It is not necessary that he should know even the rudiments of his manufacture. What he cares to know and understand is his commerce. Within 48 hours, the U P sugar manufacturer might transfer his investment in sugar to that in per in Kolhapur, or sugar in Madras, rice-houses in Bombay, or petroleum wells in Texas.

If the industrialists can be restricted to invest all capital they possess in one particular industry, and asked to pledge themselves to devote all their energies to the development of that one alone, it would change the face of the country altogether. This is a control which deserves to be brought about. Is it possible for the Government to do that? If it cannot do so, let it at least retain being controlled by corporations, particularly when the system runs counter to the interests of the villagers and the poor.

Wardha, 12-12-55

R. G. HANSENWALA

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HANDICUFFS, PARADES AND DETENTIONS

The Bihar Government is reported to have started taking strict measures against black-marketeers. This is commendable, provided the method of administering the law is without fear or favour. But it is further reported that when the alleged offenders were arrested they were handcuffed and publicly paraded through streets. This seems to be quite unedifying. Whoever be the offence, handcuffing should be resorted to only in case the arrested person is of a violent character, or there is a likelihood of an attempt being made by his friends or a mob to overpower the police to bring about his release. If there is no such apprehension, there is no justification for handcuffing or tying with a rope even a burglar caught red-handed. Parading such arrested person through streets must also be considered a display of barbarity and low taste, if he is handcuffed or tied because there is a danger in taking him merely in their custody, obviously the best thing is to take him to the lock-up by the shortest route in a closed vehicle. The parading shows that, after all, his arrest is not attended with any risk to the police officers. This means that the handcuffing was unnecessary.

An arrested person is not a convict. To exhibit him in the public — which handcuffing and parading involve — is a punishment meted out to him before he is convicted. I should think that this is an unjustifiable infringement of human rights and must be prohibited.

I can understand lovers of show exercises providing, for striking examples, such punishments as parading a convict through streets in an humiliating manner, public flogging, or even the public hanging of a particular type of offenders. Such punishments are indicative of a spirit of gross violence, but even then such punishments should follow conviction. To treat him as in advance is to prejudice him.

I hope legislature and judges will condemn such acts.

It is also reported that the Bihar Government has created an ordinance empowering it to take into detention black-marketeers without trial. I understand that similar measures are contemplated by other Governments also. I do not know if this is in accordance with the Constitution. But whatever may be the law it seems to me unjustifiable that persons should be detained in prison without trial for acts, which cannot be regarded as endangering public peace or the safety of the State in the ordinary sense. If there is reliable evidence, such person should be prosecuted against in a regular manner. If the evidence is shaky, but there is a strong suspicion, a watch should be kept over him and as it often done, he should be trapped. But his detention without trial appears to me to be empowering the Executive to punish a person,

THACKER, RAY, LEFTMOST, BELLO, THURK

It is a large, a partly isolated area in the Eastern Bay District of Vilnius Province, with a population of 1,000-15,000.

For water to penetrate to this area, Dardikow, it has to be extremely porous. Only a small area is suitable for an agricultural purpose; the rest is forest land, unsuitable without good farming applications. Raising of water level possible in these parts. The people here have a little concrete approach could be used only if the drainage is better laid out to surface.

The group will even perform. "I'll remind my friends that I'm from their homes and remind my own friends of my school," she said.

The 4-hour session has been doing split work in three parts on the first night course.

[illegible]

Unusual diseases and diseases during certain risk groups were discussed in children and other special medical diseases, mental diseases, leprosy in an old Chinese text. The text also mentioned all over the world. It shows diseases are not affected in the body that is caused in some of the total population very common. It is necessary that the disease pattern flow is first from other diseases. Unusual diseases is widespread polymers being the main cause of it. Therefore to cure leprosy it is necessary in some unusual diseases also. This means more response but it is very difficult in some rare diseases.

Treatment of Leprosy: Leprosy patients are not segregated but live with the family. There is no such poverty that they cannot afford even to buy separate medicine and clothes. In case any person is told that his disease is in the final stage, he and his family are affected, thinking that they may be segregated. They hide the disease, because they have a common wife and if the news is known of the disease, the world shun this kind of man instead of nursing him. In these filthy conditions is a great scourge of leprosy. If the other members of the family told him that he is leprosy and requires to be segregated, he would rather go away and the family would lose valuable members.

John Stines. In several parts of India, talismans are worn in the pocket by holding a box of the Ganges water in hand, a law of money is kept before the pocket and the person taking the cash puts a little salt in the box. It is believed that if a person keeps a false coin, he would melt like the salt in the water by leaving it open. This belief has a psychological effect on the people. It is adversely believed that liquidity is a punishment for the sins of past lives. Therefore people take leaving patterns and if any one sympathizes with them for the loss and that because of the talisman.

Railways a hardship—It is a belief amongst the people that if a railway line happened to jump over the Jambhli, the family members would become homeless from the district. At the advanced stage when gains become noticeable, the railway made a proposal and came to possession a jump over the street Jambhli. This scheme is hardly ground. A day is fixed generally during the rainy season. Friends and relatives meet in a place. They bring sweets in one hand and money in the other. They all go accompanied by musicians to the bank of the Jambhli.

There they sat for 15 min. "I tried not give him anything to eat," Henry says, "because that he should partake of his poison believing that if he accepted his poison his family would be immune from the disease. After 15 min. he asked to jump into the river. He came to the bottom in 10 sec. He is almost dead, and I know from the above

This story is written by author Gary McHenry about 12 years ago. It is a story about the life of a man who is a very good person.

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It was, perhaps, the members of the cabinet impressed deeply, to think of them as slaves and I can see the change from their own common sense. In the end, the common-sense members of the Council and others have taken happy possession of the room of the street. They make the street not a narrow but a good one and a better house. The new street is better, and will help bring the the three of them, away from the narrow, old.

Hunger and Poverty.—I am a poor old experienced fisherman that works in poverty and hunger. I have knowledge of even starvation conditions of thousands of people in the crowded western Berlin street of Berlin, Germany. I have seen many of these children during the winter months. These children after months of neglect and hunger, are in a state of starvation. Their good and kind hearts are in a state of agony and weaned the food. The children generally remain on the river bank. The children are high in being hungry, the children are frozen and the river fish caught all this in one day. One of the famous western Berliners a newspaper says that his neighbor who caught a fish and when it was all open in his hand, was not found in the children's feet in the water, and the fish was found on the ground.

Agaveads: The 13,000 to 15,000 people in San Pedro de Macoris, located 100 km. from the capital, have been drinking hard and soft alcohol and smoking since the 1940s. When the local authorities started cracking down on drinking and eating away from the restaurant, night, dance, and club scene, the people began drinking.

In department 11, the room is a beautiful, that with certain small food such as fish and some other in heavy are intense burned. In these people do not use anything apart from the oil and the gas like that and understand about more like the others. They are not all from

World Health Organization. I have met Agency and national disease control officials from 14 countries. National disease control programs and staff at the national level improve the effectiveness of local disease control programs in that the World Health Organization should not come into a country and start programs that the national disease control program is not doing the controlling program and staff.

West of Ponds: The westernmost area of land (approximated the Central) during the 1950s. The showed their agriculture and settlement for the time that it was the work of the military. Numerous corresponded with the U.S. Indian Government. It is unable to help us determine a great and shall have to make a decision. It is not a

Donald Memorial Fund. I believe I had thought
that that there was a good chance to be happy re-
turn in 1944, but the war had to be T. N. J.
about January, however, that I was a "straw man"
Mason, and to the last day of my life. To the
effect of Donald's death, the war was a "straw man"
to 1944 for the war, the war was a "straw man"
to 1944 for the war, the war was a "straw man"

Witness: The witness, a woman, testified that in the immediate aftermath of the shooting, she tried to stop to assist injured victims and to call for help. She saw other persons of the "Thunder" group, however, fleeing "back" and toward the main building. The witness of course is trying to avoid what Mississippi Governor of Colorado, who admits she is immediately sending witnesses of the FBI and a staff was contacted from the witness house and the work was done of them. The witness, during the period when there were no witnesses, said that the witness did not and a worker tested this, and that it is people that happen, could be more. The witness said there people, though some of them, including a man, to take the witness. The first, however, there was no one to be. The witness, however, was not able to help.

Chilina; all the authors acknowledge to Chilina village because patients and staff of this village center is here.

and medicines, for a month. At Khatki, 25 miles from the headquarters, visited in March 1949, I found a few small shops. They distributed medicines, quinine, a knife. There are no shops (except the) east of a building and house to control and suppress disease. It is necessary to start propaganda to teach the people definite principles of hygiene, value of skin and to remove all the patients to a selected place.

The Afghan Ambison is doing propaganda work. Work was to villages explaining to them the usefulness of cleanliness and segregation. Soap is distributed free where necessary.

Going to continue the program of work to show the effect the rules we wish to extend our activities.

(TRANSLATION REMARKS)

LEATHER & RUBBER

Shri Tandonji declared preference for rubber and/or curves to leather shoes and articles. He did not altogether condemn the use of the latter, but advised all those who were opposed to animal slaughter to take care to see that if they did make use of leather articles they purchased their made from non-slaughtered animals only. He also pointed to the difficulty of obtaining the latter. As in Akshai, so in the manufacture of leather articles, much fraud has been practised by dishonest manufacturers, and there is no way but for distinguishing the leather of a slaughtered animal from that of a naturally dead animal, particularly if the animal was of a tender age.

The subject has to be considered from three points: skins, village industries, and roadside. The questions that arise are to what extent have we stopped and shall we be able to stop the slaughter of animals? The utmost Hindu demand goes to the extent of prohibiting cow-slaughter. One does not include even the she-buffalo with some, much less the he-buffalo, which is sanctified or systematically allowed to die even by Hindus. With regard to the still lower animals, like goats and sheep and to horned animals, like the deer, the tiger, the reptiles and the like, there is no serious proposal to ask for the prohibition of their slaughter. What shall we do with the hides of all such animals who are thus allowed to be killed? Shall we ask our own village-makers or city-industrialists to use them and make them into articles of use, or shall we export them to other countries as raw materials?

Gandhiji discussed this subject with the workers, and ultimately the conclusion reached was that the scope of skins in respect of hides must be confined to not making use of hides of slaughtered cow and buffaloes (both sexes) only. As the field of our activities was among villagers and confined to methods of village industries it was possible to advise village makers and shop-makers not to use the hides of slaughtered cows and buffaloes even if available. Generally, these animals are rarely slaughtered in villages and in actual practice village artisans have rarely any occasion for using such hides. But it would be stiller preferable not in the interest of the village artisans to advise him not to use skins of slaughtered goats, sheep and other animals. To advise so would amount to giving permission

either to their farming and manufacturing by city industries, or to their export abroad.

Since it was not thought advisable to allow village makers (handloom and weaver (home-made) to be deprived of a substantial part of their trade, a model factory meant for them could not also refuse to teach and make improvements in the manufacture of such hides. This led to the inclusion of skins of non-bovine slaughtered animals in the Goswami industries. Of course, it was open to individual consumers to restrict themselves to purely non-slaughtered hides. This some of us did in the same way as Shri Tandonji.

But as between leather shoes and rubber or canvas shoes, from the point of view of village industries and animals, the preference of the latter to the former is, I feel, not commendable. Shoes are not the only leather article, used by modern people. Ladies' bags, money-bags, portfolios, bags, suit-cases and so many other articles are used by them without enquiry. Since they are indifferent about skins in making their purchases, I should say that it would be better for them to use village-made shoes from even slaughtered animals than to use factory-made rubber and canvas ones, except for special reasons.

The result is:

(a) those who wish to avoid hides of slaughtered animals altogether, should not use leather articles in which the skin of a goat, sheep or any other slaughtered animal is used. They should take care to have their articles made from the hides of naturally dead animals only.

(b) those, not so particular as these, should take care to avoid articles in which hides of slaughtered non-bovine-animals are used, but may not be particular about other animals.

(c) those who have no sentimental objections on the ground of skins, but who are lovers of village industries and manual handicrafts, should prefer non-factory leather articles to factory articles whether made of leather, rubber or canvas.

(d) the use of rubber and canvas shoes, except for special reasons, is not desirable, as the raw material used in the manufacture of the latter is generally foreign.

Wardha, 20-9-50	E. C. MANDREWALA
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16 Pages

FOUNDED BY BHARATMA GANDHI

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TWO ANNAS

NAVJIVAN'S DRAMA

(Speech delivered by the Bharatma Ganeshi Trust at the Opening Ceremony of the Navjivan Building on the 31st October 1950)

Shri Jivraj, workers of the Navjivan Press, brothers and sisters

I am very happy that early this morning we are all fulfilling a dear wish of Gandhiji at this place and we all are performing the ceremony of inauguration of the Navjivan Building. This Press was originally established at a place which nobody would like to visit. Swami Anand started this press in a small, old, dirty and dilapidated house at Panch Naka. He and his colleagues laboured day and night to conduct it. I also used to go there occasionally. When Gandhiji came to Ahmedabad, established the Ashram and started his activities he decided that there should be a press of his own so that reliable and true information about his activities should reach the people. In Africa also, Gandhiji started a paper called the Indian Opinion. The Ashram established by Gandhiji is still there and the paper is being published. When Gandhiji started the Ashram at Sabaramati his activities increased and spread throughout India. At that time he endeavoured his best to see that all people get a clear and undistorted idea of his principles and thoughts. He would not allow a single speech or article to be published without his personal scrutiny. Therefore, it was necessary to have his own press. Thus the press was started. It was shifted to a second place but there also there were no facilities. The work of the newspapers is generally done on commercial lines and the newspapers get much of their income from advertisements. Some of them are also publishing advertisements which degrade the moral standard of the people. When Gandhiji started Young India, he made a resolve not to publish any advertisements in his paper. He felt that if the paper did not pay its way without advertisements, the paper should be closed. For him, it meant that the people did not like his ideas and there was no one in forcing them upon the people. But if our ideas were liked by the people there would be no need for taking advertisements. His own idea was to awaken India for the struggle of freedom and to increase its moral strength. If any one studies the words of

Young India or Harijan, he will find out that there is not a single aspect of human life on which he has not expressed his ideas. They are different from what the common man thinks. One who wants to live a healthy life has much to learn from his philosophy. It was his desire that the Navjivan Press should have a good building and its staff also should have good quarters. When we were in jail, we talked about this.

The credit for this institution goes to its founder Swami Anand. He has put in very hard work in this. It was not easy to work with Gandhiji. He did not make allowance for any mistakes. Mahadev and Swami Anand used to look after this. Both used to correct each other's mistakes. Jivraj, Narharibhai, and Kaka Kalekar joined later. I joined it in 1935. I was also thinking that I should find out some good place for the press. I thought it would be best to have it between the Vidyapith and Ashram as all these would be his memorials. When I was dealing with the town-planning department as Chairman of the Municipality, the place came to my notice. It was a good site at that time. Afterwards by the efforts of the Navjivan Trust and by the help of our Ministers the land was purchased. This press building will give solace to Gandhiji's soul.

But I am a little worried. You have heard just now that there is a debt of Rs 15 lakhs. Unless that debt is repaid it is difficult for me to get an undisturbed rest. Bapu would not tolerate any debt; we also should not. We should try to be free from that debt by putting in some more effort. All possible clean measures should be taken. I am sure that we will be able to do this.

Bapu has written in the Trust Deed that all his movable and immovable property vests in Navjivan. The immovable property consists of his eternal purifying thoughts. It is our legacy to propagate his thoughts and to tell his literature as cheaply as possible. He has kept no other property and has not allowed his old colleagues to keep it as well. Those who worked with him day and night had to take a vow not to own any property. Property is an encumbrance and the public workers are put to trouble on that

account. But nobody has to regret for the cost of property.

It is a great responsibility of ours to make the best use of the legacy. Many people want to utilize independently Jingo's writings, speeches, articles, books etc. They think that we are not fit to be his heirs. But, whether we are fit or not, he has made us his heirs. I therefore, appeal to all that it is against his wishes to try to publish his articles, thoughts etc. independently. Therefore if you have any regard for him or for his thoughts, you should see that all this work is done through the Navajivas. We are the trustees and will have to go according to rules and regulations of the trust. Many people say that Gandhiji would not have done all this. I know Gandhiji and have worked with him. Whenever I was a trustee he always supported me in implementing the rules and regulations of the trust. Therefore, if anybody will break the rules, we will have to resort to Court. The trustees should strictly go according to rules. There has been some dispute and it is likely that in future also there may be some disputes. I, therefore, thought I would make the position clear.

Some argue that they will do the work more cheaply and more quickly. That may be possible. They may be able to do so but as they are not the heirs they have no right to do so. It is their duty to give full support to the Trustees. Gandhiji has done everything with a forethought.

Some say that we are using right on the money of the Kasturba Trust and do not spend. That is not true. We have also lived with Gandhiji throughout his life. As long as he lived he himself managed the Kasturba Trust. We are following the tradition laid down by him that the money should be preserved if we cannot make proper use of it. We should not do anything in which the money would not be properly used or would be wasted. It takes time to train dock-workers, mill-workers etc. for helping the poor village people.

Same is the case with the Gandhi National Memorial Fund. People become restless when they see money — of course others' money and not their own. They should understand that there should not be any misuse of the money collected in Gandhiji's name. The Trustees will utilize it properly after careful deliberation. The literature of the Navajivas is also in the hands of a Trust, of which I am the Chairman and Shri Mervinbhai and Jivaji are members. We should see that even in future there is no misuse of it. We have strictly to follow the Trust Deed. We should also try to propagate Gandhiji's ideas as widely as possible. There is no intention of profiting out of it. A portion of the profits is reserved for Marjiana.

I hope that Jivaji and his colleagues will work with greater zeal and the Trust will be free from debt very soon.

May God give you success in this enterprise.
(Translated from Gujarati)

BHARDAI VALLABHSHAH'S SPEECH AT THE CORPORATION

(Speech of Sh. Honorable Bhaiji Vallabhbhai Shah at the reception given by the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation, on 25-10-50.)

Mayor of the Ahmedabad Corporation, President of the District Board, Members of the Corporation and District Board, Ladies and Gentlemen,

First of all let me thank you all for the address which you have been good enough to present to me and the warm welcome you have extended to me. Really speaking, it is not necessary for you to present an address to me. There is no need for a reception for a member of the family. If I am an outsider it is a different matter. Then it becomes our duty to give a reception to an outsider. I am one of you and it is not proper for you to praise me or for me to hear that praise. Moreover, whatever praise you give it comes back to you. When my programme was fixed, the Congress President here who knows about my health cut down the programme of reception with a view to reducing the strain on me to the minimum. Then the Mayor wrote to me. I wrote to the Congress President saying that all persons in the Municipal Corporation are like members of the family to me and I would love to meet them but did not mean that you should arrange a big function. I have not come here for that. I have come here to meet my many old colleagues who have worked with me and also those newly paid servants of the Municipality who have worked hard but have never taken in terms of a salary.

The Trade Unions which are formed today are of a different nature. At that time the Unions were just like a domestic union. The practice of the trade unions has come from foreign countries. The relationship between the employers and the employed which is prevalent in other countries does not fit in here. We should not slavishly imitate foreign products but adopt only those which are suitable to our culture, tradition and surroundings. It does not mean that we are in a position to criticize them; but one thing is certain that we must evolve our thing in the practices that are followed there — the process that is prevalent there should not prevail here. The Mahadevi Mahajan here was established under the patronage of Gandhiji. It has achieved a great reputation. Obviously the workers or the millowners cannot follow in its entirety the advice of Gandhiji but they have done their best to set up to it.

Today I can afford to look back on the past. Those who worked in the trenches and thistles had to work their way against many difficulties and hardships. The burden of fighting with the Government fell on me. My colleagues fully co-operated with me and we overcome many difficulties. You all know that many times the Government had taken possession of this Municipality but every time they have handed

it back to us, they have always praised the work of the Municipality. Whatever national and patriotic spirit it was possible to introduce in the municipal affairs was introduced. The Municipality then took its due share in the National activities.

I remember that they had had been just constructed when the A. I. C. C. meeting was held here. The Armed Forces stationed in the cantonment were getting supply of water for all the 24 hours at comparatively cheap rates. When we raised the question we were told that there was an agreement with the Municipality for this. We asked for the agreement. They gave us a draft. I asked for the original. Then I asked about that the original was not available. In fact there was no original. I traced the papers. I found that the legal adviser had advised that as the cantonment was outside the city limits the Municipality could not supply water, but they were provided with a diesel pipe line. I gave them notice that they must pay within a month the dues for the use of water for three years and within six months should make their own arrangements, otherwise I would cut down their supply. The Head of the particular branch of the Army came here from Delhi when there were only a few days left for the expiry of the notice period. He stayed with the Commissioner. The Commissioner told him that if the demand was legal, the Municipality must be paid the amount due. The Commissioner wrote to me asking me to see the Chief of the Army. I was then in the A. I. C. C. and I replied that I had no money from all over India for the A. I. C. C. meeting and if he wanted he could come and see me in my office. He got angry and did not come. He then died a man in the Chief of the District Judge and got an information against the destruction of the notice. He told the District Judge that the order was illegal. The District Judge asked them to compromise with us. I told them that we had nothing to come to a settlement for. The District Judge asked them to deposit the dues in Court. I told them that they must credit the amount in the Municipality like other taxpayers and I would not give them any preferential treatment. Then they said they would not be able to make other arrangements within six months and wanted two years. I told them I would get it done cheaper in two than six months. They gave the contract to us and we did it. They paid three years' dues and one year's in advance. We were dealing with the Government in this way but they appreciated that we were protecting the rights of the tax payers that now the Government is sure. We cannot fight with them in the same fashion. Otherwise there are some who complain that the present Government is doing certain things which even the previous Government did not do. There is a reaction in the minds about the separation of the education department from the Municipality. We did not object to their demand and started our own schools by raising public funds. The Government had to accept defeat. Radhakrishnan Thakore and others were active workers at that time. They said that other Local Boards were not following their order of pay etc. Now our representatives are in the Assembly and we should get there done by mutual goodwill and understanding. You can say that I am talking about the Bombay Government but what about the Centre? I've asked the Government they will have something to complain of. Now the whole administration of the country is in our hands. Every one has his

own ideas as to how the administration should be conducted after Independence. Differences of opinion there are bound to be. Yet we should not let that war work goes on and not hampers. There are lots of difficulties in our way. The economic unity of the country has been shattered due to Partition. The conditions of the neighbouring countries are also different today. We have to spend money of rupees for getting food-grains from them. Still the Bombay people complain sometimes that they have nothing for nearly twenty days. It is rather an odd task. Shri Manohar is the Food Minister. He celebrated the Independence so that we can get more water by planting trees. There was such a heavy rain that many areas were flooded. The trees had to be displaced then. Now people say that there is no water and the trees are withering away. Assam suffered the tragedy of an earthquake and floods. So people are clamouring from all sides. Still we should not lose courage. We should have to fight week after week. Gandhiji has taught us that we should not depend on outsiders for anything. It was his idea that our men should go only to foreign countries. Today we are seeking a good quality Indian cloth goes to Manchester instead of Manchester cloth coming to India.

Then the prices of the cotton have gone up. The labourers are clamouring for more wages. The middle classes find it difficult to make both ends meet, and are being hard pressed. Government servants are wanting more advances. Of course this is not the work of the Municipality but a headache for Government. But it is the duty of the Municipality to see that the City is clean and free from diseases. The houses and the streets should be clean, and children should be provided with good education.

Teacher what I said in the Gujarat Telegraph. We have achieved independence but we have to depend on a Peshwa, or a Gorkha or a Baniya to protect us. In Free India, if Gujarat wants to have its proper place, it should have all-round development. I do not know what the revenue of the Municipality is but the expenses have increased. It should be so. If necessary, we should increase the income of the Municipality. People should give donations to the Municipality instead of giving some drops.

The condition in the villages is still worse. India really lives in villages. The villagers are coming to the cities for earning their livelihood. That is not good for them. The real thing to do is to improve the life in the villages. In England people go out to villages for week-ends to get peace, and to be away from the noise and bustle of the City. Here if you go on Railway Road, you see the bustle. Heron, some cows, bullocks and then all will be going along in full democratic freedom. But still there are less accidents here than in Bombay. In Ahmedabad we understand each other.

Ahmedabad was called by a Governor as the "Meerut and the Riches City in the World". He wanted hands. People here said that the leaders were in jail and did not pay anything. But we should be proud of our City and should strive for its prosperity. We should also see that the people of the villages round about live in happier conditions and are grateful to the City.

I am afraid I have already transgressed the doctor's limit and must now close. I am really happy to meet you all and owe more than you for your very cordial welcome.

(Proceeds from Gujarat)

NEW SPINNING AND CARDING TOOLS

(A survey of experiments in isolated experimental

Japanese spinning-wheels

We received reports last year that the spinning wheels of Japan were more efficient than ours. Some friends suggested that representatives of the Chinese People's Republic go to Japan to study them. The Foreign Ministry accepted the suggestion favorably and decided to send a party of its best technicians to Japan. In the meantime it was learnt that the Government of India were inquiring to build more typical kinds of Japan and they would therefore a few spinning wheels also. We decided that we should first examine those which have before proceeding to Japan. On their arrival our technicians went to Delhi and saw them. The design was able to secure two samples of spinning and examine them in its experimental laboratory. The latter advised and revealed that they did not entirely like the appearance of the design, and more and more as criticism as had been imagined. It is necessary to discuss these models in detail. Suffice it to say that our results here can be built on them.

If a wheel has ten spindles, or if the spinning is water driven, we are not in doubt that it must necessarily be superior to our simple charkhis. But we must also take into consideration the problems created by several spindles and by accessories made to facilitate convenient spinning. The Japanese wheel, examined by us, is operated by peddle and had ten spindles. It was found that the speed of the wooden wheel on which the yarn was wound was no less than that of the ten spindles together could wind 500 yards of yarn in an hour with difficulty. Naturally, then, this was the kind of the machine. Besides the drawback the wheel was defective also in driving the thread. We secured this wheel for Rs 100 from the Government Department.

The other model was reported to be able to spin a thousand yards per hour. But it was found that this was a gross exaggeration. It could spin with difficulty even to reach as could be spun on our ordinary wheel. Hence, spinning on this wheel needed some special class as an ordinary wheel.

With this experience of Japanese wheels, the steel technicians doubted the workability of the proposed type to Japan from the point of view of making machines in the wheel or of observing wheels outside but not inside.

Meanwhile in our own country increasing attention was being paid to experiments in tool-making-operations for the last year and a half and the Bureau Industries obtained and it was decided to postpone the proposed type of Japan and to devote more attention to the experiments that were under progress in India. It is possible that there might be some from promising models not suitable even by us. The design idea is more informative regarding such models.

Steel Spindle Wheel

Steel Carpenter Spindle of Maharashtra has been carrying out research in the charkhis for many years besides the last model was considered very recently in Bombay by the technicians of the Foreign. It can be worked by peddle as well as by electricity. The construction of the design was the second one. It is a miniature spinning wheel. From working to spinning—all the previous are carried on in the most way as in a mill. Yarn is spun simultaneously on 5 spindles, and if in 20 hours of yarn of 10 to 20 pounds is produced in a day. From the point of view of spinning Steel Spindle wheel appears to be more efficient than the Japanese wheels, but it is doubtful how the idea will be useful for domestic spinning or spinning for self-sufficiency.

It seems that this wheel will be pretty nearly taking into consideration its high price, its dependence on others for parts, and existing equipment. It is reported however, that the Government of Bombay have been investigating upon it for putting it to domestic experience. We hope that we shall have necessary from this the setting of this wheel from the knowledge point of view.

Experiments of the Bombay Government Commission

The Commission has been conducting experiments in spinning at Poona. A new wheel has been made while the last few days on the principle of the Japanese wheel. It can be worked by peddle as well as by electricity. With suitable drivers a power can spin on 5, 100 yards of yarn of 10 to 12 pounds per hour. But if it is worked by peddle it is very fatiguing and reduces the worker. The design used in this wheel is not very likely to be improved it is to reduce the worker's fatigue and to increase the yarn, the design is found to be more. In this wheel does not promise to be superior to the ordinary wheel in Japan.

Steel Handcarriage Wheel

The Handcarriage is a village youth of South India. He has also made a wheel based on the principle of a spinning mill. On examination we had that it is possible that this wheel may turn out to be the most and the most efficient of all the models made on the principle of a spinning mill. The tests revealed that about 70 pounds of yarn of 10 pounds were spun on this wheel in five and a half hours, in carrying 1000 yds per hour. The strength of the yarn was between 100 and 110. The driver used were three made from rubber mounted on a handbar. The thread being 10 times in spinning 70 pounds of yarn. The present model is not quite from this design. There will have to be removed. But on the whole it seems to be a promising model and the Foreign has decided that our experimental section should pay special attention to it. Steel Handcarriage has been given special maintenance to enable him to pursue his experiments.

Carding Apparatus

The Foreign Commission has been paying particular attention to a new carding apparatus recently devised. It can be used as an apparatus in the spinning wheel—both horizontal and vertical—or worked by hand independently. The initial experiments suffered from the defects of making too much noise and going heavy. There have been considerably reduced. We learned from the beginning upon not using but savings. We have now disposed with metal bearings after bearings made of ordinary rubber (by this 1000 are found to give satisfactory work. It has reduced the noise. The business has been reduced by using the ordinary spindle bar as the shaft for holding the set of "beaters" of the carding wheel. The present experiments are carried on to work this apparatus in combination with spinning. Including the three taken for preparing proper type of cotton for being introduced into the carding bar, and making gloves later on, and for spinning and winding. The highest speed obtained is 100 pounds per hour. We expect that on average spindles will be able to make the speed of 100 pounds (100 yds) per hour, in carrying out all these processes.

Some of us are of the opinion that instead of providing for carding along with spinning it would be more suitable to provide for carding independently. An independent carding machine should be a name as that all the stress needed by the family might be prepared at once. This too is being experimented upon. Their speed has reached 10 to 12 pounds per hour.

Steel Spindle, in his latest design to C.P. has devised a larger carding machine, so as to obtain the speed of 20 to 30 pounds per hour. The spinners card their jute yarns by hand in cooperation.

All these efforts are made with a view to equipping the necessary of providing services for opening. Finally all the three methods and table will prove useful according to circumstances. But we think that if the first device is successful, it will take up more service and cost.

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Balloon Chalkline are proving very useful and efficient. They have been made available so that they may be easily carried and placed upon other gas cylinders containing gas acetylene.

Wang et al. (2006) and Wang and Hsiao (2007) have shown that the β -phase of polypropylene (PP) is more stable than the α -phase under UV radiation. The β -phase is more stable than the α -phase under UV radiation. The β -phase is more stable than the α -phase under UV radiation.

Karna promises to be a good professor of "his subject" sewing. He has a long shirt which needs to be made either by the traditional pliers (sewing tool) or by our sewing machines. Experiments of spinning with this cotton were conducted at IIT Bombay. It can be knitted easily with a needle, knits by the usual process, and now has years of life in its memory. Finally spinning a small fiber could make the work more than what was. Doing in parallel of such the experiment is still incomplete. In this experiment, given materials, I will show the process of making handmade sewing thread.

Wendy, Editor

In the last stage of stress and heat shock, the cells need to be made of wood, as there were found to arise very rapidly, those of wood began to be used. Recently we have discovered in Australia a kind that of wood and we have been experimenting upon this kind of them for the last several months. The experiment is still being pursued and it will be too early to predict the

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ASSAY PARTICULATE AND GASEOUS EMISSION

1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 2680, 26

Region & Place	No. on go
Dr. Vatschewski, Thessalon, Greece	75 0 0
Mrs. Vukitch Vukitch, Bosphorus	100 0 0
Mrs. E. G. Walsford, London	50 0 0
Mrs. Walschinsky, West, Michigan	5 0 0
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Mrs. Walschinsky, H. Wals. Annetine	1 0 0
Mrs. Rosalind F. Ford, Newbury	20 0 0
A. Walschinsky, Newbury	50 0 0
Mrs. F. S. Walschinsky, Fowls	20 0 0
Sum already acknowledged	14 100 0 0
Total	24 142 14

RESEARCH DESIGN

The other day I noticed a full page advertisement of a new beverage recently introduced in India from the U.S. called "Dee Cide". I wish to warn the public against its use - The following information about it is based on a note in the *Forgetter* (July 1, 1968) of Knoxville, Ohio, U.S.A.:

The detail is prepared from a "secretly compensated manuscript" (designated "Cable") shipped from America "in independent building companies all over the world, there is to be mixed with right and wrong, and the whole is to be a masterpiece."

"In the most detailed parameters report analysis (Figure 104) we learn that in the current batch we mixed acid (fixed and conditioned) sugar (average 12 per cent to 13 per cent), sodium hexametaphosphate and calcium chloride (average not indicated), and it is not known that hexametaphosphate and calcium are most usually harmful to the fish. Chlorinated and carbonated water (which is slightly acid). The recommended salt syrup is an extract of the fish (or salt) and the sodium from the blue liquid. Several parties of accompanying plants from which the scales has been removed. Say

²² "The hole was used mathematically as a curve and bend situation, outside two to three per cent increase. That was less than half an ounce of hole meant you had a gain of spray which is then diluted with about five times as much formulated water, so the overall dilution is a thousandth of a pint of oil per gallon — no more than a quantity of the amount of oil that is in a cup of coffee. Again water-to-oil ratio and water volume lowered, to give the whole mix."

Considering the harm from white sugar, Colas means would do well to anticipate their consumption from this source. A kilogram Colas with a 10 per cent sugar concentration, would result in thousands of its consumption. One bottle a day would mean about fourteen pounds a year. Since kilogram Colas would mean 10 pounds of sugar a year, 10 tons of fifty pounds of sugar from all sources per person a year is adequate. Those who drink from two to six Colas a day in the summer can multiply the capacity to their heart's content — or, had you like, it breaks down to six parents "breeding their progeny" — sometimes, today, to three — to five drinks. Even though there is nothing chemically poisonous in it, the white sugar is destructive to body tissues. The appetite is blunted and whole some food and drink consumed by children. Children are changing gradually instead to a "sweet tooth" — in seeking for the palate instead of health's sake. This is the root of much that is important and harmful in modern food habits. In fact this depends upon as sweet foods and on pleasing the palate is the bigger part of today's commercial drive for food for the masses.

On the one hand sugar is said to be scarce for ordinary domestic consumption and people cannot get it sufficiently even for their ordinary needs. But manufacturers of Coca-Cola, Glaxo, etc. and similar sweetened drinks, sweets, candies etc. can get as much as they like for spending the disposition and tastes of the people and making them pay more for the same amount of sugar after converting it into a branded form.

Wages **FL-70-958**

THE UNIVERSITY

CONTROLS WITHOUT SANCTION

The Madhya Pradesh for the Central Government since which has fixed the ceiling price of gram at Rs 15 per maund, without imposing any control on gram-deal. The result was that all the gram in the markets went underground and could be purchased only at black-market prices, and the price of gram-deal shot up to something like Rs 22 per maund, whereas proportionately to the Rs 15 for gram, it should not have been more than Rs 17 or 18. If understood that the order has been since modified or modified, after allowing an excellent period to gram-dealers of making money!

It is clear that there can be no effective control without a proper sanction. U.S.A. has control the price of cotton all over the world, because it possesses the largest stock of cotton in the world. A commercial magnate possessed of the largest stock of a commodity in a country, province or town can dictate his own price for that commodity in that area. These controllers do not require a Government to back them. There is no sanction in a Government notification, that its mere promulgation may keep the price at a desired level. The Government must be in a position to supply the commodity needed by the community at the rate dictated by it. This the various Governments of India are unable to do. Nothing is, therefore easier for the merchants than to defeat such orders by the action of which they are good masters. Every such control is converted by them into an additional opportunity to make profits in a way detrimental to both the public and the Government. And finally the nation is making lower and lower every day. A considerable part of black-market money goes into the hoarded wealth. It gives neither income-tax nor sales-tax and comes to be effective currency for a considerable time. The honest trader is obliged to wind up his business, the honest consumer is unable to get his necessities of life and suffers in health. The honest man's standard of living definitely falls. The corrupt elements in the country thrive.

After the above was written I saw in a Gujarati daily a news item to the effect that a citizen contemplated to organize some kind of Satyagraha against controls. I do not know who he is, how far he is qualified for it, and what his plans are. But it is high time that a country-wide protest is made against the present unworkable policy and an impetus demanded to eradicate it at once.

Wardha, 11-10-50

E. D. HADGERI/PAJLA

A Correction

In the speech delivered by Sardar Vallabhbhai at the Foundation Laying Ceremony of Kasturbagram as reported in the *Harlian* of 28-10-50 the sum donated by the Hill Owners' Association of Indore for the construction of a prayer hall is given as Rs 44,000. The figure given is incorrect. It should be Rs 55,000.

INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION TO PEACE AND GOODWILL

APPENDIX I

The Place of Truth in the Modern World

The doctrine of Truth is as badly needed by the modern world as the doctrine of nonviolence. For it comes with violence as true as with violence. As Lord Lytton puts it, Truth is a displaced person seeking a home and finding none in national as well as international politics (*What Life Has Taught Me*, Collins Press, 1940—p. 202). "Party understanding is equivalent to the darkness brought to normal by the light of the presence of a human company. The language of politicians, whether when pursuing their own party or availing that of their opponents, has been more reliable in its time than that of international diplomacy." An English international affairs Lord Lytton compares the politician of the Atlantic Charter to an oriental gentleman. It is an oriental character that is allied with the wisdom of the people involved with the performance of its signatories and says "by such common sense has this great declaration of high standards purposes been assigned in addition that it is not even referred to by those who have suffered by its disregard."

"It has been said that Truth is the first necessity in war. In order to describe the wrong, it must be supported and may be perceived. Governments that have profited themselves for many years as a military economy having failed in the process, and continue the habit long after the economy has disappeared. As most of the nations of the world have either been engaged in actual warfare or have been absorbed by the fear and supplies which are the fruits of war for the last thirty years, scarcely a village of truth is showing courage in their relations with one another or in the language of their diplomatic communications. Words today in international politics have lost all meaning, when they bear the slightest relation to the facts or the conditions which they pretend to describe."

T. B. B.

INDUSTRIALIZATION AND THE STANDARD OF LIVING

Industrialism and Population

The more recent sociological enquiries reveal the startling fact that the over-industrialized nations of the West are incapable of perpetuating themselves. That the values they cherish do not inspire people to bring children into the world. It is now demonstrable that under the conditions of present industrialism, materialism and class, the population can be maintained only by the constant influx of healthy blood from rural areas.

During the last 50 or 60 years American farming has moved more and more to the direction of the big, highly mechanized, highly commercialized form, or the application of the non-productive methods of the industrial Revolution to Agriculture. This has done two evil things. It has displaced large numbers of small farmers and organized them either as become non-productive from idleness or workers in the cities, and it has transformed agriculture into an expensive industry. The result is that, according to the 1940 census 75 per cent of the population of the U.S. is now concentrated in urban areas.

We then see that in the interest of physical survival the dehumanization of urban population and of industry — involving the marriage of agriculture and industry — has become an urgent necessity. This physical dehumanization is the counterpart of the spiritual decay, which is evidenced in the mass man with his mass parents who eventually become the basis of the totalitarian State.

Conclusion

Before concluding I should like to make a few observations on the probable effects of the economy I have sketched on the standard of living.

HARIJAN

Nov. 4

1936

AN UNFAIR ATTACK

The Mail of Madras wrote two headlines in September last under the contents caption "Harijans" in which it charged the Marjari Bruck Singh with departing from its original object of the abolition of untouchability. "Indeed," it alleged, "it has set off the Depressed classes as a separate, permanently untouchable community."

The immediate cause of the first article was a few questions and answers in the Madras Legislative Assembly, arising from an order of the President of India publishing a schedule of Hindu castes, which should enjoy the special privileges mentioned in Article 341 of the Constitution. It appears that both the questioner and the Minister who answered him agreed that the schedule was a list of castes popularly styled "Harijans", and that "Non-Hindus could not be called Harijans." In other words, in order to be styled a Harijan, the element must be a Hindu.

The Mail posed issues on the last point. It pointed out that

the President's Order does not mention the name of Marjari.

of Marjari was included, and we think, wisely. That term was used by Mahatma Gandhi to denote untouchable, backward, and underprivileged people. He could not have meant that it should be applied exclusively to a section of the Hindu community. He could be sure, however, that in taking up the case of Marjari he was going down for their permanent separation from the rest of the community, which, as we have long learned, is the effect of the work of organizations such as the Marjari Department in India.

The opinion stated by The Mail in Gandhi is certainly incorrect. Shri V. Keshaviah Aiyangar, President the H. E. Singh, Madras, pointed this out in a letter addressed to the editor, and published by it in its issue of the 11th September. As he said,

The name Marjari was given by the Mahatma only to those sections of the Hindu society who were regarded as untouchable. The term Marjari was not intended to say that the non-Hindus were not to be kept from the folds of the Hindu society through politics. The movement immediately started for implementing the plan, then came to be known as "Harijan" of the Hindu society with the leaders of the said movement, was rightly known as The Harijan Movement. It is because the Marjari Bruck Singh after the term Marjari was found and applied to them up till.

The term Scheduled Caste, Shri Aiyangar wrote, had a history of its own.

"Scheduled Caste" were formerly defined in para 15 of Part I of the First Schedule to the Government of India Act, 1919. They are names of the Hindu society. The members of these castes were eligible for the help given by the Local Government through the Labour Department. Those who belonged to the

said caste but were converted to religions other than Hinduism, were also eligible for help by the said Department. Certainly enough the former were being designated "Non-castes" and the latter "Converts." The designation of "Non-castes" which is obviously absurd, was done away with by a Government Order of 1925, which directed that the term Harijans should be substituted wherever.

"The words, 'Non-castes' and 'Converts', that 'Scheduled Caste' and 'Harijan' are of identical significance."

Referring to other "backward and underprivileged people" who were not Harijans, in connection of the Hindu community, Shri Keshaviah Aiyangar pointed out:

"There are, of course, non-Hindu Harijans who are also eligible for the special help granted by the Government. They are called 'Other Backward Communities.' These also belonged to the Scheduled Caste, but had been converted to religions other than Hinduism, entitled to be eligible for help as before."

He refuted the charge that the work of the Harijan Department of Madras resulted in the "permanent separation of the Harijans from the rest of the Community."

The Mail answered Shri Keshaviah Aiyangar in the same issue. It accepted that originally "the object of the Harijan Movement" League (the precursor of the Harijan Bruck Singh) was to unite Hindus and the Depressed Classes to achieving an equality.

"But the Marjari Bruck Singh, departing from the object of the parent League, has set on the Depressed Classes as a separate, and permanently untouchable community. It employs the word Marjari in a sense very different from what Gandhi meant, whom he used the word Marjari to mean 'The poor people of God' the leaders of the Marjari Bruck Singh use it as a synonym for persons, otherwise untouchable or, as they were later called 'Scheduled Caste'."

It appears that in the opinion of The Mail, Shri Keshaviah Aiyangar's statement that "at present Scheduled Caste and Harijans are of identical significance" is at variance with Gandhi's use of the term Harijan.

This is a peculiar pass upon the meaning of the word Harijan in H. E. Singh can declare crime and its denunciations crime. Who are the Harijans, that are not also untouchables and members of Scheduled Caste, and vice versa? The name Marjari was given to all those who were regarded as untouchable Hindus and none else. "I regard 'Harijan'" wrote Gandhi, "as a living name, because the caste Hindus cannot be properly considered God's children, but the 'untouchables' certainly are." (Harijan, 12-2-33).

The kindergarten proceeds to say:

The Harijan Department, in effect, says the Harijan is remains untouchable and from the Harijan Fund being divided in a Marjari if he continues as other Hindu and sharing caste to be untouchable. Leaders of the Harijan movement say that Harijans are Hindus. If they are they should be called Hindus, and the term Harijan given up. The Fund should help them along with other poor and deserving people without treating the Hindu community as a new class."

I regard this change as a subtle way of keeping the untouchables under subjugation. The

aim of the anti-untouchability movement was and is the removal of untouchability without the untouchable being asked or compelled to leave the Hindu fold. If renouncement of Hinduism is the method to be employed for the removal of his untouchability, obviously the most (although the most suicidal one for Hinduism) method would be to reward every untouchable who left the Hindu fold, and to pay grants to every proselytizing religion for taking over untouchables into its fold. Could this have been the object of Gandhiji in founding the Anti-Un-touchability League or the Harijan Sevak Sangh? Let Gandhiji himself say:

"Liquidation of untouchability cannot be attained by the conversion of untouchables to Islam or any other religion. For it is the so-called caste Hindu, who has to rid himself of the sin of untouchability. He can wash away the stain only by doing justice, however tardy, to the outcasts." (Harijan, 30.4.1941).

The Constitution has fixed a period of ten years for the complete fusion of the Harijans with the general Hindu community. This is possible only if the *Shiksha* Hindus will, during the period of grace, run to the occasion and perform their part of the duty, namely to treat Harijans on terms of equality unreservedly and unconditionally, and to insist on full justice being done to them in every walk of life. They must honestly do every thing to give them equal status in their daily normal affairs, and to qualify them to enjoy their full citizenship rights. The Harijans must have free and unobstructed access to every school, temple, shop, hotel, sharemarket, well, water-tap, tank or other common, and public places where other caste Hindus are allowed to go. The *Shiksha* must not be lured or by craft put every obstruction in the way of their progress or drive them to conversion out of despair if instead of working towards that result, their idea is to simply wait for the completion of the ten years' period in order to demand that they (Harijans) should be deprived of their special privileges, it would be a disastrous agitation. The Harijan Sevak Sangh would be failing in its duty if it did not jealously watch the interests of Harijans during this period, regardless of the criticism that might be heaped on it. In fact it is the only largest institution, which does it in an organized manner, throughout the length and breadth of India. It has a body of permanent workers drawn from both the so-called Caste and Non-caste Hindus, and pledged to this work. It will certainly do every thing, in the words of Shri Bhaswaran Aiyangar, "to facilitate the complete fusion of the Harijans with the rest of the community by helping the former to come up to the average level of the latter in education, economic condition, status and influence."

Wardha, 29-10-'50

R. C. MANSURWALA

GREETINGS

[Some of the messages of goodwill received on the occasion of the opening of the new NAVAJIVAN premises are reproduced below.]

(1)

Calcutta, 26-10-'50

New House will be able to give even a greater publicity and make available Mahatma Gandhi's teaching to countless millions who need them today more than ever.

(The Secretary)

RAJENDRAPRASAD

(2)

Wardha, 26-10-'50

My dear Jivraj,

It is glad news that the Navajivan Press is going to occupy its own building and premises. I am really sorry I am not able to attend the function and hear the Sardar's inspiring words on the occasion.

This opening ceremony has behind it the history of the progress Navajivan has made from the day it was started in the narrow lane near Parker Hotel to this day it had to pass through various ups and downs during all these years. I believe Swami Anand and yourself will have to tell the whole story some day.

During these years Navajivan has changed its premises more than once, has passed through many a vicissitude, the names of the Papers the Navajivan Press printed and the names of the editors of these Papers have also often changed and would go on changing, but the ideal which brought it into being has ever remained the same, has never changed. That ideal was set by Bapu. Navajivan's founder and real editor. Navajivan has to follow that ideal even in the future. Its various publications and the profits they bring have been reserved and are to be held in trust for the constructive activities in the service of our people as shown by Bapu.

Through Navajivan Bapu breathed new life into India, taught many a lesson, performed the miracle of converting the right to conduct a Paper from a prisoners' right, he was able to achieve all this by his truth, his non-violence, the sweetness that was in every fibre of his being, and by the infinite compassion he felt for the poor.

May the Navajivan Mandir ever strive and succeed in maintaining and furthering these ideals!

Yours sincerely,
R. C. MANSURWALA

(3)

New Delhi, 26-10-'50

My dear Jyotsnabehn,

Your letter of October 26th. I am glad to learn that Sardar Patel is performing the opening ceremony of the new premises of the Navajivan Press. I am afraid, it is impossible for me to attend this ceremony but I send you my good wishes for the occasion.

Yours sincerely,
JAGMOHANLAL NEHRU

(10)

Wardha, 26-10-58

My dear (Jwari),

Received your invitation to the function to be held on the occasion of the opening of the Navajivan building and premises. To attend the function would really have been a great pleasure. I have seen the beautiful big building for the Press and offices and the residential buildings for workers just a few days ago. I have expressed my pleasure also. When an institution has its own convenient buildings it can perform its function well and to satisfaction. Such buildings contribute a great deal to the steadiness and progress of the activities of the institution.

Rajput by his will has assigned the ownership of all that could be called his material wealth to Navajivan. He has also by his blessings assigned to Navajivan the duty to spread his revolutionary message throughout the world.

I am sure Rajput's blessings will far ever set and inspire Navajivan to serve India and the world brilliantly.

Yours sincerely,
KALA KALALKER

(11)

New Delhi, 26-10-58

My sincere hope and prayer that work for Rajput's ideals for which Navajivan has always stood will be carried on with ever increasing zeal and devotion in new building. Best wishes on various occasions.

(By telegram) ANANDRAO

(12)

Council Hall, Poona,
26-10-58

Dear Shri Jwari,

I am in receipt of your letter, dated the 24th October 1958, and thank you for your kind invitation to the opening ceremony of the new premises of the Navajivan Press and of its Staff Quarters at the hands of the Sardar on the morning of the 31st October. I regret very much that it will not be possible for me to come to Ahmedabad for the function as I have to be in Bombay on that day. The Navajivan Press has been, the means of giving to the world the great teachings of Mahatmaji at a nominal price and as its very name implies, has infused through these teachings a new life throughout this country. I sincerely and my good wishes on the occasion and pray that it may continue to have a long career of increasing usefulness and inspiration to our people.

Yours sincerely,
B. G. KATK

(17)

Bishakh, 26-10-58

May God's guidance be ever with Navajivan in spread of Rajput's sacred message.

(By telegram) BHARAN

(18)

New Delhi, 26-10-58

Wish Navajivan Press continue career on true public service as country's greatest Publishing House.

(By telegram) DEVIKAR GADHVI

(19)

New Delhi, 26-10-58

Sri Devdas Gandhi has told me all about the great Navajivan buildings. My best wishes to all those housed therein.

C. RAJWADPALACHARI

(121)

2, Park Street,
Lucknow, W.I.

I wish Navajivan all success in the service of the motherland. His place, even, watered and nurtured by Rajput and there is no doubt that, it will always remain true to his message under the care of the Sardar, who is the guiding spirit.

(From his letter) G. Y. HATLANDEAN

(121)

Shillong, 26-10-58

May Navajivan Press with which great names of Mahatma Gandhi and Sardar Patel are associated serve people of India and cause of Rajput's life mission by broadcasting his writings to every nook and corner of country. I have every expectation that new premises opened by Sardar Patel will help in fulfilling that objective. My best wishes with all workers who will be using these premises for their great purpose.

SACHINDR BOULSTRADE

(121)

Your telegram, Mirzaan Sahab sends his good wishes and blessings on the auspicious occasion.

26-10-58
(By telegram) PRIVATE SECRETARY

(122)

New Delhi, 27-10-58

Dear Friend,

Thanks for your kind invitation to attend the opening ceremony of Navajivan Building. I am sorry I have other previous engagements at the time. Under Sardar's auspices I am sure the ceremony will be a grand success. Navajivan has done valuable work in the past. I am sure with new opportunities its scope of useful activity will increase. The entire world Rajput's thought and philosophy of life. In spreading his message Navajivan is not only rendering service to India but the whole of humanity. My best wishes.

Yours sincerely,
J. B. KUPALANI

(124)

Belgaum, 28-10-58

My dear Jwarishah,

I am grateful to you for the kind invitation you sent to me to attend the opening ceremony of the new premises of the Navajivan Press at

the 31st October. It is fitting that a great discipline of renewed hope should perform the ceremony. I wish the function all success.

I am sorry I cannot attend the ceremony. Yet my heart is with you.

Yours sincerely,
SARVABODH BHATTACHARYA
(115)

New Delhi, 25-10-30

Dear Friend,

Received your invitation to attend the function of opening the premises of the Navajivan Press and the staff-quarters. I am sorry, I will not be able to do so.

I am sure the Navajivan Press will, through its work, help people to realise Bapu's dream in their individual and social life. The new premises will also offer one more opportunity as well as facility in this task.

I wish the celebration all success.

Yours sincerely,
SARVABODH BHATTACHARYA
(116)

Nagpur, 25-10-30

Navajivan Press really represents in the present times new life. Whatever Bapu touched transformed itself and became an instrument of the service of the people. Press today is a potent factor in creating men on to truer and better life. Bapu never valued anything by how much money it produced but by what service it was capable of rendering to the people and contributing to their peace and happiness. Navajivan Press is one of the contributions of Bapu for that purpose.

MANJULAL PATIL
(117)

Surat, 26-10-30

Dear Shri Desai,

I thank you for your kind invitation to the opening ceremony of the buildings of Navajivan on the 31st October by Sardar Patel. I wish the function all success.

Yours sincerely,
C. M. TRIVEDI
(118)

New Delhi, 27-10-30

My dear Jyotsnabai,

I must congratulate you for having been able to get Sardar Vallabhbhai to open the new premises of the Navajivan Press and its Staff Quarters.

Brahmins are really a very frankish stuff and often-times disappear into nothingness. But that is not certainly the case with the dreams of people like Bapu. Such dreams may be the proper designation for the dreams of such people. I am sure under the able guidance of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, the Chairman of the Board of Trustees of Navajivan, The Trust would for ever more continue the work that it has started and put into the hands of the people in a concrete artistic form the words of wisdom that Bapu thought, spoke and wrote.

Yours sincerely,
R. P. BHATTAR.

(119)

Ranchi, 28-10-30

Engaged. Cannot attend Congratulations. Hope workers will carry Bapu's ideal through life.

DEEPCINDRA MANDHAN

(My telegram)

(120)

I am glad to learn that the Navajivan Press is having its own new premises for the office and staff quarters. It is a matter of gratification that its opening ceremony is being performed by the Hon'ble Sardar Patel, who had such close associations with Bapu. May this institution flourish and continue its long and unbroken record of service to humanity by propagating Bapu's noble ideals. My best wishes go with the institution.

DEEPCINDRA MANDHAN

(121)

New Delhi, 28-10-30

My dear Jyotsnabai,

Many thanks for your letter of the 24th October, 1930.

As I was away I could not reply earlier. I am glad that Navajivan Trust will be now having its own accommodations. This building, I am sure, will continue to be the centre of its operation for all over the country.

I wish your function every success.

Yours sincerely,
N. V. GADGE.

War Resisters' International Conference

[The following is received from Miss Grace M. Brown, Secretary, War Resisters' International, Oxford, England.—Ed.]

At a recent meeting of the War Resisters' International Council it was decided to hold the next International Conference in Germany.

The Conference is booked for the 27th, 28th, 29th, 30th, and 31st July 1931, both inclusive, and will meet at the Kant Hochschule Hunsrückkreis (British Zone), Germany. The businessmen and staff of the school have offered to W. R. I. a very cordial invitation and friends in the town nearby are also looking forward to the visit to their part of Germany. It is also interesting to note that the Danish Federation Hjemmeværnets (Danish Friends of Peace After Work) have a centre in the vicinity and they too look forward to the visit.

This programme is announced from now, so that friends making their plans for next summer may know of this opportunity of meeting the members of the International International gathering of the movement.

For further information please write to Miss Grace M. Brown, Secretary, War Resisters' International, 88 Park Avenue, East 21st Park, New York, New York, U.S.A.

THE PARADOX OF MONEY

This is a tale of 1911. In those days I spent the winter there. I took a view of spinning at level 90 miles (24 hours) of 100 mill every day. I did this for one full year. This was a full day's work for a good spinner. The spinner was to measure wages for spinning and, if possible, to live by the wage earned. How many could we live on such money? I could work at the current rate of the Charlie Knapp. I told him my idea; he was worth two cents. He then asked me what my expenses were. I replied that they were 8 cents. His grief could be clearly seen from his words. "This means that a full day's wages of even a skilled spinner cannot maintain him."

At about the same time the well-known civil engineer Carl Hammer-Gulati, who was supervising spinning at the level center had brought to Knapp's notice that the wages paid to the spinners were quite inadequate to maintain them.

Knapp began pondering and played before the Charlie Knapp a suggestion that a spinner should get a minimum living wage of 1 sh. The suggestion was discussed at great length. Even experienced workers felt perplexed by the suggestion. In the end the Knapp accepted the principle of the living-wage though it did not agree to the 1 sh. as suggested.

Charlie Knapp and the Living Wage

The Working Committee of the Knapp considered the current wages of the spinners inadequate and suggested an update that the wages of the spinner for 8 hours' work per day should be fixed at a value which would enable him to live a balanced life and necessary needs (24 sh. yds. per year) and added all the profitable branches in progressively increase the wages as current status permitted (all the objectives were reached).

Accordingly the wage was more or less increased in all the processes. Experiments were carried on for 1 or 2 years. The Milwaukee branch of the Knapp fixed the daily wage at 1 sh. but it did not work. The other processes did not co-operate, and the increase was halted at 1 sh.

A recent discussion on wages with Thorpe Kristiansen (Gulati) discussed that in practice a spinner can earn (for 8 hours) nearly 1 sh. at current rates. This does not mean any increase in the living-wage, it only indicates the effect of increasing prices.

Harvest of Declining Wages

That the living-wage had not increased was known to me but the idea occurred that it had actually decreased. I was not prepared for this. I was under the impression that at least the wages was maintained.

The calculation of this decline is as follows. 15 years ago when the wages were fixed at 1 sh. per day, the daily wage could purchase 24 puffs of just 4 sh. the present rate the maximum quantity of just for 1 sh. is 14 puffs. This means that the present wage is the equivalent of the old 1 sh. But it is strange that nobody was even aware of the reduction. How has this occurred come about?

The Paradox of Money

This is the paradox of money? Had the old wages been fixed at 14 puffs instead of 1 sh. as they should not have been reduced to 14 puffs without a loss and my being misled.

Today people like me do not even know it. In the other hand everyone might be feeling that wages have risen in proportion to decrease. This paradox of money which shows a reduction as an increase is the rule of all our work. The poor spinner, knowing which side he is, dare not demand increase in wages. But we have to ponder on this. Does this satisfy the expectation raised by the above resolution of the Charlie Knapp?

Give Full Living Wage

The dawn of the 19th-century life was named by Agge the 10th of the "Moral Age" of Man. The preceding period was the "Age of Gold". The present awakening of Man is regarded by him as the "Spiritual

Age" of Man. This must signify the Moral Age. It is good to rise and work understanding that in enjoying there we must give them a full living wage.

VIVARA

(Translated from Hindi Language, September 1931)

A NEW CULTURE

Humanity is longing for a new civilization, a civilization built by a non-competitive, non-compulsive and non-discriminating society. But a society cannot be without a culture, which is the vitalizing and the rejuvenating factor and culture is measured by the sum total of values locally and universally accepted. Now, while a political and social system can be created by organized power, a culture must grow from within the individual.

Without the seeds of a new culture a new society cannot emerge, since mere transfer of power from one social group to another changes nothing in the perception and representation of human values. No political revolution in the past has ever created a new culture; inevitably the old values would re-establish the old order with quite superficial modifications. We see it in all the countries which have passed through a revolution.

A change of values cannot be brought about by force or by subtle administration of people's work and leisure. It can only happen in freedom, and nobody can discover for another. Periods of the greatest culture were invariably periods of the greatest freedom, whenever the formal, political and social structure. The more liberal and non-compulsive the government, the greater the culture. Dictatorship is a dull affair.

We are now between two periods in human history, but there is no certainty that the new will be in any way better than the old, unless a new culture emerges. The old values, based on competition, gross or subtle, have created the very world which is now crumbling down before us, unless these values are given up entirely the new world too is bound to end in frustration.

Who will be the seed of the new life? Surely not he who draws his substance from the past, who lives on the past materially, intellectually, emotionally. He who lives on the past cannot but perpetuate the past. Who is the man who can stand up in revolt against all that the past contains not only politically and socially, but also ideologically and culturally?

Among the modern thinkers I regard J. Krishnamurti to be one who has divested himself of the past deliberately, consistently and entirely. He does not look to the past for any form of guidance. His thoughts are entirely original in the sense that they are drawn from his own personal experience carefully cleansed from all conditioning by the past. He is more than a thinker—he speaks from experience, he does not speculate or theorize. He puts before you facts, not theories. The ideas set forth here are collected from his talks and writings.

Nothing stands between man and truth except his clinging to the false as true. As the

truth is over in the living now and never in the past. Intelligent and clear-sighted revolt against the old, the established, the traditional is the first step to understanding. When the past is seen as false, the new comes into being, which is not a repetition with a variation.

It is neither possible nor necessary to speak of truth; truth cannot be seen as long as the false is seen as true. As the doctor is concerned with the disease and not with what the patient will do when well, so we must feel primarily interested in bondage, leaving liberation to the liberated.

There has a bearing on every aspect of human life. To be free to feel is the natural of understanding. The very cause of our misery lies in our unwillingness to see the facts as facts and ideas as ideas and in our perpetually mixing up facts with concepts. It is our tendency to take ideas for facts that creates havoc in the world. Because thinking, the very thing which has made us what we are, has become an obstacle to further growth. The comparatively new science of semantics is of absorbing interest in its teachings on human culture. It shows what a perverting and limiting movement of thought is the word. To let go words and to cling to facts is the essence of right thinking.

Not only the instrument and the method of observation must be right, but also the observer must be careful not to allow his own conditioning get mixed up with the object of observation. He must not read himself and his instrument into the fact. For the observation to be correct, the observer must go.

This is simple when dealing with material things, but when it comes to man's relation with man and with himself, the removal of the observer is not easy. But it is absolutely necessary to have him to look without the veil of one's personal and collective past. This is possible only in the state of awareness, which is the facing silently and continuously the actual, the fact, the "what is now". Only in the state of awareness understanding can happen. In understanding the problem dissolves.

Therefore the right approach to the problems of life is not through the past experiences, the usefulness of which is questionable, but through direct insight. This state of awareness comes when one learns to watch oneself, one's movements and speech, feelings, thoughts and ideas, motives of action and reaction ceaseless moment by moment and day by day.

Nobody can lay down the truth for another. The experience of it is the only thing that counts and experience is only for oneself. Every one must discover himself and the world anew—truth is never secondhand. Authority invariably breeds decay. Without self-understanding and self-integration the individual will remain a disintegrating factor and make chaos in the world, which is but a magnified projection of

himself. Without change of heart there can be only variations in disharmony.

When this is seen, the attitude to all group action undergoes a deep transformation. Without individual integration collective action is strictly speaking not possible. There can be mass action, organized, controlled and directed by a few, but true collective action, free from leadership and authority, cannot happen unless the individual is free from fear, greed and wrong ideas. Order and goodwill cannot be held by compulsion, non-violence is a matter of culture and without decent human beings there cannot be a decent world. Mass control will lead nowhere, because all control implies compulsion by power. Power can turn the ladder but the ladder will be there all the same.

The struggle for power between the various social groups must continue as long as such groups exist. But to look to this struggle for the solution of the world's problems is a sign of extreme disregard of facts.

The masses are wrong, only the individual can be dynamic. The history of human culture is the history of revolt by individuals who would not follow the world and thereby made the world follow them. Society depends on its individuals for vitality and drive and therefore the nature of the man and woman is crucial of a of utmost importance.

Individuals cannot be formed by mass action. All mass education, all forms of compulsion and propaganda merely perpetuate the mass. Nobody can change another; man only can change himself. Man will change only when he understands that he is the cause of the immense sorrow in the world and in himself. When he sees that there is no other way out of the world chaos except through man's self-sought change of heart,—in that very seeing there is change of heart.

The understanding that there can be no revolution except in the individual in his relationship to things, people and himself is very disturbing and hard to accept because it destroys our reliance on parties, organizations and institutions, on leaders and prophets, on every form of mediocrity between man and his sorrow.

It does not mean that just action for a common purpose is not desirable. It has its place but it cannot replace the individual action born out of clear perception of the problem. True collective action is not possible without the right people to carry it out. Mass action is not collective action. It is based on compulsion, gross or subtle, while true collective action is in understanding and goodwill. On the other hand, the individual cannot live in isolation. In isolation man is not. Being a relationship, but the relationship with the others cannot be harmonious and sweet unless man is truly related to himself. To be related to oneself is to be aware of oneself from moment to moment, to understand oneself, to solve one's problems and

to recreate oneself anew. The process begins with the individual, but does not end there.

To set the world right the man must set himself right. Until then whatever he does will be all wrong. Setting oneself right is not a distant dream. The moment it is seen it begins to operate. The difficulty is with the seeing, not with the transformation. The transformation comes when need of it is seen.

This approach is essentially human, because it does not sacrifice man to an idea. Ideas are nothing and man is everything. Nothing has ever been achieved by sacrificing the individual. The new world cannot be purchased by sweat, blood and tears. The price is understanding and love.

WALTER FRYMAN

RELIGIOUS SACRIFICE OF ANIMALS AND BIRDS

Shri S. H. Adityan and the Madras Legislative Assembly deserve to be congratulated for passing a law prohibiting the slaughter of animals and birds in temples by way of offerings to gods. This practice prevails in all parts of India. Korsep in Bengal is the rest of India it is confined generally to educationally backward classes, though some members of the priestly and ruling classes are not quite innocent of it. But the practice is resorted to on rare occasions and is definitely indicative of superstition masquerading in the name of religion and appeasement of gods. Unfortunately in Bengal, and perhaps in some parts of Bihar, where god worship of Shakti is more prevalent, it is on a very large scale. Public opinion elsewhere is definitely against it, and even the classes who resort to it do not approve of it when reasoned with. But when there is disease or some misfortune, superstition gets the better of reason, and since they are not distancers from meat they do not look upon the sacrifice with that horror, with which vegetarians do.

The Madras law does not forbid slaughter of animals for food. It does not attempt to make people vegetarians by compulsion. It is aimed simply at preventing superstitious killing in the name of religious sacrifice.

The movement against animal sacrifice is several thousand years old in India. It has progressed step by step, but has not yet reached its goal. How deeply Gandhi felt on this subject will be seen from the following sentiments expressed by him in his Autobiography.

(In 1901, Gandhi) was in India for a short time. He paid a visit to Calcutta. On the advice of Baba Kishicharan Banerji he went to see the Kali Temple. "On the way I saw a stream of sheep going to be sacrificed to Kali. We passed on to the temple. We were greeted by rivers of blood. I could not bear to stand there. I was exasperated and restless. I have never forgotten that sight.

"That very evening I had an invitation to dinner at a party of Bengali friends. There I spoke to a friend about this cruel form of worship. He said, 'The sheep don't feel anything. The noise and the drum-beating there drowns all sensation of pain.'

"I could not swallow that. I told him that, if the sheep had speech, they would tell a different tale. I felt that the cruel custom ought to be stopped. I thought of the story of Buddha, but I also saw that the task was beyond my capacity.

"I held today (1930) the same opinion as I held then. 'In my mind the life of a lamb is no less precious than that of a human being. I should be unwilling to take the life of a lamb for the sake of the human body.' I held that, the more helpless a creature the more entitled it is to protection by man from the cruelty of man. But he who has not qualified himself for such service is unable to afford to it any protection. I must go through some self-purification and sacrifice, before I can hope to save these lambs from this untold suffering. Today I think I must do nothing for this self-purification and sacrifice. It is my constant prayer that there may be born on earth some great spirit, man or woman, fired with divine pity, who will deliver us from this heinous sin, save the lives of the innocent creatures, and purify the temple. Now is a time, Bengal, with all its knowledge, intelligence, sacrifice, and emotion undertake this slaughter!"

Customs slowly agree with reason. The fulfilment of Gandhi's desire is a long journey yet. The Madras Government has taken just a small step in that direction. Let us see how far other Governments are able to follow it up. If Hinduism purges itself of its animal sacrifices, it will create an atmosphere for winning followers of other religions to cease to kill life by way of an offering to God.

Varanasi, 31-10-50

E. S. RAMSAYWALA

REAPING WHAT IS NOT SOWN

'Grow more' is the slogan, but conscious and unconscious efforts tend only to growing less of food. Agriculture is not the mere cultivation of cereals and pulses for food, it is a wide range of the production of raw materials, needed for the industries also. Sugar-cane, oilseeds, tobacco, jute, cotton, lignum are the raw materials of industries. The area of cultivation of these crops fluctuates according to the market price of these commodities. The crop which got the agricultural more in terms of money attracted him, and he began to grow more and more of it. What-ever the attraction of these crops the traditional agriculturist continued to grow enough cereals for himself and his farm servants. The small holder's first preference has always been his food. But the introduction of controls has changed the situation.

The controls, with their logic of fair and equitable distribution at a fair price, have seriously hampered the production of commodities under their sway. A total rigid control of all consumable goods, and a guaranteed supply

of the maximum human requirement can be effective—but it is almost beyond human capacity to administer it. The administration of controls is at best imperfect, with no guarantee as to the supply of the minimum, but the result has been a reduction in the area of paddy, an important cereal. The Food Minister of Madras had to accept that seven lakh acres of paddy land had been diverted to commercial crops. Normally the extent of seven lakh acres should yield seven lakh tons of paddy or enough grain to feed some forty lakhs of people.

The astronomical price of paddy and food cereals—the lowest of all States in India—and the intensity of procurement have forced the agriculturist to change over to commercial crops, even to the extent of dependence on the ration shops for their food. These commercial crops get them many times more money than the cereals, while they save the agriculturists from the harassment of the procurement officials. In these days of money economy they too want as much money as they could get.

Whether in the low-irrigation area, or the high-irrigation area or the rain fed area, the change over to commercial crops is quite easy, and very attractive. The following is a table of five-cropped crops with their net incomes per crop.

No.	Crop	Crop rotation	Total cost of cultivation per acre	Crops yielded	Total net income at present prices Rs.	Net income per crop
1.	Paddy (low)	1 to 2 months	100	34 mds.	140	40
2.	Groundnuts	4 to 5 months	200	30 mds.	400	80
3.	Peas and Sugar cane	1 year	400	400 bushels	1000	400
4.	—	1 year	600	20 tons of rubber or 20 bags of cotton	1600	800
5.	Small ones (Food)	14 yrs.	500	—	2000	2000
6.	Tea and 2 crops	5 months	500	40 bags of 100 lbs.	2000	1000

This table will clearly show the disparity in the prices of the various commodities. Of these paddy is the one crop controlled and even if one is to raise three crops of it in his field his net income will be a fraction of that from any other crop.

With the nationing wing of the Food Department and with the supporting hand of the Government for these commercial crops the agriculturist need not be afraid of his future. He can command any amount of purchasing power. But if food is the concern, we are all drifting away from it. In other States the intensity of procurement has not been so far felt by the agriculturists but when the uniform intensive procurement is ordered in all the States—as it has been decided—we enter our country. Why self-sufficiency, we will have a waste of money, not food!

Who will look into this and mend?

Dr. S. SIVASUBRAMANIAM

MANAGING TRUSTEES' STATEMENT

Goodrich, Sirois and Brothers.

Before I make, with your permission, a statement on behalf of the Navajvan Trust I would first remember the sacred name of the founder of the Navajvan Institution and the Father of our nation. He founded this institution in 1919 for the education of our people, carefully warned it looked to its proper development, and gave to it the spirit of service and sacrifice, the faith and the inspiration necessary to take it to the form it has reached today. During its career of the past thirty-one years the organization has passed through various vicissitudes and has seen many ups and downs but has ultimately emerged successful and strong by the strength of his devotion and sacrifice. I shall not take your time to depict this glorious and inspiring history of more than a generation. I would not content by giving it in a small pamphlet which has been distributed to you today.

In the year 1919 Goodrich started his campaign against the Rowlett Bills or rather for the establishment of Hind Swaraj and as part of that campaign started the two weeklies The Young India and the Navajvan and laid the foundation of the Navajvan Institution. The Institution had neither its own printing press nor building at the time. The first five numbers of the Navajvan were printed in a small printing press, the Nalvar Press. But it was not possible to carry on in this manner for long. On the one hand the sales of the Navajvan were rising very fast and on the other no press would long dare to go on printing Goodrich's fearless writings strongly criticizing the Government of the day. Immediately therefore an old printing press was bought for rupees six thousand and was named the Navajvan Pressworks. We have not here today for the opening ceremony of the premises where the large printing plant into which that small beginning has flowered is to be housed.

But Navajvan was something Goodrich had undertaken as his own special work—his mission. It was a work with great potentialities. Its aim was to break the chains of freedom to the people of India and establish Swaraj. These leaders had also in them the seeds of a new message for the world. Naturally therefore the history and development of this institution has been closely associated with that unique mission of Goodrich. This institution started for the propagation of the mission has grown and prospered along with it.

This institution was started as a new phase of Goodrich's life-work. But that great devotee of Gandhism would not possess anything in this world as his own property. To him the organization was property held in trust for the service of the poor. He was anxious to get it declared and registered as a trust in law at the earliest opportunity. In 1929 he executed a deed of trust and appointed a regular board of

trustees. Since that day the Gardar has been the chairman of the board of trustees and has ever remained its guide. Gandhiji was the soul of the institution and the board was ever anxious to be guided by him in its progress and the development of the work it carried on.

In this development Gandhiji had always before his mind's eye an ideal picture. He had always wished that the institution should have its own premises, that its workers have their quarters in its vicinity and that they together constitute themselves into one large colony. In 1918, a piece of land near the Seaborn railway station was bought with that aim in view. It was however found unsuitable for the purpose and was later sold off. In 1929 the Trust bought from Government the land where we are sitting now. Land for housing the staff adjoining this piece was however not available. In 1947 therefore two pieces of land beyond the railway line were bought from Government. Gandhiji founded these institutions at Ahmedabad during the initial years of his mission in India—the Satyagraharam, Navajivan and the Gujarat Vidyapeeth. Their mutual relations have all along been very cordial. In fact they were limbs of the same body. It is a matter for deep satisfaction that today the latter two of them have become actual neighbours.

Navajivan has not carried on its work all along from any public funds or donations. It has always managed to find its own expenses. Gandhiji very strongly held that if newspapers could not find their own expenses it must be realised that the people did not need them and that therefore they should not be imposed on them and carried on anyhow. The other rule for journalistic practice was that newspapers should not take advertisements. These two self-imposed rules he practised successfully in the conduct of his papers.

Besides this beautiful building for its Press and other Navajivan has built twenty-four small and convenient large residential quarters in houses for workers. It has invested an amount of about thirty lakhs of rupees in these buildings, their lands and in its various publications. An institution maintained solely for the purpose of education the people would surely not be expected to have such a large capital at its disposal. The institution has therefore taken an amount of about sixteen lakhs of rupees on loan for these various investments.

The construction of the residential quarters for the workers is nearly completed and workers have already occupied them.

It gives me real pleasure to inform you that architect Shri Asarpat and the Western India Engineering Company with its engineer Shri Harilal Desai, have shown leadable care and consideration in the construction of these buildings.

I also take this opportunity to express my feeling of gratitude for all those workers big and small who have laboured to take the institution to the position it holds today.

How could I fail to remember the late Mahadevji on this occasion? Every page of the Navajivan, the Young India, the Marathi papers and his various books that the Navajivan Press have published in witness to the labour he devoted to the development and progress of this institution. This contains a certainly one of joy for us but the consciousness that he is not present would no today add a shade of deep sorrow to our joy.

Gandhiji has said in his will that he did not believe he had any property which he would call his own. But it is his some movable or immovable property was considered as his books written by him and as he written themselves, published or unpublished articles and writings and their copyright he left it all to Navajivan as his heirs. By that will Gandhiji has left all the wealth he possessed as property to the Navajivan Institution for the propagation of his ideas of truth and non-violence. He has thus assigned a task of heavy responsibility to the Navajivan Institution. It is certain, various memorials will be raised to his memory in various places all over the world. But his literary products which this institution will place before the world will surely be his truest and longest memorial. I pray to God that to us the present trustees and workers of Navajivan and to all the future trustees and workers He give the strength and the capacity to hold this great responsibility loyally and intactly.

Before I close I must express my gratitude to you all for the love and affection you have shown for us by giving this contains with your presence.

Remembering again the Mahatma of sacred memory I close. May his blessings ever keep us steady on our path of duty.

Gandhiji, I now request you to declare this building open.

Navajivan, Ahmedabad,
30-10-50

JYOTI BANSWARI DESAI

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAMTATA CHANDNI)

Editor, K. D. BHASKARWALA



VOL. LXX No. 17 AHMEDABAD—SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 11, 1950

TWO ANNAS



GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
NEW DELHI

October 31, 1950.

MESSAGE FOR THE READERS OF THE "HARIJAN"

I have seen with gratitude the response which men of varied means are making to the Assam Earthquake Relief Fund opened in the columns of the "Harijan". I know that the people of Assam and the victims of the earthquake will share with us this gratitude. The consequences of the earthquake are still enveloping us and floods are recurring in the earthquake areas as a result of fresh rainfall which is sending greater torrents of water to the plains as the hill sides have lost a part of their vegetation. The beds of rivers have silted up and at several points the surrounding country has subsided. Therefore, recurrent floods in the earthquake areas are leading to fresh problems of relief. The people of India have responded so generously to the call of the victims of the earthquake. But the needs of the situation are also very great and every rupee received from readers of the "Harijan" will give more power to our hands to help the distressed. I hope they will continue to take interest in the cause of the earthquake sufferers and aid will continue to come from them to help us to deal with the situation.

Jalendra Lalit

(Jalendra Lalit)

LIFE OF LABOUR

That Vinoba observed a three-day fast beginning on the 15th October, the Sharada Purnima, at 11 a.m. and broke it with a 1500 Indians on the 17th. That Vinoba has been doing rigorous agricultural labour for the last few months. This last day of his fast became a cause of anxiety to several of his friends. They pressed him long not to overwork himself, as he was doing till at last, he yielded to their oft-repeated importunities, and consented to reduce his daily labour to a certain extent. While commencing his fast, he made the following observations:

"My life has so far been the life of a *chikhalat* (domestic) in house also I have to live on electricity. But I have now resolved to accept none of body labour only. I shall of course continue to do physical labour up to the best of my capacity."

At the time of breaking the fast, Shri Vinoba made a speech in Marathi in the following effect.—(D. M.)

I cannot say where I got the inspiration for fasting, when I had not thought of it before. I had been thinking of leading a life of labour ever since my release from jail (1924). This idea was present before my mind even earlier, only I took the decision during my detention. Every thing has its appointed hour, and until that hour comes the thought is not translated into action. I felt that the hour had come and I, therefore, resolved to begin the life of labour on the occasion of Ganeshi Puja. I discussed this matter with Shri Vallabhbhai a day or two earlier, but even at that time I had no idea of a fast.

Although I believe that there is a definite place for fasts in spiritual life, I regard fasting as of secondary importance. I have been mainly influenced by Shakti and Fekara in my growth, both of which give to fasting a secondary place. Therefore, although I have lived near fasts and have had to undergo fasts on particular occasions I hold that fasting is not a state of yoga. We do not tell the shakhs that we would take work out of it without feeding it, with oil. Just as the shakhs is not a part of us, so too the body is not a part of us. Once we are convinced of this truth, we are not expected to deprive the body of its necessary sustenance. Nevertheless I felt a spontaneous inspiration and observed a fast for three days.

A three-day fast does not by itself signify much, but it is very significant to me because ordinarily I am not favourable to fasting. But I felt an inspiration and just did it.

The aim of this new step is obvious. We desire that there should be brotherhood, love and the rule of non-violence in the whole world. This desire cannot be fulfilled as long as every individual does not take to body-labour. We have taken a vow of body-labour and have given it a place in the eleven vows. We daily repeat it during our prayers. But, for various reasons, we have not been able to resolve to live only on body-labour. This is due to the circumstances in which we have been placed, and there-

fore, we are also not to blame. But now that India has attained Swaraj, we must give up to our faith with greater determination. Only then will it be real Swaraj. It would show the path of salvation to the whole world. If we do not stand firm on our faith now, we shall stand on slippery ground and either lose our freedom or make India a violent country. We have to steer clear of both these dangers. Therefore, we must purify and strengthen all our vows. The vow of body-labour which is an integral part of our sadhana, is not so difficult. Complete observance of non-violence is very difficult and almost impossible, not so this vow. Even today millions of people else out there living through physical labour, but they have no faith in the dignity of labour. It will be no impracticable proposition if we decide to live like them with the addition of full faith in it. Such decision would make our life worth living and would also purify public life.

Short a few days ago we have engaged ourselves in the labour of turning the Persian wheel at the well. Men, women and children, from the ages of 5 to 80 join the work. All of them serve the same mother earth. What an stupendous sight! If this faith in labour prevails, there would be happiness everywhere and the whole world would become a Heaven, and a *gopal*. About this I have not even an iota of doubt. Let us, therefore, commence this work with determination and unfailing faith. May God give us the necessary strength!

This resolve of mine may appear to be personal or all resolves are personal in the beginning. But ultimately such resolves do not confine themselves to the individual. I have made this beginning on behalf of the whole society. Our work here has been progressing satisfactorily on the whole; by God's grace the difficulties will gradually disappear. I hope the new experiment will enable us to live a life which may be called life of *Samya-graha* (disputed equality), of non-violence or of religion. If this happens, our life will be blessed.

VINOBÀ

(Translated from the Hindi *Samvadha*, October '33)

OUR REGULATIONS

Last year diesel was made bitter by sugar, this year gar has been chosen by the Government to make it so. Although stern measures against a few black-marketeers are said to have had a good effect on the market, they have not been able to prevent the sudden disappearance of gar from the various boxes of India. Those who do honest trade or have become unweary after the repeated stern measures, have begun to sell off their stocks purchased at higher prices with loss to themselves.

The dumb consumer and the village producer suffer alike, unable to understand this new method of bringing about sudden fluctuations

in prices, surplus and deficit of commodities, and the run of anti-trade regulations. The Congress organization was meant to be the advocate of the cause of the dumb millions living in remote villages. But it has lost that role and, willingly or unwillingly, become the spokesman of the big industry, the city-dweller and the war machine. The village industrialist and the peasant seek approach the Congress officers and the Congress expects to get help against policies which mean the ruin and exploitation of villages. Formerly the Congress used to take up their cause and even prepare them for a Satyagraha, if agitators and negotiations failed to bring relief. But the Congress can no longer do so, because it cannot go against the policies framed in New Delhi and other State capitals.

A grama archak, who possesses gun, phani-oli and is in a village in U.P., has been complaining to me for nearly a year about the obstructions he has to face in the matter of transport. He is unwilling to pay the usual bribes, and there is no doubt that the obstructions are ultimately due to want of that lubrication. Being not altogether unscrupulous, unidealistic and wanting to please, he approached all sorts of high and low officials, took notes even from M.L.A.'s and others, and got sympathetic answers and courteous treatment from every one. But with all that the machine itself would not move, and while he saw others getting their goods loaded promptly, he had to wait until the goods deteriorated in quality. More than once he thought of going on a fast as the only type of Satyagrah he could think of. But he was dissuaded by me from doing so. It is a kind of pity that he has no my advice, although I have not the least idea of how I can help him out of his difficulty, and although he feels that I am unconsciously preventing him from taking what he considers to be the better step open to him.

The new license rules for doctors have added one more obstacle in his way. He again showed his inclination to offer Satyagraha against the order. I advised him not to take a radical step, but just apply for a license. He tried, and now finds that it is as difficult to obtain a license for doctors as to obtain facility for the banking of goods. He says that the following conditions must be fulfilled before a license can be obtained:

(4) The holder must have worked in this occupation for 10 years.

(d) the application must be approved by (i) the principal; (ii) the Cooperative Union; (iii) the Trade Development Department and body (iv) the Liaison Committee which is composed of a representative each of the Paper Industry, the Union, the Trade Development Department, and the Export Council, Inc.

1000 1000 1000 1000

By the time all these formations are over the construction would be over.

The 'upside' was for downloading films from
taking a radical step, saying...

"While I abide by your decision, I must tell you that I would have liked that with some 150,000 of the village inhabitants. The transportation policy of the East India Company was the cause of the destruction of the Indian industry of India. The answer was not to be given up his competition and hence we were not able to have even set off their hands. To dislodge themselves from carrying it on. I am afraid that a similar process might be repeated under the rule of an Indian Government by the western industrial countries.

"But you are more learned and wiser than I am and perhaps understand things better than I do. So I turn to your decision."

I have similar letters from others also. They reveal the feelings of coaspiration, frustration and helplessness.

The Soviet Union Patriotic reports that a "Press Note says that despite the promulgation of an order for such regulation by the Uttar Pradesh Government, a large number of ladies are being set up in history zones without a license." I have received letters urging the banning of Satyagrah on this issue. I hesitate to advocate this step, because I do not see suitable non-violent atmosphere and discipline for the purpose, and do not personally know any one fitted for such non-violent leadership. I also wish to avoid embarrassment to Government already overburdened with different problems.

But I must not conceal my feeling that if the people have hope of reaching the western end of successfully offering non-violent Satyagraha, something worse than this must spring up.

Temperature	1.13.1995	11.03	10.03.1995	11.03
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APPENDIX B: METHODOLOGICAL BELIEF TILES

Figure 1. The effect of the number of trials on the number of correct responses.

[illegible]

HARIJAN

Nov. 11

1953

NEW YEAR DAY GREETINGS

(By M. E. Goshai)

[This letter of New Year Day greetings written by Bapu from Champaran to Shri Mahipati Goshai, then in the Rajagriha Ashrama, Patna, is reproduced from Mahatma Gandhi Library (Gujarat). Vol. 37.]

New Year Day, 1954 (Vikram),
Majhaur (Bihar)

What shall I give you on this auspicious day? I am trying to send to you what you and I and many others lack. If you get that you have got everything. But what could I give if I were to follow the rule that only he who possesses can give? But let us pray for it together.

"Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal. And though I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries, and all knowledge, and though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing. And though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing."

"Charity endureth long, and is kind, charity envieth not; charity vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up, doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil, rejoiceth in iniquity but rejoiceth in the truth, beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things. Charity never faileth, but whether there be prophecies, they shall fail, whether there be tongues, they shall cease, whether there be knowledge, it shall vanish away."

"When I was a child, I spoke as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child, but when I became a man, I put away childish things. For now we see through a glass, darkly, but then face to face, now I know in part, but then shall I know even as also I am known. And now abideth faith, hope, charity, these three; but the greatest of these is charity."

Read this, ponder over it. Read it over again. Read the original in English from the Bible and translate it into Hindi. Read it over it and strive to have even for one moment a large glimpse of Charity that is Love. Mtn had that glimpse and felt its pang. If we could have the glimpse and feel its pang and could have the capacity to make others feel those pangs, we could move the world. But though for long it is so, I feel that I lack it every

moment. The lack is indeed great. Due to this lack I sometimes feel like "sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal". Only yesterday I did not find time for those who wanted me. This tortured me. This is no sign of charity. I was "a sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal."

May the new year be fruitful to you. May your physical, mental and spiritual capacities go on increasing and may you do of your free will all those at the feet of Mother India. This is my wish. And these are my blessings.

Bapu's Ashram

VEILED CASTE PREDOMINANCE

To resume the discussion of the last week: I notice a movement in several parts of India to revive caste, communal or provincial predominance and keep backward sections, minority communities and immigrants from other provinces in a subordinate position as much and as long as possible. At times the movement is one of open violence and aggression, at others it is subtle and veiled under the very name of the nation and secular Constitution of India. In spite of our hundreds of castes, sub-castes, sects and sub-sects, each availing its opportunity to assert itself over others, the society is roughly divided into three or four sharply divided groups. The largest of these is the so-called *savarna* Hindu group.

In South India generally (i.e., including North-eastern provinces) it is further subdivided into Brahmins and non-Brahmins, the former with a long-established predominance over the latter in intellectual spheres, and the latter with an equally long-established predominance in agricultural, industrial and commercial spheres as also in numbers. But having a small enlightened section, with all its internal divisions and jealousies, the *savarna* Hindu group is generally united in its opposition of the *avarna* Hindus whether of the Harijan caste or the aboriginal tribes. No doubt that both Harijans and *Advaitas* are extremely backward sections of India. They are different, a majority of them landless, resourceless, and some of them even homeless. But excepting such *Advaitas* as are retarded socially also, they are socially in a more advantageous position than Harijans. The word Harijan has a particular social implication. Economically, educationally and politically a Harijan may be as high as Dr Ambedkar or Shri Jagbhan Ram. But when the word Harijan is applied to him, it suggests that he belongs to a particular group, which is regarded by *savarna* Hindus to be as low as to be used to be physically touched, not to mention to be housed with, dined with, or to be allowed even to touch their food or water. Even if such contacts take place unconsciously they are regarded as more contaminating than the contact of a small pox or cholera patient. Neither education, nor money nor high character can remove this

social disability. This is a deliberate crime against humanity, and its helmsman does not diminish simply because it is perpetrated under alleged scriptural sanctions, immemorially old customs, or by reason of the fact that the very people craved against were provoked to it. Various religious teachers and social reformers of very high and noble character rose from time to time among the so-called Hindus who protested against this inhuman custom and tried to befriend and to lead these unfortunate people among the so-called *varnas* as much as their times allowed. But this was not eradicated, and it fell to Gandhiji to give to that movement a greater and more vigorous impetus than any hitherto known. These people were hitherto known by various derogatory designations like *untouchables*, *atishudras*, *apavistas*, *dalits*, *shandals*, *parakas*, etc. Gandhiji sought to give them the dignified name of Harijans. But misunderstandings and misgivings of a political nature prevented the acceptance of that name by some of the leaders of those castes and their political followers. They declined to accept any generic term, which would include all of these socially suppressed people, and preferred to be simply listed as distinct castes in a special schedule. The necessity for their special treatment was unanimously recognised. And so, for practical purposes the only result of the political opposition to the term Harijan was that this group came to be recognised under two generic designations, namely, Harijans and Scheduled Castes. The former became the popular name, the latter a political and legal name. Some of the provincial governments recognised the title Harijan also. Both signify the same section of Hindus. This is what Gandhiji wrote in respect of the name:

"If a separate register of 'untouchable' classes had not come to stay, at least for the time being the common name *Mundas* might have answered the purpose. But the separate register makes it absolutely necessary to have the 'untouchable' classes by some name, and if such is the case, why not give them a name that truly befits them and has no ill-flavour about it? I regard 'Harijan' as a fitting name because the Caste Hindus cannot be properly considered God's children but the 'untouchables' certainly can." (Harijan, 13-8-33).

The Constitution of India has abolished, so far as it can be done legally, the social disabilities of Harijans. To implement the spirit of the abolition, various State governments have passed laws and taken ameliorative measures to see that Harijans actually become socially equals of so-called Hindus. But neither the framers of the Constitution, nor the legislatures of States nor the social reformers could have shut or can shut their eyes to actual facts prevailing in society.

And the actual facts are that despite the Constitution and despite legislations, a very great part of so-called Hindus is not yet mentally prepared to behave with Harijans on terms of equality. It is not merely a case of incapacity to overcome life-long habits, but there is a deliberate attempt to keep them oppressed and suppressed socially. The *Samajans* know well that if Harijans are kept at a safe distance socially, not much need be done in an active manner to keep them economically and educationally backward and exploitable. Hence, deliberate attempts are made to molest them. The very law declaring their equality is subtly interpreted to create hurdles in their way. Audaciously enough the Harijan Sewak Sangh, the very body specially created by Gandhiji to act as the jealous guardian of these people and bring about their complete amalgamation with the so-called Hindus, has been accused of perpetuating the separate Harijan class by the continuance of its services to them and maintaining their special institutions.

As a matter of fact, the policy of the Harijan Sewak Sangh and its workers has been from the very beginning to so conduct the movement as to make Harijans indistinguishable from other Hindus. While to meet the necessities of the immediate situation all types of special institutions and facilities for Harijans have been created, there is a pronounced movement for broadening these institutions from time to time so that not only the various Harijan castes should associate together, but Harijans and non-Harijans should live, study and work together and even inter-marry. The Scheduled Castes should not merely disappear from the Constitution and law, but should become inseparable as being pointed out in the society itself. The word *Varnas* should disappear as signifying a particular section of Hindus. If it has to stay, it should become a synonym for Hindus. In the same article, from which an extract is given above, Gandhiji wrote further:

"I have suggested the real method of abolishing the distinction between caste Hindus and Harijans, namely, to make Hindus performing the purification ceremony of hiding themselves of untouchability and becoming Harijans themselves. And if it was open to any one to be classified as 'untouchables' in the register for 'untouchables', I should most decidedly advise caste Hindus to declare themselves as such and to live also as such. That will be a substantial and organic method of amalgamating the two into one body."

As long as the process of amalgamation is incomplete, and it remains necessary to distinguish 'untouchables' from other Hindus surely 'Harijan' being an inoffensive designation is "the best name to know them by."

Varanasi, 24-10-53. R. G. MACHHOLWALA

BIRTH CONTROL METHODS

The Indian News Chronicle of Delhi has recently started what they call a *Planned* rather like some American newspapers have, under the sign of which they have subjects of interest discussed with speakers both for and against. I believe these gatherings are fairly largely attended. At any rate the one over which I presided on the subject of birth control attracted a great many people from various groups and a large number of those present were young men and women.

Ever since I came into office, I have been pressed by women co-workers in the field of social reform by both men and women of the educated classes as also by members of the Parliament to initiate measures for birth control. Now while I am wholly in favour of birth control, because I realize that women in particular suffer greatly because of frequent births and the progeny of our people is deteriorating in health because of the poor condition of health of the young mother who has often to stand one pregnancy after another without giving her any time to recuperate her strength as also on account of other causes such as mal-nutrition and under-nutrition and overworking, I am usually at variance with the means for birth control which are suggested by its advocates. I need hardly say that our educated class thinks mainly in terms of city dwellers and also mainly in terms of educated men and women. There are also, perhaps, a few women amongst the poorer classes where the women workers can reach in cities, where their organizations are working. But they also invariably think of birth control by the artificial means of contraceptives which have taken a firm hold of people in the countries of the West. I am totally unable to reconcile myself to this view and the longer I live and the more I serve the cause of health and the closer contacts I have with the sick and suffering humanity, both in town and hamlet, the more convinced I become that it will be a fatal step for our country to resort to these methods. The speakers on the day on which I presided at this particular meeting, both men and women—and they included men and women of the medical profession also—were all in favour of adopting the artificial means of contraceptives for attaining the goal we all have in view. I spoke out as strongly as I could against attempting to achieve our object by such means as have been adopted by the western countries. In my opinion we can give an impetus to birth control in our country by ways and means which ought to come instinctively to us if we are true to the best traditions of our civilization. Perhaps in no country in the world has confidence been advocated with such emphasis as in India by all our saints and sages. Self-restraint, therefore, on the part of both men and women, and particularly on the part of men, must be the first

weapon in our armory if we are to build successfully against over-production of our humanity. Secondly, I am of opinion that if we educate our people not to marry their daughters until they are of 22 years of age and not to marry their boys until they are of 27 years of age and even older if they are not in a position to earn their livelihood by then we shall be dealing a big blow not only to the numerical production of children but also to the production of weaklings. We should make tremendous efforts to raise the standard of living in our country. The moment these standards are raised the birthrate will begin to come down of itself. None of these things are easy to do. Artificial methods seem to the average man to be easy of attainment and hence they are advocated by all and sundry. I look upon this as a dangerous signal because it is always the short and narrow way that leads to salvation. Man will be man no argument, in my opinion, in helping him to give way to the animal passion within him, but that is the main argument used in favour of birth control by means of contraceptives. In other words the protagonists of this method advocate free latitude to be given to both men and women to practice self-indulgence with impunity. After all even the very land which we cultivate to give us food has to be given rest because it cannot continue to remain fertile if it is over-cultivated. And yet man is not willing to exercise that same self-restraint when it comes to his own sexual passion. He is willing to waste the God-given seed and the God-given soil on which that seed should bear fruit for the sake of satisfying his own lust and unwilling to restrain himself for the sake of a stable and healthy humanity. I challenge the statement myself that birth control by the artificial means of contraceptives has proved a success either physically, mentally or morally for the people of the West who have practiced it over a number of years. On the other hand, it has contributed in no small measure to a lowering of standards of morality and to a disregard by both men and women of the fundamental responsibility given to human kind by procreation. All this apart, the artificial methods referred to in this regard are wholly impractical in our country because of the ignorance of our people, the lack of scientific medical aid available to them and also because of their high cost.

The longer I live the more strongly I realize how alarming hope was in his apprehension of this question as he was in his apprehension of everything to which he gave his deepest thought. I can only hope that India will remain true to him and listen to his warning. But I often wonder how far we are drifting away from his teachings. We have only recently celebrated his passing but how many of us truly reflected

ourselves to try to follow in the way he would have had us go? Anyhow as long as I am Health Minister the above is the policy that I shall advocate for our people as far as birth control is concerned.

AMRITSAR

NOTES

Communal Peace in Uttar Pradesh

Readers will be glad to learn that the 14, Muharram and Purni holidays passed off in perfect amity and peace throughout Uttar Pradesh—including Fyzabad and Ayodhya, which had particularly become a centre of disturbance for more than a year now. I am informed by Pandit Govind Nathji Pant, Chief Minister, U.P., that so far as he is aware this is the first time that Muharram, Purni, Ramika and Dashera have been celebrated without any communal trouble throughout the State, in spite of all of them falling together. "Government officers were, of course, alert, but credit must go to the people. But for their goodwill and tolerance, more Government plottings could not have succeeded in maintaining peace."

U.P. deserves to be congratulated for this gleedening news. Let us hope that this amity will continue throughout the year and every year both the communities will celebrate their respective holidays peacefully with mutual goodwill.

Wardha, 1-11-30

Sacrificial Labour

The other day I referred to students doing boot-polishing for collecting funds for the Assam Karkhanas Relief work. Similar reports have come from other places also. For instance, Shri Harishank Phatak of Poona sends a report of a function that took place under the auspices of the Poona Municipal School Board. Shri B. G. Khan, Bombay's Chief Minister, who presided on the occasion was requested by the Poona District Food League to present a bar to the Municipal School No. 35, which had successfully grown bajra in $\frac{1}{4}$ acre of land belonging to the Municipality. The sale proceeds of this crop will be sent to the Assam Relief Fund as received by the Boy's Parliament of that school.

The modern generation has lost faith in humanity. It tends to believe that money is the only incentive that can make man work. It is gladdening to see that the younger generation retains that belief. The labour which a man does for the service of the unknown afflicted brings far more satisfaction than money or comforts purchased with money. Such labour blesses both the donor and the donee.

Wardha, 26-10-30

K. K. K.

THE PLACE OF SELF-SPINNING

[Dr Kishorendr Karkhan Gung here for Khadi is well known. He takes a very keen interest in popularising and encouraging it in whatever position he is placed. When, therefore, he makes any suggestions regarding the Khadi work they deserve careful consideration by all Khadi workers. Some time ago at a meeting of the Khadi and Handloom Weaving Board he made a speech, in which he examined some of the fundamental principles and practical aspects of Khadi work. He kindly sent me a copy of his speech which I submitted to Shri Bhabu Prasad Jais and Kishorendr Gung for careful study. Both of them have done so, and Shri Jais has made detailed comments thereon. As the matter is important for all those who take interest in the promotion of Khadi, I reproduce here the relevant parts of Dr Karkhan's speech. This will be followed by Shri Jais's opinion thereon. The facility of reference the speech has been divided into convenient paragraphs, which have been numbered and given appropriate headings.—E. O. M.]

Dr K. N. Karkhan's Speech

1. *Scarcity of Khadi.* These days Khadi has become very costly. Spinning wages have gone up. Weaving charges are anything between 6 to 8 annas a yard and cotton also is expensive. The result is that the demand for Khadi is falling and stocks have accumulated in various production centres.

2. *Devotee about Self-sufficiency.* Progressive I am aware that the Charkha Sangh now aims at self-sufficiency and the endeavour is that the spinners should as far as possible use their own home-made cloth thus eliminating the necessity of Khadi sales to a large extent. I confess that sometimes I become doubtful about the prospects of the self-sufficiency drive. There must be some inducement to make the movement a success.

3. *Economical use of Idle Hours and Cost of Self-spun Khadi.* Formerly Khadi workers—in which category I include myself also—used to go about and preach the doctrine of self-sufficiency mainly on the ground that by utilizing their idle hours in spinning the villagers would be able to save some of the money on their domestic cloth bill by using home-spun Khadi. But today that argument is not open. Even the out-of-pocket expenses which a spinner must incur before he is able to get a pair of dhatis for himself are higher than the cost of a mill-made pair of good quality dhatis. Let us consider the figures in some detail. A pair of dhatis would require about a seer and a half or so of cotton and the cost of this cotton would be Rs 1/- or over. Weavers are reluctant to weave home-spun yarn. They have become accustomed to weaving mill-made yarn which is of uniform quality and I am told that these days weaving charges for home-spun yarn are about 8 annas a yard. Thus a 10-yard pair of dhatis would involve Rs 1/- weaving charges. Then there would be at least 8 annas on account of bleaching charges. The out-of-pocket expenses therefore would be anything between Rs 1-8 to Rs 2-/. The cost of a good durable mill-made pair of dhatis is Rs 7/- or thereabouts. I have

not and anything is to be about spinning at all. An average home-spinner would take at least 10 hours to spin yarn sufficient for a yard of cloth. Thus a 30-yard pair would require 300 hours' spinning labour. The proposition therefore comes to this: on the one hand, you have 300 hours of spinning labour plus Rs 3-8 as out-of-pocket to get a pair of home-spun dhotis. On the other hand, you can get a pair of equally good, if not better, mill-made dhotis for Rs 1/- altogether. By purchasing therefore a mill-made dhoti you save the 300 hours' labour and also Rs 3-8 as, in cash. This is irrefutable logic and I do not know how we can go to a poor village and induce him to embark upon this self-sufficiency enterprise on any reasonable ground, leaving partition apart.

4. *Mill Cloth no longer Foreign:* They again formerly we used to say that the purchasing of mill-made cloth meant really sending money outside the country. But now in this free India the textile mills are all Indian-owned, labour is Indian and all earnings in textile mills go into Indian pockets. If the Government determines to nationalise the textile industry eliminating private capital altogether then the expansion against self-sufficiency through hand-spun cloth would become much stronger.

5. *Alternative Employments to Spinning:* One cannot ask an ordinary village, badly in need of supplementing his meagre income, to throw away his 100 hours' labour absolutely for nothing so much as it would be sheer waste. He can utilise these 100 hours in a variety of other ways, in some other cottage industries such as basket-making, rope-making, etc. and make some money out of them.

6. *Question of Leisure:* We talk about idleness in the villages and plenty of spare time that the village has which we think he wastes in sheer laziness. That picture is overdrawn. For the housewife it is a very hard life. She has to work hard, look after her husband, her children, keep her house clean, tend the cattle, and, if necessary, to assist the husband in his cultivation also. The man may have a few hours now and then when he has not much to do on the farm. Therefore, do what they may, a family can only manufacture a very limited yardage of cloth and the per head share of that cloth in the family would be a few yards only. This may mean a very simple austere way of life, but in-day everybody talks in favour of raising the standard of living.

7. *The Place of Khadi:* I therefore think that the self-sufficiency policy should be very carefully re-examined from all points of view. Khadi should be encouraged as providing a supplementary source of income to the unemployed

in the rural areas, particularly old men and women, and they must be paid wages. From this it follows that Khadi should be sold and a Khadi market developed. Khadi was always expensive, but in our Independence movement days it was tagged on to that movement. It became the outward symbol of our national struggle and therefore there was a good Khadi market though it never went beyond Rs 50 lakhs or so in the year. I think Khadi should again be connected with some political or social movement so that people should consider it necessary as a point of honour and as a point of duty to wear Khadi and pay for it even though expensive. In my opinion every one who thinks it his duty to safeguard our freedom and independence should consider it his broader duty to encourage Khadi by purchasing it for himself and his family.

8. *Improvement in Khadi Techniques:* I suggest that all efforts should be made to lower the costs of Khadi production. Weaving changes have become essential. Weavers should be trained to work on handlooms yarn. They should become accustomed to it. On the other hand effort should be made for the proper training of spinners so that yarn turned out by them should be of uniform quality and not very inferior, uneven stuff.

By Mahatma Gandhi

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THIRD ANGER

GEORGE BERNARD SHAW

We shall no longer be able to get the opinion of this great and clear-sighted seer of our times on any event or situation of importance to humanity. This is a great and regrettable loss. Not only was Shaw's approach to every subject quite original, but he expressed it in a style and language, which was readable and well heard. Like our own great poet, Rabindranath Tagore, he was a seer of his age. Internally his attitude towards life was not less serious than Tagore's, but he preferred to act the philosopher in the guise of a jester rather than in that of a serious-looking priest. Though the sharp weapons he used were made of speech only, he regarded me as a surgeon rather than an assassin or a victorious general spreading fire and destruction. Like an efficient surgeon, he knew his particular social anatomy very thoroughly, diagnosed the exact seat of a social disease, degeneration or deformity, and made a precise incision into it with the sharpest literary instruments of novel patterns devised by himself. His instruments were always ready at hand and he used them effectively and with perfect self-confidence. They certainly made a sharp cut at the moment and caused a wound, but the operation appeared like a welcome and enjoyable luxury because of the laughing gas, which he provided in liberal and dilute doses.

He had clear ideas about life and the world and the problems of the individual and human society. These gave him a standard with which he measured and evaluated every small or big act of individuals and society and the good and the weak points in their conduct and character. His standard was delicate and exact to a fine degree, and he could detect the least departure from it with accuracy. He perceived the incongruities, the illogical and the disproportionate features of our life rarely noticed by others, and put down the sharp point of his literary instrument with an exactness, which astonished me and led him to the defect for every one to see. But he was kind and generous and loved humanity with all its faults and pointed them out not for arousing a feeling of contempt but for bring-

ing about reform of life, if possible, or simply for creating a little fun for common enjoyment.

This was the service he rendered to humanity throughout his lifelong literary career both by his voluminous writings and casual remarks. He has left sufficient literary treasures for a person's careful study. Unfortunately, of all figures of speech, those that are related with death, are inseparable from the structure grammar etc. of their language and are difficult to be reproduced in translations, more so in translations into languages of such distinct pattern as ours. Also his plays, whether extremely staging a past age or the present one show patterns of life very much different from ours. Most of them presuppose a perfect acquaintance with modern middle-class fashionable society of London. It is, therefore, difficult for those who are not well at home in the English language and thought and unacquainted with modern English life to enjoy Shaw thoroughly. But like Shakespeare, he will be read and studied as long as the English language is read and studied.

There were common points between Shaw and Gandhi. He regarded Gandhi as a "kindred spirit" and jokingly styled himself a second "Mahatma". He sympathized with India's aspirations and struggles. He was a vegetarian for several years past.

It is a remarkable coincidence that in his last illness this great literary surgeon was himself served by surgeons rather than physicians.

Both Gandhi and Shaw believed that 70 or 80 was not longevity enough to be considered an age ripe for death. Gandhi placed the target at 120 to 130 years. G. B. S. placed it, perhaps still higher. Indeed he thought that till 70 or 80 men did not possess wisdom and experience enough to render useful service to the world. Life was not sufficiently healthy, if the themes began to degenerate and mental faculties deteriorated after 50, 60 or even 70. But it appears that an event happens in every one's life, whereafter interest in physical longevity declines and even if body and mind do not cease to function well functions and duties of life are carried on more as a matter of habit than with pleasure. Gandhi lost his interest in life after the

portant and commercial highroads of the island the interest gone after the unfortunate fall, which broke his thigh. From the type of very old men depicted by him in his sketch to Weikaukahi he seems to have been conscious of such change coming over an one's life. Still 34 was not according to him, a sufficiently ripe age for such transformation. However, it happened as even to him. But though physically dead, he created for himself a sadder form of life, without spirit as so great as he imagined for his Mahaloaka. As Bhattachary said, "Long hand are the men of knowing, because their bodies of time know neither old age nor death."

Wardha, 5-31-36

K. S. MANNINGWALA

G. R. S.

Mr. Bernard Shaw had long been wanting to see Gandhi, and it was not without considerable hesitation that he came. He sat with Gandhi for close on an hour, interrogating him on a bewildering variety of topics—ethnographical, religious, social, political, and economic—and his talk was dominated by his sparkling wit and mordant humor. "I know something about you and felt something in you of a kindred spirit. We belong to a very small community on earth," said he. "Whilst his other questions were of universal importance, he could not help asking a question about the R. T. C. "Does not the Round Table Conference try your patience?" he asked, and Gandhi had to confess with sorrow. "It requires more than the patience of Job. The whole thing is a huge conundrum and the hangings that we are treated to are meant only to mark time. Why not I ask them, make a clean breast and announce your policy and let us make our choice?" But it does not seem to be in the English political nature to do so. It must go by round about and tortuous ways."

M. D.

(The Nation & Times, March 22, p. 124)

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GUJARATI VIDYAPITH CONVOCATION

The eleventh Convocation of the Gujarat Vidyapeeth was held on 28-3-36 at Ahmedabad under the presidency of Sardar Vallabhbhai, ex. Rajaput. The Mahatma, Shri Mahadevi Desai's statement regarding the activities of the Vidyapeeth and Sardar Vallabhbhai's address to the students have been given below.

The Mahatma's Statement

We are glad to welcome you here and congratulate you on entering upon your seventeenth year. We pray to God that He may grant you many more years of health and activity to serve the motherland.

The Vidyapeeth, founded by Mahatma Gandhi on 18-10-20, has just completed 35 years of its chequered career. On 18-10-36 we had the good fortune to have in our midst the first President of Independent India. On the same day by a happy coincidence the history of the Vidyapeeth was published with his blessings. That occasion marks for the Vidyapeeth, which came into existence as a part of the non-cooperation movement, the end of one and the beginning of a new era. The function that is being performed today under your presidency is an auspicious harbinger of the new era.

The last (the 18th) convocation of the Vidyapeeth, as you know, was held under the presidency of Gandhiji, as ex. Rajaput (Chairman). It is after eleven years that we are holding a convocation today. As the college courses were stopped in 1925 due to the struggle for Swaraj, no convocation could be held in the interval.

We have now resumed our collegiate activity after the attainment of Swaraj. Thus we have been able to do thanks mainly to the Mahadevi Desai Trust. The Trust decided to run a college for training social workers of graduate level and entrusted the work to the Vidyapeeth. The College was started in 1932 with a full-length course of studies (including field work) for 3 years. All the subjects are taught through the medium of Gujarati. The study of the national language is compulsory for all. Students are expected to live in the hostel as hostel-life is made a part of the education.

Besides the College of Social Service we are conducting a primary school on the lines of Basic Education. The Government have recognised it as an experimental school of the new education. We are also conducting two refresher and credit-training courses for primary teachers—one of 34 months duration and another of six months.

For the propagation of the national language as defined by the Constituent Assembly we had terminal examinations in all the districts of Gujarat including Saurashtra and Kathi. There are nearly 175 centres in the whole area and about 12,000 students annually appear for the different examinations.

Besides these the Vidyapeeth is carrying on the following activities—book-publishing, dictionary department (including scientific

terminology), the library including the copyright section handed over to the Vidya-pith by the Government, adult education, etc. A new revised and enlarged edition of the Vidya-pith dispensary of Gujarati has been published last year. The Vidya-pith reading series is used in several towns and districts.

Our library has grown with the passage of time and is now badly in need of a separate building to house the valuable collections it now possesses. The plans of the building are under preparation.

We are now thinking of starting a college of physical culture for the training of teachers. We are on the look out for proper men to staff the college.

• Next year we shall have to start our Vinay-mandir Secondary School to link up the State School with the college.

A school for backward communities (the Vallabhi Vidyalaya) is conducted by the Vidya-pith at Bakhama. That centre has also undertaken the management of two primary schools from the Local Board.

It has become necessary to erect new buildings for the increasing activities of the Vidya-pith. With your advice and guidance we have been able to persuade the Gandhi Memorial Trust to earmark a sum of Rs 10 lacs for this purpose. I must express my gratitude to them.

I now request you to confer the degree on the new students (graduates).

Sardar Vallabhbhai's Convocation Address

Today, at this Convocation Ceremony of the Vidya-pith, all the eyes since its inception are passing before my mind's eye. I vividly remember the time when I performed the *Atat* maharaja and Acharya Ray had its foundation stone. The outside part which the Vidya-pith played in the educational and political field in India in subsequent years is quite fresh in our mind. The ups and downs of the Gujarat Vidya-pith have been coral with the rise and fall in the graph of our fight for freedom. The Vidya-pith has its legitimate share of pride in the achievement of our freedom. It had to undergo a lot of hardships, sometimes the Government taking possession of the whole institution. But, thank God, the Vidya-pith emerged successful every time through all these ordeals. The graduates of the Vidya-pith have been successful in the various fields of life wherever they have gone.

The graduates who have received their degrees today are getting them in quite a different atmosphere. The changes that ought to have been introduced in education in the wake of freedom have not come near us thus far, the same glow brightens, though we have achieved independence, we have not yet shaken off the dead-weights of old practices and ways of thinking and living. India is passing through a crisis the like of which she has never seen before. If we are not careful,

we will lose the freedom that we have achieved after so much sacrifice. Today people are criticising the Government everywhere. In a democracy, constructive and responsible criticism is always welcome. At the same time, we should understand that we are beginners in democracy and if we want to bring our Government into line with those of other countries, we should carefully observe the developments throughout the world. It is the duty of the graduates of the Vidya-pith to study these developments deeply and carefully and not be carried away by cheap popular sentiments. The experience that I have gained while touring the various provinces in the country makes me feel that in spite of all the criticisms, Gujarat has maintained its proper place and has kept its head cool. No one should believe that all the countries would wish all of a sudden because we have achieved independence. On the contrary, we are suffering more difficulties now than at any other time. Our trade is showing a downward trend. Middle-class people are becoming unemployed. There is the scarcity of food and grain on all sides. People are complaining about the shortage of cloth. The prices of cotton have gone up—higher than at any other time. In every industry there is one difficulty or the other. If we do not study the root causes of these features, we are apt to blame those who are not blame-worthy. We, the people of Gujarat, are considered sane and have business acumen. The foundations of the fight for freedom have been laid here. It is, therefore, our duty to improve things as much as we can. We should not lose our balance of mind. We should not be overpowered by the difficulties that confront us. I am confident that we will be able to correct our mistakes, and will be able to explain the difficulties to our people. It is then that we would be leading the country on the right line.

The progress in the field of education is rapid but it is not in the direction in which it should be. If we will not revolutionise our educational system we will not be able to make any progress. A system of education which does not make the people and the country self-reliant has to be changed. Now, it is in our hands to change our educational system. The Vidya-pith has not to do much uphill work now, but the rich experience it has gained during the last 30 years should not go to waste. It should serve as the beacon light to guide all others. The Vidya-pith need not have the false and artificial glow but it should put its light work and should attract the people. It should not lose its equilibrium in success or adversity. We should also see how it can prosper. We must remember that it owes its existence to Gandhi.

Magnum has drawn our attention to the need for physical education. We have been good businessmen but if we want a chouldier we have to bring him from outside. I sometimes wonder whether the chouldier is the enemy of

the property as the man who possesses it, if he has to depend on the character for protecting it. There are five Guparaths in the defence force. We are all businessmen and visit all parts of the world in connection with business. In business the honesty, we have to be careful. The pioneer of our coal industry here was Shri Ramchandra. The founder of the family of Sir Chintabhai. The industry is not in their hands today. We should, therefore, beware and use foresight.

The Vidyapath is not for such an industry. It has to exist for the education of our rural population. It is its duty to inject blood into the circulation of education in the villages. You graduates who have completed degree today should remember — please picture (pointing at Gandhi's picture) is before you and follow in his footsteps. You should not do anything that will bring the Vidyapath into disrepute. I hope you will prove worthy of the Vidyapath.

I give you my hearty blessings
(Reverend from Gujarat)

THE GUJARAT UNIVERSITY Foundation-Stone Laying Ceremony

The Foundation-Stone Laying Ceremony at the Gujarat University Buildings was performed by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel on 11.11.60. The following are the speeches of Shri Manoj Das and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel on the occasion.

Shri Manoj Das's Speech

By inviting Sardar Vallabhbhai to lay the foundation-stone of the University Buildings we all have undertaken a serious responsibility. It is hardly necessary to remind ourselves that we must always bear in mind this fact while carrying on the work of the University. The Sardar has been connected with the Gujarat Vidyapath since its inception. The ideals of the Vidyapath are his ideals. On the occasion of laying the foundation-stone we must bear in mind that Bombay has now an University. The growth and development of these will be in accordance with the ideals we will cherish. Sapu has left us an ideal — an ideal down for the Gujarat Vidyapath. Let us hope that that ideal will spread in us all through this University and the administration of the University will be carried on in accordance with it.

In our new university education must be given through the medium of the mother-tongue and we should see that this takes place at the earliest opportunity. The national language should also be given its proper place here. That both these languages — the mother-tongue and the national language — should be given due importance should never be out of sight. Knowledge is very good for man-redeem, but material prosperity also is necessary. Prosperity alone is not desirable. We in Gujarat — especially in Ahmedabad — have known how to attain prosperity, but we have made no name as the votaries of knowledge. I hope we shall win that name in the future. Prosperity without knowledge leads to man's fall. I hope we shall

attain to right knowledge. No doubt the Sardar's guidance will always be there for us. Let us always beware and do our work thus in the future.

Sardar Vallabhbhai's Address

Thirty years ago the same Shastri who performed the religious ceremony today at the time of laying the foundation-stone, performed the religious ceremony when I laid the foundation-stone of the Gujarat Vidyapath. So many changes have taken place in India and the world during the period of thirty years.

Our wish and dream of establishing Gujarat University has now been fulfilled. It was the desire of Gandhi when the foundation-stone of the Vidyapath was laid that there should be no Government control in the field of education. At the same time education should be of such a type that all those who imbibe it become themselves, and make their country also, self-reliant. Now, we can shape the destiny of our country as we like. It is in our own hands. No one can put any obstacles. Today this institution is coming into existence due to many years' constant efforts and planning of Dadabhai Nauroji, Shri Keshabhai and Amritlal Hargovinddas gave him support and co-operation. This institution is the outcome of all these efforts.

The difference between the old and new Ahmedabad is great. It should be so. It is indicative of the development of the City. This appears to be a new city. Many big buildings are being built, and the roads are well laid out. Those who pursue their education here are fortunate. Still the real purpose of the University lies in the achievement of the economic freedom of our country. Ahmedabad is primarily an industrial city. How did the industry come here? How was it developed? You must know where those who brought and developed this industry took their degrees and acquired their knowledge. They were not those who obtained degrees but were those who knew how to utilise the hidden resources of this land.

If you will glance over the history of rich families, you will notice that they were very hard workers. The first generation works and earns. The second one increases the wealth earned. The third generation wastes the money on luxuries. We should see that this does not happen here.

The main goal of the university is that this disparity between the city and the village should be removed. Today in the world there is a great conflict on one principle — equal opportunities for all and equal distribution of wealth. There should be no disparity between the rich and the poor. Today, the rich countries try to increase their wealth or at least see that it is not reduced; some do not hesitate to resort to destructive tactics to protect their wealth. Our culture is of a different type. We will not be able to preserve what we receive as a result of this education if the benefit and light of that education do not

reach the villages. I therefore, earnestly appeal to you all to see that the benefits of this institution reach the poor and backward villages surrounding us. thereby we can remove the poverty that is prevailing there.

After achieving independence Government tried to have separate universities. There is some difference in the cultures of the various parts. Our culture as a whole is one but in different parts there are some variations. It is a good thing if all can progress according to their inclinations and aptitudes. Then, only can we progress. The medium of instruction in the Gujarat University should be the mother-tongue, i.e. Gujarati. The foreign language prevents our mental development, and puts a great strain on our energy from very childhood. If we impart education through the mother-tongue, as has been said by Shri Honary Desai, we can get better knowledge.

Today the distance between the various parts of the world is getting shorter because of the easy communications throughout the world. It will be necessary for a few to have the knowledge of foreign languages so that we can participate in the affairs of the world. But it is not necessary for all to do so. Efforts should be made to impart education through the mother-tongue in this University, as soon as possible. At the same time the national language should have its proper place. I have to make one request to you all. I would like to tell you one thing. This University is not for the whole of Gujarat. Gujaratis and Dutch are out of it. But this is for a short time. They cannot be separate for a long time, because it is unrealistic. It is our desire to have a united Maha Gujarat. But it will take some time. Till then, however, there need not be separate universities. In Baroda they want to have a separate University. My own feeling is that there should be only one University for Maha Gujarat under whose guidance and direction all should get their proper place. We should do our work in a spirit of co-operation and goodwill so that the whole of Gujarat can be peaced off it.

I miss Dadabhai Merwanjee very much today. I believe that no one else has put in as much effort as Dadabhai Merwanjee has done in bringing the University into existence. He treated it as his own child. However, his co-operation will be forthcoming from wherever he is.

We have seen the consequences of election struggles in academic institutions in certain places. Whatever the constitution of this University may be, I hope that such consequences will not be seen here and I wish the same may be the case in other parts also. Gujarat has the unique reputation of having no troubles whatsoever in the Congress. A friend of mine has written an article after a great deal of personal experience that no complaints from Gujarat reach the head office of the Congress and that it is

due to Gandhiji and Sardar. The fact is different. We have all imbibed the lessons of Gandhiji's teachings and do not believe in mutual quarrels.

The prestige of Gujarat will depend on this University. I, therefore, appeal to the staff and Governors of the University and the students and the people of Gujarat to do nothing that will spoil its good name.

(Translated from Gujarati)

TO THE MERCANTILE COMMUNITY OF GUJARAT

(Speech delivered by the Honorable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel at the Millowners' Association Meeting, Navrang Hall on 11/10/55)

President of the Ahmedabad Millowners' Association, President of the Gujarat Mahasabha and Members,

I am really grateful to you all, the members of Ahmedabad, for the care which you have taken to ensure that I am put in the most convenient possible strain in my indifferent health. It was my desire to meet many people here. That was natural, because I do not have so many friends and relations anywhere else. I have lived here for many years and started my public career in this city. I served the city as much as I could for a number of years. I have friends in other provinces also but it was only natural that this city should have the largest number. I am sorry I could not meet all whom I wanted to. I am also not in a position to attend to the numerous letters that I am receiving but I fully appreciate the love and affection that you all bear to me. I grasp the significance of those whom I have not been able to meet.

I thank you for your warm welcome. But I hardly needed it. I am one of you. You and I are one. Tears and milk should be one goal — namely, to consolidate the hard-won freedom of our country. That should be our duty and ideal. In this religious country wealth has never occupied a prominent place. It has produced wealthy people and culture and will produce them in future also but materialism and extravagance are things which we have always held in high esteem. Religion and sacrifice have got a predominant place and every one's mind turns in that direction. No amount of wealth is worth having if it is not accompanied by piety and honour. Wealth is always transitory. Goddess Lakshmi does not stay for long where she is not properly cared for. Similarly wealth stays only where a good use is made of it. By the grace of God, you have earned wealth even though the industry here was started in difficult conditions. You have also done good business but now the times are changed. The world is changing. We have to move with the times. It is not necessary for me to say how we have to adjust because you all know it much better. You are all clever and intelligent persons. You know that today the industrialists have unfortunately lost their prestige. I do not say that you are at fault. But we have all to face facts. You must think over

what is to be done to regain this lost prestige and to increase it in the present changing conditions of the world. There is no reason for being angry at or annoyed with any one. Thoughtful people should always try to steer clear of the jaws of war that prevail in the current atmosphere. Regarding the constraints, if anyone is prepared to take the responsibility of removing constraints and honestly try to help the Government to relieve them of this burden, they will gladly consider it. It is a sad thing that there is such a mortal estrangement between you and the Government. Your work will not be done by being angry with the Government. Those who are entrusted with the task of administration today have never done any business or conducted any industry. They have neither the capacity nor the experience to solve all kinds of problems. A sort of grade and authority are inevitable concomitants of power. Some of them realize this but we have to make allowances for it and try to explain things to them. But first you should think about your own defects. When you are welcoming me here it will be improper for me as well as for you if I count your defects. Moreover, I do not know anything more than you do. Now there are some in your own house who believe that the wealth you have earned is not yours and has been earned by wrong methods, and that they should follow a different path. These sons of yours have to go to jail. The jail-going is also nowadays different from what it was during the non-co-operation movement. For any such man the best sentence is to let him try and run the mill in his own way. He will soon realize his mistake and if his intentions are honest it will not take him long to change to the right line. We should stop the freedom by which dishonesty will be put to loss or the industry suffer.

Gujaratis have a reputation for being thoughtful and wise. They have their own defects no doubt. They keep Pichans, Bhayras, Gurusas etc. to protect their property. If you have to keep a chandakar to protect your property, I wonder who is the owner of that property—the chandakar or you? The groups of Abashedah in here I therefore put this to you. Ponder over it. It is your duty to take our country on the right line after freedom. But what is independence? The Britishers have gone and the water crust has been removed, but real independence will come only when we remove the poverty of the country and stabilize its economic condition. That is our duty. We do not know when the world will be destroyed by another catastrophe. Of course, every one hopes that it will not come. The greatest organization of the world—the UMO—where representatives of all creeds meet is also making efforts for world peace. We wish it may get sufficient strength to establish peace in the world. We are also trying but it is not in

our hands. We are not so powerful. Many say that Indian foreign policy should be one of non-alignment with power blocs and following the path of morality. It is all right. But no one is confident that those who have no material power will be able to make themselves sufficiently effective. Saints and priests preach the path of morality but it is difficult to follow it in practice. It is probable that while following this policy we may have strains from both the sides. Nevertheless, our ultimate goal is to contribute our best towards the world peace. Tibet is a country which has not picked quarrel with any country. What is its condition today? It is being attacked by China. It has no strength to withstand the attack. If it had, nobody would have dared attack it. We tried our best for it. We wanted to secure a settlement of this problem by peaceful means. But China decided otherwise. In spite of our efforts we could not prevent the situation in Tibet. China also says that it has noted what we have said but that it is an internal matter. We do not know where else such things will crop up. If the conditions are such that power can be established only by the force of arms, many kinds of difficulties will arise. Our country is old. Our culture is ancient. That may not help us. Of course many foreigners who visit India appreciate our culture and monuments. There are certain things also which they criticize. We know our own shortcomings. But one thing we must understand. If the present economic condition of our country does not improve, we shall come to be really free. We should make every effort towards this end. If there is peace for five years we can do much work. But who can guarantee peace for five years, why even five months?

A few days ago, H. H. the Ambassador for America in India, Loy Henderson, gave a Press interview at Bombay. He said his country was alive to our economic condition, was sympathetic towards us and they would try to help us. We should be grateful to him for this offer of assistance. If you feel that because of pride or suspicion, or of the fear of criticism, that it will be considered alignment with one bloc, you should not avoid yourself of the offer, it would be a mistake. If any country desires to extend assistance to us with a view to help us we should accept it and should not view it with suspicion. India has attained freedom by its own efforts and by the grace of God. It does not have to fear any one. Other countries fully understand this. If with good intentions, any country offers its assistance to enable us to stand on our legs, in fact India should not refuse the offer. Many people say that we should not take the help of America because we will lose our prestige and we will be blamed for joining one bloc. We are not so ignorant as not to realize our own position and know our interest. Throughout its history America has never had any desire for

colonial power. To extend help to strengthen us as a nation is their desire. If we have faith in ourselves, we should not mind if any other country is jealous of us. Today unfortunately, the UND is not so powerful as to follow or commend all Gandhi's principles. We ourselves lack the moral authority. We quarrelled among ourselves and partitioned the country. We lost our prestige and authority in the world through the bloodshed that followed the partition. That prestige will return if we try for it. We can do it and succeed. When both the countries will realize that we have followed a wrong path, when they will feel that though India is partitioned, there is community of outlook and interest, when people of both the countries can safely go from one to the other, when they realize that their friends and relations live in each other's domain and they are economically united. Their business inter-connected, then only that condition can come which will bring about real unity of heart. One thing is, however, always true. One who tries to help others when his own house is on fire will not be able to achieve much. I therefore frankly tell you today — and who will tell you if not I? — that the prestige of the capitalists and industrialists has deteriorated. Businessmen are arrested. Of course, every thing in the world is not good. Even when it is proved, it is not always true. When Bapu and I were in jail there was one Irishman as father. We used to ask him his opinion about the prisoners. He used to reply that these are all thieves who have been caught while we are thieves who are not caught. Such things go on in the world. If you lose your prestige it would be difficult to work in the present time. I therefore advise you all to do one thing. There will be opportunities in future for you to earn. This is the time to make some sacrifice for the country. I do not mean that you should work without profits. If you can do it so much the better. But if you put your heart in helping others your work will be appreciated even though you may make some profit. Otherwise the people will say that even in the difficult times for the country you showed the same selfishness.

Today businessmen are charged with black-marketing and it is common talk. The black market should be ended. It is not possible for the Government to do it single-handed. When the Government is criticized they find some one who is to be blamed. Government have their own difficulties but we should understand each other's difficulties and instead of criticizing should try to find ways and means to help each other. I also wish that the Government may take the lead in this matter.

Many people talk of nationalisation of industries. When I went to Madras 14 years ago, I said — though some did not like it — that there could be no nationalisation in our country

during our lifetime. Our country has not got sufficient resources, sufficient manpower or sufficient talents to do this. These talks are moon-shine. When I said this some people were upset that you see today that we are where we were at that time. The reason is that we have not got the means to do this.

The strength of the previous Government was in the Civil Service. Today there are only a few of them left. They are doing the work as best as they can. But just like a train in motion which goes on moving for some time even after the engine stops, this will go on for some time. You should not worry about the aspect of nationalisation. After all, even if it happens, what are you going to lose? You will have your own proper place in it if it is for the welfare of the country. If the Government also utilizes your intelligence and experience it will benefit. I shall be happy, others also will be happy, if we can find out some way by mutual consultation to improve the economic condition of the country. Businessmen have lost their trade, the middle classes are suffering untold hardships. Industrialists have also suffered. It is our duty to find out some way. Right and right! I think of only one thing — How to improve the economic condition of our country? I pray to God that Allahabad may devise a solution and give a lead to the country.

(Translated from Bengali)

— Sri Chattampi Swamikal

Uncertainty Control

The price of two kinds of paddy of a certain variety is fixed, say, at Rs 12-4-0 in the beginning of the season and this same price rules throughout the year. When a new crop is harvested and gathered, the grains weigh more and measure more. There is a certain amount of moisture in the grains and some grains which will turn out to be useless afterwards pass current during the first few weeks after harvest.

Paddy is generally harvested in these parts in December and when it is stored in pits or godowns, there is a shrinkage in the size and weight of the grain. Apart from the damage done by rats, squirrels etc. the defect caused by the natural elements is considerable and every producer knows that it works out at 24 or 3 per cent.

In ordinary times, the price of old paddy, i.e. paddy sold in October and November is higher than that of new paddy disposed off in December. But under the Control System devised by our intelligentsia, there is a flat rate for whole year. It causes unnecessary loss to the cultivator, the landlord and even to the merchants storing paddy. This defect has to be remedied. If it is not openly done, it will be surreptitiously done by the producer or merchant. Per centage will enter into dealings that eat away the original capital, whether it is grain or coin.

Vinayachandran, 2-11-73

STABHAN

HARIJAN

Nov. 18

1954

THE PLACE OF VIOLENCE IN A DEMOCRACY

Commenting in *Marquessdalen* (1-10-53) on the recent Bombay Textile Labour Strike, I regretted hoodlums and acts of violence on the part of the strikers. This has brought me a letter asking me to explain why I had blamed only the strikers for hoodlums and acts of violence on their part, while I was completely silent over the use of unrestrained and unnecessary violence by the Government.

Let me explain my attitude. We are all taking the first lesson in democracy. Neither the party in power nor the rival political parties and the people, and still less the police and the members of the services, have quite clear ideas about the code of rules and discipline, which should be observed in conducting their respective activities or carrying out their duties for the successful working of a democracy. The services, which the British Government handed over to us, were trained in bureaucratic methods, responsible only to their immediate masters. The Congress too, however pure its motives and however great its admiration for democratic ideas, was born nourished and developed in the bureaucratic atmosphere of the British regime. The bureaucracy had its own ideas and methods of maintaining peace, silencing opposition, and enforcing order. It had some salient features of its own. Though the Congress suffered repression at its hands, the only other form of Government which it knew was the rule of the Indian princes. Between the two, the former was certainly better. These impressions, the Congress engine cannot shake off. It therefore tends to believe, in spite of its ideals and inclinations towards non-violence, that there are occasions when in order to carry on the civil administration of the country, the Government has no choice but to resort to force and violence. There is, however, one feature which distinguishes the Congress from the other political parties in India. It has, at least as an intellectual concept for its ultimate aim, the ideals of pure democracy, progressive advance towards non-violence and equal rights for all citizens irrespective of caste, creed and colour. These are the *Sarve Sam Mitra* (These National Principles) of the Congress. I do not see any other party, which accepts all the three principles.

I therefore, admit that with all my criticisms of the shortcomings and failings of the Congress Government, I have a soft corner for it, and my reproaches are those of a friend and well-wisher and not as of a member of a rival political party.

The machinery through which the Congress has to run the administration is one which was

left to us by the British. That Government had followed a definite policy of recruiting persons with pro-British or anti-Congress inclinations. In the atmosphere then prevailing, friends and sympathisers of the Congress preferred not to join Government services. The non-violent method of winning independence and the constitutional manner of transfer of power made it impossible for the Congress to replace completely the old bureaucratic servants by a new personnel infused with the spirit of the Congress. Even if it had tried to do so, it is possible that, for some years at least, it might have resulted in a greater moral downfall of the Congress and a greater initial dislocation of work and inefficiency in the administrative machinery brought up and trained as it is in an atmosphere in which promotions in services depended upon flattery, favour and good opinion of the heads rather than on the amount of happiness and prosperity secured to the people, the service is trained to particular notions and ways of executing work. It is dilatory, expensive, shrewd and constantly transferring duties from hand to hand and to servants of the lowest rank, regardless of the comforts and considerations of the people. Its estimates and statistics are inaccurate and misleading. Often the ignorance of its 'very able and experienced officers' is amazing. Ministers have to act and run the Government with this instrument. Hence it often happens that the administrative machinery defeats new policies and frustrates all attempts to change the established routine.

On the other hand, agitators and organisers of popular movements seem to forget that now that a democratic type of a responsible Government has been established in India, the method of obtaining public opinion on one's party lines in order to secure a majority at elections and to oust the Congress from power has also to be democratic, constitutional and entirely free from acts of hoodlums. They continue to follow the old patterns of resisting the Government of the day, such as organising strikes, agitations and demonstrations for political ends. When in agitations of this kind there is absence of insistence on non-violence, the police have also used the same old methods of establishing law and order and dealing with lawless situations. Though this is reprehensible it is not to be wondered at. For, in such a situation, if the Government is not pledged to spare violence under any circumstances, and if there is not one who can venture forth into the storm alone, the minister has no alternative but to give a free hand to the Police Chief.

The Congress did not accept non-violence in the running of Government. There is also no other party, which promises to do so, if invested with power. If there were an attempt on my part or that of my friends to bring into existence a political party pledged to meet all circumstances with non-violence only, I would be

justified in severely criticizing Congress Governments for resorting to violence in the way they do. But I make no such attempt, nor are others doing it. I do not even see its possibility in the immediate future. Under these circumstances, it is futile to protest too much against the present Government in the name of non-violence. I have to take it for granted that whatever be the party in power it will not hesitate to resort to force and violence for quelling disturbances and hoodlums on the part of the people.

But even if I am a friend of the Government, I am more interested in the happiness, prosperity and proper development and training of the people than in pleasing the Government. I belong to no political party. My sympathy towards any party is conditioned by its insistence on the observance of moral principles. I measure the value of the party not from its manifestoes but from the way in which it seeks to consolidate its power, the sort of people it gathers together, the way in which it tries to stem itself of its imperious and the methods it employs at elections. I judge the worth of a party not from what showy success it achieves, but from what sort of training the people get through it, what moral progress it brings about and what qualities and virtues it develops among the people for the successful working of the Indian democracy. Consequently, I regard acts of violence by the people and their encouragement by the leaders more injurious to the cause of the people than the use of force by the State. Of course, it is proper and legitimate to condemn police measures or repressive measures in the severest language and to ask for an impartial inquiry where such cases are made out. But that the people should give an opportunity to the Government to resort to violence, or attempt to answer it with counter-violence is a matter of greater concern. If a government resorts to violence frequently, extensively, treacherously, or vindictively, it will weaken itself in a democracy. If the people as a rival party does so it will sap its own strength and the cause of democracy, and make room for Fascism and dictatorship.

I wish to impress upon the people and the various political parties that if the people are properly trained and led along non-violent lines to resist Government repression and injustice with the faith that by a scrupulous regard for non-violence and self-suffering they strengthen their own cause and build up their own strength, it is easier to overthrow a party in power or force it to surrender even while it commands an overwhelming majority in the legislature and runs the Government through force and repression. This is possible only when every rival political party and the people in general believe in democracy, self-sacrifice, purity of means and the value of discipline. If the people are instigated to acts of violence to defeat or paralyse the Government of the day, the only result will be

incalculable destruction of life and property, and the breakdown of civil administration and of the social and economic life of the people, particularly in the cities. If a more change of hands in the Government to the end in view, the first effort will be the establishment of military rule in place of civil rule. For instance, in Bombay the first person to take power from Shri Khar would be Sardar Baldevsingh or General Kharapoo. Only if these military heads are in collusion with the revolting party, the latter can stage a show of revolution. But if they are loyal to the party in power, the revolting party would be repressed with a heavy hand, bringing also suffering to the general population. In either case the initial result will be the establishment of a military government and the proclamation of Martial Law. It can lead only to the repetition of the events, which followed the murders on mass of the members of the Dharma Cabinet.

Hence I lay more emphasis on the observance of perfect non-violence by the people than by the State. Let the people be organized as well as you will for resisting misadministration and injustice and for good self-government, but they must be organized with the strictest emphasis on non violence and pure means.

Varanasi 6-11-36

K. S. MANSUKHLAL

NECESSITY OF IMPARTIAL NEWSPAPERS

Incidentally I wish to call attention to a great necessity in journalism. Living in a secluded place like Varanasi I have no access to have authentic information for forming an opinion on whether a particular firing was justified or whether more force than necessary was resorted to. We have few newspapers in our country which have the reputation of representing correct facts and information in an impartial manner. Every newspaper gives its own political colour to events. Thus the same news appear in one form in a Congress paper and quite another in a Socialist one. It is, therefore, difficult for me to arrive at a correct appreciation of facts. Ordinary people do not read many papers. They read usually the same paper to which they are accustomed and base their views on the presentation of facts therein. Thus even without checking the editorials the readers come to look upon the same event from different angles, because each presents the facts in a particular political fashion.

Therefore, if I read in a newspaper or in a private letter a serious protest against allegedly unjustifiable measures by a government I am not sure of the correctness of it and hesitate to condemn the Government on its behalf. It is not possible for me to make an independent enquiry. Sometimes I refer to the Government concerned a complaint brought to my notice in a compelling manner. More often than not, I get a plausible explanation. I cannot have means to test its truth, and I excuse them. It

as false. Moreover, this necessarily entails a great delay and then it becomes too stale for content.

We can hope for the conditions to improve only if our newspapers—at least a few of them—build up a reputation of impartial representation of facts, and if correspondents also write not on hearsay reports but what they have themselves seen or after careful inquiry ascertained. Every province should have a few such papers. The papers which will build such a reputation for themselves will raise the standard of Indian journalism and contribute their share in shaping Bharat. If it happens to be the organ of any party, it will also strengthen the power of that party to a greater extent than a party organ dedicated to carry on propaganda on its behalf with regard for truth.

Mumbai, 8-11-60

K. G. MANGRUPALLA

DEATH-BLOW TO A GREAT COTTAGE INDUSTRY

The Indian Republic of Madras of 26th October publishes a Delhi message of the 25th idem, regarding the ceiling prices of gur in the several States in the Indian Union. The price ranges from Rs 18 per maund in U. P., Bihar and Madras to Rs 22 in Assam, Coorg etc. Last year there was no such order. The price of sugar is fixed at Rs 15-4 per maund, but this is the same rate as that fixed for last year.

The same paper, in its issue of the 26th, quoted portions of the speech delivered at Bombay on the 21th instans by Shri K. Suresh, Chairman of the Deccan Sugar Producers Association. While deploring therein that the price of sugar had not been increased by the Government he was gratified to note that "the Government had decided to control the production of khandsari sugar and gur by a system of control and license."

These two bits of news have to be put together and studied.

Jaggery is now selling at Rs 1-8-0 to 1-10-0 per ma of 3 lb. and at that rate the cost of a maund would be roughly Rs 40, to Rs 45. If the present stocks in the possession of growers, owners and middlemen have to be disposed at at the proposed rates, they will be completely raised. The rate of Rs 18 per maund of gur covered over the cost of production taking into consideration the cost of cane and labour and transport charges incurred in the process of production.

The clear effect of the new Order will be that gur production will dwindle down to an insignificant quantity. The cane will be directed to sugar factories and sugar production will proportionately increase. The village khatwa will become idle, village labour will lose its job and the thousands of individuals engaged in the trade

will have to close down their businesses and seek fresh fields.

A direct effect of this Order will be that the price of gur in the market will jump up, stocks will be hoarded and will go under-ground, and the poor consumer for so fast of his will have to purchase for his weekly festival days at black-market rates.

An indirect effect will be that the manufacture of Ayurvedic medicines will be adversely affected by the scarcity of gur and will be compelled to push up the prices of aconites, arishtas and other preparations wherein gur is an essential ingredient. Another effect will be that the consumers will be compelled to use decaffeinated sugar devoid of all minerals and vitamins which are so abundant in gur.

The effect on the general public will be demoralization. Everybody who uses gur will be driven to the black market. When the consumers in general go to the black market, it ceases to be such and will transform itself into the open white market. In other words it means that the new Order will cease to be effective and come into contempt, a result which should not be contemplated or courted by any decent and self-respecting Government. Otherwise, they shall have to meet in ruthless repression on a large scale.

Last year sugar control had created a critical situation, if not a scandal and the Government was compelled by force of public criticism and circumstances to appoint an Enquiry Committee. But its terms of reference were unfortunately so restricted that the high-placed officers, both in the States and at the Centre who may have been involved in the matter were kept out of the picture.

This year's Gur Order will, I am afraid, be attended by consequences no less tragical both to the cottage industry and the country.

It is passing through that a somewhat flourishing village industry should be sacrificed in the interests of a centralized mill industry producing a harmful substance which, in spite of protection extending over a quarter of a century, cannot compete with the foreign article.

What with controls, current inflation, ever-mounting prices of food-stuffs, corruption, black-marketing, increasing expenditures on the Civil administration and the Military and the Police and other new taxes, the situation is daily becoming more and more unbearable and demands an effective and immediate redress.

In 1942, Raja found the wastes "Quit India" for the British after 30 years of patient search, untold suffering and intelligent research. Now after 2 years of our national rule, inadvertently bursts out the old waste in the new form "Quit Congress" and "Quit Office." That alone will relieve the acute distress of the 40 millions of poor India. It may be recalled that one of the Supreme Court Judges recently advised

the M. P. Government to quit office if they cannot rule except with the aid of tyrannous and extraordinary legislation. That was a timely utterance and with necessary modification will be a sure remedy in the political field.

The general public may study the implications of the motion "Quit Congress—Quit Office" and, if satisfied, apply it immediately for relieving an almost hopeless situation. I am driven to the painful conclusion that with the same masses on the lips and grim determination in the hearts, the people should organize themselves and either achieve Satyagraha till they succeed or perish in the struggle.

Vinayachandran, 3-11-50

SRIRANG

ECONOMIC FREEDOM

Freedom is an old idea. We all know what is political freedom, individual freedom, and freedom of speech and association. We also know freedom of the Press. India had lost her freedom in several of these spheres for some centuries. It has regained much of it. But we have not recovered one of the most important of it, namely, economic freedom. What do we mean by economic freedom? Bernard Shaw in his famous book *An Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism* has regarded it as equivalent to the right to average per capita income. But this right is associated with duties. A man cannot establish his rights unless he performs the part he is capable of. But in the present age of industrialisation many people are continually being thrown out of employment for one reason or another, for instance, innovations in machinery, deadlocks, or 'shysters' of capital etc. So even if a man seeks work, he is unable to get the work of the type he is fitted for. The ills and miseries of the present world are to a great extent due to lack of proper organisation of the human material. So, in any planning, the first aim of the planners should be how best to utilise the existing man power so that the vast human energy may not be dissipated. If it is not so done, it will burst itself in destructive forms. Planners must examine each trade and see that people are not made compulsorily idle day after to dumping of goods by foreign countries or any industry creating unemployment.

Economic provision must, therefore, mean provision of full employment—security from beggary, and self-earned saving against sickness and old age.

Political freedom is dependent upon economic freedom and not vice versa. Political freedom cannot be enjoyed by people who are economically dependent upon others. A boss can control the votes of the men under him. Because the number of the unemployed is far greater than that of the employed, a voter cannot afford to dispense his vote, by voting against his wishes. But if the voter were a master of his economic living, or assured of an employ-

ment somewhere else, he would exercise his political freedom as he chose.

It is true that we do not now have slavery as in the old days. Nevertheless a labourer has to sell his labour to an employer. Like any other commodity, the purchaser of labour tries to purchase it as cheaply as possible. There is always a tug-of-war going on between the employer and the employed. The law of supply and demand has been working in every field. Should it embrace the human world? Is the law of supply and demand of universal application? Will a pound of rice if bought at a higher price give more calorific value than that bought at a lower price? If an M.A. be paid less than a B.A. will the M.A. become less qualified? But this is a commercial age. People's outlook on life has become commercial. A man of wealth is more respected than a man of learning or a social worker.

This age must yield place to a newer age, when people's minds will be free from commercialism, when they will learn to pay attention to the intrinsic values of men and things.

To get a proper perspective of the intrinsic qualities of a man as well as to assess his worth, the existing vast differences in incomes among the people of India must be narrowed. Even though India has become a Republic, a Rajagopalan's remuneration goes at some thousand rupees a month, whereas that of a ration-buider, like the primary school teacher, is less than Rs.10 a month. This is so, because he belongs to the class of employment workers—the unemployed first. Besides the employed—there is a vast array of the unemployed who have no income at all. Our President Dr. Rajagopalan had enquired into the incomes of the workers in railways. He found that their income was so meagre that it was not possible for them to have two square meals a day. Things have improved since. But what is he going to do to reduce the heavy expenditure incurred on the civil administration at the centre?

The beautiful words incorporated in the Charter of Human Rights in U.N.O. and in our Constitution of the Republic of India will only adorn the pages of the Constitution without being translated into practice unless the National Wealth is distributed with an eye to the needs of all the members of society. People cannot be useful members of society unless they have economic freedom.

To provide full-scale employment to the people of India, industrialisation should be adopted and subordinated to the Gandhian programme, i.e. full utilisation of human power before the introduction of mechanical power. The Father of the Nation foresaw the destructive features and the ruinous future of industrialisation and so he chalked out a different course for his country.

ANANTHAPPA PAI.

A WARNING FOR ALL

I call attention of the Governments and the people to the article "Death-blow to a Great Colonial Industry", printed elsewhere in these columns. The signatories, several Sikharis Sastri will not be considered a hot-headed rash politician. When he is driven to write an article such as that, the Governments concerned should understand how desperate the situation is and how indignant the people feel about Government policy and administration. Will they take timely notice? Or will they allow their rivals to exploit the situation and provide the people to acts of direct action which might burst into violence at any stage, for want of leaders capable of effectively enforcing discipline and controlling the masses?

To Shri Sitaramji and to correspondents from U. P., Bihar and other provinces, who also think on parallel lines, I make a request not to speak of Satyagraha without serious thinking. Satyagraha cannot be launched unless there is perfect control over the masses and a non-violent atmosphere. The Satyagraha must be perfectly disciplined, and the leader must have sufficient prestige with the people to enable him to successfully direct, restrict or withdraw a movement in such manner as he might deem proper at any moment. Moreover, before a Satyagraha can be launched all other peaceful methods must have been also tried and exhausted. For instance, they can organise a country-wide protest against policies hostile to the well-being of the masses; responsible people can contact Ministers and the Congress President, press upon them the popular demands and bring home to them the seriousness of the situation. If the Ministers or any of them are corrupt, corrupt, or inefficient or if they plead helplessness against their officers, they might demand a change in their personnel. In doing so, they must be ready with a list of other worthy names. These names should be of people of dependable character and efficiency, capable of undertaking the responsibilities of office and prepared, if necessary, to bring even a new set of officers to carry out the right policies.

At one period we nourished the thought that "Good government is an substitute for self-government." That thought has borne its fruit; we have got self-government. We did not then think much of good government, and so we need not blame any one but ourselves, if the Government is bad or not good enough. Let us now nourish the thought of self-run, good-government and work hard for that end. God willing, we shall have that, too, in due course.

While we might freely agitate for removal of policies, change of Ministers, or introduction of better men in the services, let us also realise the formal situation, which Sardar Vallabhbhai has often placed before us along with his wise counsel. His latest speech at Ahmedabad in reply to birthday congratulations deserves to be

carefully read.* Let me also quote from his speech at Indore a few days ago.

"We are all children. We make mistakes and have been experiencing. We are still labouring in the realm of democracy. We shall, I hope be able to run after burning down men and their, and will not be behind other countries."

Wardha 2-31-50

K. C. HAREENDRA

FELICITATIONS TO SARDAR VALLABHBHAI

Three of the numerous messages of birthday greetings received on the occasion of the birthday that Sardar gave to Sardar Vallabhbhai at Ahmedabad on 12th October, 1950 are reproduced below:—

(1)

New Delhi, 20-10-50

Sardar Vallabhbhai is one of those great men whose name will for ever be engraved in the history of modern India. He was called the right hand of Mahatma Gandhi and few can equal him in the number of arduous and important tasks he has been able to achieve.

In the half a dozen places where India saw the sunrise both of Satyagraha during Gandhi's lifetime Sardar Vallabhbhai played an important role, and the Satyagraha of Bardoli not only awakened the whole country, but also prepared it for the final fight for Swaraj. It was after the successful termination of the Bardoli struggle that the countrywide Satyagraha campaign was launched upon in 1930, and came to a successful end in 1947 with the attainment of Swaraj. His success after he joined the Government has been equally marvellous. And where formerly countless tiny States were scattered all over the land, he joined and united all of them in such a way that today we find a uniform type of administration under the same Constitution all over the country—from the North to the South, from the East to the West. Whatever desiderata there still are in this will be made good in course of time. There was hardly at any time in the past such a unified State under one government. And though India has been numbered in twains—one piece on the northwest and another on the north-east have been cut off and separated—still the area and the population of the country that has remained are still are so large that there was never before in Bharat so large an area and population under one sovereign government and administration. The Sardar's task determined with wisdom and sense of the country are well known. Those who do not know him well call him the man of men. But in reality he is as soft and kinder as a flower; and those who have been fortunate to taste his love know how sweet it is. His humour and laughter are well known to those who have come in contact with him. The Sardar's leadership and guidance are very necessary in the present condition of India and it is my prayer to God that He may grant him a long and healthy life for the welfare of us all and the country.

RAJENDRACHAND

* The speech referred to will be given in the next issue.

(2)

New Delhi, 24-10-50

I should like to pay my homage of respect and affection to Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel on the occasion of his completing his 75th year. Few persons can have such a long and notable record of service to their credit as Sardar Patel has had. Given so, he is at the helm of affairs, vital to the nation, and carrying a great responsibility, and we all hope that he will have many long years of health and service before him.

I look back to the thirty years of comradeship and intimate contact with him in national activities. It has been a period full of ups and downs and great happenings and all of us have been tried to the utmost. Sardar Patel has emerged from these ordeals as a dominating figure on the Indian scene, to whom vast numbers look for guidance. May he be spared long to us and to the country.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

(2)

Poona, 24-10-50

My dear Kanjibhai,

I thank you for your letter dated the 21st October 1950, inviting me to the celebration of Sardar Jyotsna on the 31st October at Ahmednagar. I greatly regret that owing to work in connection with the Session of the Bombay Legislature here I am unable to leave Poona.

On behalf of myself and the people of Bombay I send most respectful and heartfelt congratulations and greetings to the Sardar on this happy occasion. A merciful Providence has restored him to health after the serious illness he recently had. He was one of the ablest leaders of Mahatma Gandhi in our struggle for freedom and it was his extremely well-directed courage at Bardoli that showed the possibilities of Mahatma's unique weapon of non-violent non-co-operation which ultimately brought us Swaraj. It was at Bardoli that I had the privilege of first meeting him and making his close acquaintance. His advice and guidance have been of invaluable help on many difficult problems. I came to discover the calm and genial side of his nature and he looked after and kept us all in good cheer in prison.

Since independence was attained he has been a pillar of strength to the country. In his handling of the problems of Hyderabad and Junagadh, in bringing, as if by a miracle, all the States in the country in line with the rest of it under a uniform system of administration and in the great contribution he made to our Constitution, particularly in regard to the problem of minorities, he has shown rare qualities of statesmanship and courage for which our countrymen can never be too grateful to him.

May he be spared for many more years so that the country may benefit by his ripe experience and sound advice.

Yours sincerely,
B. G. KARKH

NOTICE

Food, Jute and Sugar-Cane

The people and Government always recognise of the critical food situation in the country. Strongly enough, both of them contribute to the continuance of the crisis and to the increase of its deepening gloom.

The latest figures published in the Press in the State of Madras show that there is an increase of over 1,000 acres under sugar-cane as compared with last year. Further, there is a new item which gleefully tells us that one lakh acres of land have been changed over to jute cultivation in the four districts of Odishah, Karnool, Bellary and Anantapur. The total acreage under jute for the whole State is not yet known.

This increase in sugar-cane and change-over to jute must be at the expense of the food crops. Sugar-cane is not a primary article of food either as such to be chewed or as jaggery or as sugar. It is an article of luxury to the masses of ill-fed or under-fed people. Jute is none of us knows can fill the human stomach. It can only help the big game industrialists and cane dealers for exports for their own benefit.

Avaricious people may cultivate cash-paying crops. But a Government permitting such a deplorable change-over cannot be credited with far-sightedness or wisdom. They cannot justify their claim that their Grow More Food Campaign has succeeded or benefited the people or has won a remote chance of success. For few lands are brought under the plough for Grow More Food, while good lands known for their fertility and crop-yielding capacity are utilized for these money crops. Nor can the Government apishly claim the right to control or ration the food-stuffs raised by innocent persons.

If the Government cannot remedy this state of things it cannot be credited with efficiency, and necessarily forfeits the confidence of the people.

Vijayaraghavan 3-11-50

MADRAS

What An Extravagance!

The Government of Madras in its issue of July 1950, published a table of monthly emoluments and total hours of work of twenty of the leading Indian cinema stars.

The first in the list works four hours in a month and gets a remuneration of Rs.1 lakh. The second one gets Rs. 80,000 for the same number of hours of work.

The maximum number of hours of work which four stars are required to put in is 16 per month; the rest of them work 1 or 8 hours in a month and the maximum remuneration is not less than Rs. 20,000 per month.

This shows how thoughtlessly and greatly extravagant we are as a people. The Film Production Houses could not afford to pay such fabulous emoluments in a nation which lived thrift and simplicity. In a country where sufficient capital is not available for nation-building

activities such as education, health, agriculture, etc. It is tragic that people spend so much idle pastime which spoil the mental standard of the nation. Should people spend more of talents on such things and serve moral men?

Wardha

H. K. T.

Tivvrikka

The All India Bhumatarika Conference recently held in Bombay under the chairmanship of the Hon'ble Mr Justice Bhagwati of the Bombay High Court has, among others, passed a resolution against exporting unfortunate monkeys and other animals from India to Europe and America for experiments in medical virological laboratories there.

In this connection, I credit the attention of readers to the following pamphlets, which will convince them of the existence and seriousness of moral sexual vitiations. They can be obtained free of charge from the addresses noted below them.

1. Subjects of Viperation

2. Child against Viperation,

These two from the United League of
Theosophists 31, Mahatma Gandhi Road,
Bombay 1.

3. Nature Cure Treatment of Diseases
without medicine and without
physic treatment.

From Dr. J. Anandam,
140, Cantata Hall Bombay 36.

4. Exorcism of Viperation Poed,
From the Bombay Theosophical League,
140, Sheriff Road, Bombay 2.

J. H. MANEAL,
Secretary

United Humanitarian League

ANTI-LEPROSY WORK IN INDIA

THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON Leprosy, which met in Bombay in the first week of October last, under the presidency of Dr B. Bhargava, one of the great living authorities on leprosy work. He is eighty years of age now and has served this cause in India for thirty years. His life experience is thus very valuable.

The experience which he is reported to have expressed in his concluding remarks at the end of the Conference are worthy of remembrance. He was old, he said, and there was hardly any chance of his coming to India once again. But he would love to be reborn to serve poor Indian villages for curing the cause of leprosy. He knew that the Indian village would not give him money, electricity houses and modern conditions. But he would not mind that and that was all that he needed.

It is by the love and service of millions persons such as these that a people becomes "blessed."

The following is the full text of his speech.

(—E. K. M.)

I want it a great honour to be asked to give the presidential address at this Conference, and it is a particularly kind thought, as it is just 35 years this month since I began work on leprosy in the Calcutta School of Tropical Medicine.

In summary on the results of anti-leprosy work in India since 1920, we can say two things, we have known a good deal more about the disease than we did then, but it is questionable if that knowledge has in any sense caused a diminution of leprosy in the country.

Advances in Knowledge

Let us first, shortly list a few of the advances in our knowledge, and then consider the methods of control as present in use and judge if there is any way in which they come short and should be modified or improved.

What, surely, has been made of the clinical picture of leprosy. Early and late cases which 25 years ago were

passed over as straightforward are now familiar in all leprosy workers.

We recognize the diffuse leprosy more and more, with its no clinical signs, but histologically strongly positive and, as its name suggests, a particular danger to the public.

We know more of the pathology of leprosy and of its connections with the clinical types, though in this field there are still problems awaiting solution.

Much labour has been spent on attempts to culture and teach the bacteria in tissue, but without any positive results that have been confirmed or not, with general acceptance.

The Leprosy Test first described by Mitsuda round about 1930, has been of great value in the treatment and prognosis of leprosy. It has more than anything else clarified our ideas regarding the essential distinction between the two main types of leprosy, showing that this distinction depends on the degree of resistance to the bacteria. The nature and cause of this resistance will surely be clarified.

Considerable progress has been made in the treatment of leprosy, first by the injection of hyaluronase and its derivatives and in the last few years by the use of streptomycin. Though the latter are gradually coming into general use, investigation is still necessary regarding chemotherapy, especially the substance affecting skin and other tissues. In fact there have been of treatment have opened up a large field for the research.

The importance of general treatment in leprosy has also been stressed, and especially the care and improvement of physical and mental health by carefully planned and graded employment and suitable diet. Deformities are prevented and treated by various forms of physiotherapy and with the aid of plastic surgery. Whether or not it will become possible with the use of new drugs to limit early cases of leprosy, it should at least be guaranteed to arrest the progress of the disease in all moderately early cases, and the greater deformities started to be reversed.

In the last 35 years leprosy has been asked from the status of an "infectious" skin disease and disfigurement to a treatable and curable disease, and to more and more being accepted as such by the medical profession.

During these years considerable progress has been made in India and we now know far more about the control of leprosy. The leprosy problem based on opinion reports of a little more than one half has now been reduced to well over one fourth. In addition to this, many other epidemiological factors have been elucidated, though much still waits to be done in this data.

But with all this addition to our knowledge there is still signs of any diminution in the number of the disease.

Let us therefore study critically the present resources to see the provision and control to deal with when they come short and what practical changes or improvements can be made. In such a study there are certain accepted principles regarding leprosy which should help to guide us.

Usual Practices Regarding Leprosy

1. Leprosy is in the great majority of cases spread by more or less close contact with an open case.

2. Children are more susceptible than adults.

3. A small minority of individuals (about 5 per cent) are more susceptible than others and tend to develop the more severe form of the disease.

4. Leprosy can be prevented by taking a few simple personal, family or community precautions.

5. Leprosy is primarily a disease of villages, spreads principally among the poor and less educated masses, other but not infrequently attacks the upper classes when they employ members of the former communities as servants and in other capacities.

6. Leprosy is increasingly a disease of industrial areas where a heavily populated composed of many types and grades move together freely when in crowded circumstances and offices, the moral and sanitary conditions

which safeguard the more almost communities in the village.

7 Leprosy is often infectious long before it is contagious and persons in their first few years before they are recognized as having the disease are a potential danger to contacts in the family and the village, and in various forms of employment.

8 The prevalent habit of driving out a leprosy patient from the family and village so that he is compelled to take refuge where he can to wander about as a beggar, is one which is likely to broadcast the disease to other as yet unaffected communities.

These possibilities of leprosy should be kept in mind as we proceed to study the question of control.

Methods of Control

All persons there are two main methods in force in India for the control of leprosy one is the medical institutions (hospitals, sanatoria, colonies, settlement or rehabilitation, and the other is the religious shrines. To what extent are these two methods of control meeting the situation?

Supposing that of the estimated 10 lakhs of victims of leprosy in India only one-third are open cases (and this is a low estimate), then there are 3 lakhs of potential sources of infection of whom only some 10 thousand (about 1 in 30) can find accommodation in residential institutions. Public work is being done in many of these institutions, but they can have little effect in checking the disease as a whole. In fact some of the most popular and best-run colonies and sanatoria, though unable to accept more patients for lack of funds and capacity, yet attract patients from a distance, with the result that neighboring towns become infested with open cases, or what unfortunates colored are turned to their highlanded the infestations of which are treated in the institutions as outpatients.

So that an establishment of release made efforts to the control or eradication of leprosy may actually beget the indirect cause of further dissemination of the disease.

The other main feature of 19 years is that in the religious shrines. Shrines vary largely on a large scale in the middle India largely as the result of visits of a survey party under Dr. Lord Hunter to that of the provinces and Union of India. The object of these visits was to determine the conditions of religious centers from which cases would be followed up to their villages, contacts examined and a general survey made, at the same time the villages being situated in the nature of leprosy and presumed to house their open cases at home or in communal isolation centers. This method, popularly known as "Preyapada, Treatment, Survey (P.T.S.)", was on the face of the well-known tuberculosis shrine begun by Sir Robert Philip in Bombay which have proved so fruitful in controlling that disease.

It was easy to bring doctors and give injections to large numbers of patients who crowded to them. But the other, more difficult, but all-important part of the programme was unfortunately, for want of staff or lack of cultural interest, entirely ignored and effectively. It doubts these shrines have done some good work, especially in persons with the minor forms of the disease, but here again the good has been counter-balanced by open cases travelling from long distances in public vehicles to attend the shrines, and sometimes even spreading the light among neighboring villages on the way.

Summing up the results of the last thirty years of anti-leprosy campaigns in India, we can say that our knowledge though still very limited has increased considerably. In fact we can say that although there is still urgent need for further research we already have sufficient knowledge to control leprosy if only that knowledge were brought into action, and still that is more than it is at this time to be made progress in control.

Recommended Method of Control

In what way should the present measures against leprosy be modified or replaced?

India being largely a land of villages, and leprosy primarily a village disease it seems clear that if leprosy is to be controlled it must be by work in the villages. The present medical institutions or most of them are not doing good and effective work, should be maintained but they should at the same time be further developed as centres from which the villages round about them are visited, surveys undertaken and prevention and education carried out. Work in villages requires energy and initiative, as well as devotion and patience. Additional staff of the right kind would be necessary, but if the right approach were made much less help should be available from within the villages themselves.

When starting work in new areas, instead of erecting extensive buildings at great expense, I suggest building a treatment centre with hospital beds sufficient for those requiring temporary hospitalization, and accommodation suitable for members of the staff. From this centre work of the P.T.S. type which I have already mentioned would be conducted in the surrounding villages, beginning with the poorest ones and gradually extending to a widening circle to those further away.

The central aim should be to get each village or group of villages in India effectively its own open case in such a way that they will not spread disease.

How this central aim can best be accomplished will depend on different local circumstances and vary according to the staff available. The size and nature of the village isolation centre will be subject to the number of cases and the land available. Whether complete isolation would be necessary or feasible, or some partial method such as night isolation as suggested by Dr. Colver, would be sufficient, is a matter for local study.

If properly carried out, the advantage of the village method as compared with those in force at present are therefore:

(1) Patients would be less likely to wander about and infect outsiders, (2) the village would become source of leprosy (epizootic), and that is a large step forward in the control of the disease, (3) patients would be educated and open cases isolated and treated from the beginning without making all they had become except cases and could no longer remain "Matters".

The founding of such a centre would of course require a specialized staff and would generally require, at least at first, some outside financial aid but expenditure would be small as compared with that required for a large residential colony. One method men could with the aid of trained lay workers conduct a considerable number of village or joint village centres.

There would also be a large scope for voluntary village workers who, once the scheme in one centre was well under way, could be encouraged with training in such a minimum of suitable help and supervision. As a side issue the leprosy centre would teach village cooperation and values which could gradually be extended in other forms of responsible village improvement.

To what extent such a scheme could be quickly expanded I am unable to say. I only feel that it be given a thorough try-out in different parts of India in preference to founding more large colonies of the present type. Success would depend largely on the staff available and the financial aid in which they undertake their work. There are no ready money or to boost their position would certainly not make a success of it.

This scheme for controlling leprosy is not a new one. It has been advocated for the last 25 years. And, now that I have spent nearly two years in India after an absence of 14 years engaged in anti-leprosy work in Africa, the West Indies and elsewhere I not only adhere to it more strongly than ever but make bold to say that, for some such scheme is generally adopted (1939 or so) as a basis is likely to be made in the control of leprosy.

The discovery and use of more effective drugs will certainly help but we must not delude ourselves into thinking that drugs alone without the kind of village work will control leprosy.

Leprosy is a social disease and no scheme will succeed which simply aims at treating individuals with drugs, unless the social stigma of leprosy in the village is eradicated.

I am in general agreement with the tentative scheme of the D. C. Pooja for the better use of drugs in the control of leprosy by treating patients in their own homes. But I doubt if it would be possible to carry this out effectively except in areas where village schemes of the type I have mentioned have already been successfully established.

The treatment of those afflicted with leprosy has in the past been quite haphazard. Through good and great that scheme has been put forward and initiated, they have not been followed through, and (I think), still being patients have often required whatever good has begun to be accomplished.

There is no notion of the continuity which deserves by right more thoughtful care and consideration than those afflicted with leprosy, and even that we have knowledge of this case and consideration are without judgement will surely fall upon those responsible.

As I give to learn India in a few months time and shall probably not have an opportunity of visiting on this subject in June again I would appeal to all concerned—Governments, District Authorities, Services, lay workers, and all those interested in the welfare of sufferers from leprosy in this country—to give this matter their careful consideration.

DIVINE NAME AS A CURE FOR ALCOHOLISM

Shri H. M. Manjekar sends the following from an old article "Therapeutic Utility of Divine Name" by Prof. Satishchandra Sharma in *Kalyan-Kalpataru*, published in 1928.

"My friend, Prof. Satishchandra Sharma, tells me of a cure. There is an old Musahaji and after who was addicted to wine from his early life. He often wanted to give up the habit, but he could not. It had really become a second nature with him. Once a doctor advised him to take *Ramamrita* regularly. He followed the advice and soon found that his drinking gradually was slowly and gradually becoming less and less strong. When he says he never feels any desire for drinking. He is perfectly all right even at the age now of 75.

"I have known a similar case some years ago. There was a *Naik* who approached a surgeon for some medical guidance, but the surgeon, when he came to know that the doctor used to smoke pipe, would not take a day, he turned him out unceremoniously. The *Naik* went to his wife the next day and told him with tears in his eyes that he had used his best but could not get rid of the habit. The surgeon said that if such was the case he should report of his *Prasanna* every night before he went to bed. The *Naik* (secretly followed) his advice, and after a month or so he was totally cured of this pernicious habit. This he learnt from the surgeon's friend who was now immensely pleased with the *Naik*. The *Naik* was also present when we heard this.

"I know a similar case of another Musahaji. He was a high-ranking officer but he was all along a drunkard. By the advice of the late renowned *Latif* Mahashaya, he began to repeat *Ramamrita* and soon overcame the infirmity of the habit.

As Shri Manjekar says in his forwarding note, it reminds one of Gandhiji's advocacy of *Ramamrita* as an infallible remedy for our ills and ills.

But the modern man will ask: There are hundreds of people who take Divine Name regularly and consciously. You never see them without a rosy air of health in their hands. And yet their life stands in a tragic contrast to the Name. Is not this advice even though supported by so great an authority as Gandhiji, a mere superstition? Is this remedy scientific enough for being recommended in this age of reason and science?

The answer is that this depends upon the approach of the subject to the Name. If he is a mere mechanical repeater of the Name it can have neither therapeutic nor spiritual value. My humble opinion is that an efficacy depends upon a triple perfect faith—perfect faith that the repetition of the Name gives the desired result, perfect faith of the disciple in the guru, upon whose suggestion the practice is undertaken, and earnestness to get rid of an evil; and perfect faith of the guru himself in the suggested remedy. If there is a defect in any of the three faiths the desired result may not take place. The faith of the disciple is the most important of the three. I use the words guru and disciple loosely. A guru does not mean one accepted as such or professing to be so. Gandhiji found his guru for this purpose in his domestic female servant. He never gave her the formal recognition of guruship, nor did she ever think of Gandhiji as her disciple.

H. G. MANSURWALA

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HARIJAN

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EDITOR: E. G. MANSURWALA



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TWO ANNAS

THE PRESENT SITUATION AND OUR DUTY

(Speech delivered by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel in reply to the welcome and presentation of purse to his anniversary birthday at Ahmedabad on 23-10-45)

President of the G. P. C. C., Brothers and Sisters,

I am grateful to you all for the 'warm and affectionate welcome you have extended to me. In halcyon days 70 years is considered a sufficiently ripe age. The feelings of joy and pleasure that can express on this occasion may be appropriate from the worldly point of view. But I would myself prefer to be 25 years younger today. A man at the age of 50 can do much more work. With the passing of years the thought of the coming end appears and disappears. I have lived with Gandhiji a good part of my life. I have come to understand the value of things. I have learnt to be vigilant. I also realise what I have to do, what my tasks are and what I have to achieve. I am always aware that I should do nothing which might belie the reputation that I have with you.

I repeat what I said at Indore some time ago. A man earns an address of welcome only after his death. When people feel, after his passing away, that a good man has gone out of the world then he deserves an address. Otherwise, one has to be careful till the end and one should do something inconsistent with the general opinion. I am trying to fulfil the hopes and expectations that you hold of me to the extent that is possible. I shall strive up to the end and with your love and blessings I hope to succeed.

I have been presented with a cheque of Rs 15 lakhs. All those who have collected the money and those who have donated it know that it will be used in the cause of the country. All of us who joined Gandhiji were made to realise the hardships of owning property. He made his associates take a vow that they should not own any property. When I joined Gandhiji's army, I also took that pledge. Many people say that 'Sardar is a big property owner, that the 'Sardar Galla' at Bombay belongs to him.' I am called the friend of the capitalists. Some believe that I am a friend of the princes. But those who know me intimately know full well that I am a friend and for many years I have been a friend

of the Shrotras of Ahmedabad, that I am a friend of the cultivators and that if I had not taught the lessons of self-respect, self-reliance and fearlessness to the peasants of Gujarat, the pace of freedom's struggle would not have been accelerated so much and Gujarat would not have forged so much ahead.

India is an agricultural country. If I could go to the villages I would show them where the true welfare of the farmers lies. I would tell them that it would profit them (the farmers of India) to realise that whatever surplus landraths they had with them they should give to their neighbours or their neighbouring provinces even if that means some sacrifice for them. Today a new kind of so-called workers have cropped up, they advise them to demand more money because they are the producers. They ask them to demand their price and not sell their goods at the price fixed by Government. I consider them enemies of the country. Today the country is passing through very difficult times. Many other countries are also in the same condition and have been affected by the last world war. Crops of rapeseed have been drained away from our country. When India achieved independence it was just like a dead body. The skeleton had put a little life left. There was no blood in it. The conditions in the countries such as Burma, Malaya, etc., surrounding us were also no better. Our economic unity has been shattered due to the partition of India. It has done us much harm. Frictionless world flows of rapeseed that used to come from Burma, Malaya, Singapore, etc. have stopped coming. Now we have to import them from very distant countries at very heavy cost. Such a heavy drain has fallen on the poor country already grinding under a huge economic burden. It is difficult to free ourselves from these entanglements. Many think that now that we have achieved independence, we have nothing more to do. The Government will do everything useful. The condition of the industries has also deteriorated. The industrialists have nothing to do. Controls have deprived them and the people of the necessity of thinking for themselves. They have everything fixed for them. The middle classes are unemployed. The controls are there and the people have to suffer hardships on that account. Many

intelligent and clever people have no scope for doing any work.

The biggest flaw is also in difficulty. This is our present condition. Many blame Government for this state of affairs. I do not say that the Government is not to be blamed. But you must see what this Government is. If you think that this Government is the most old bureaucratic regime, you are mistaken. It is now manned by our own people and they are trying to do what is possible and what they are capable of doing. There is no reason why we should be afraid of it. We should correct their mistakes and advise them. We have not to fight with the present Government as we fought with the previous one. When the struggle for freedom was on our people used to have love and affection for those who took part in it. But after the attainment of independence, people have become selfish and have been after power. They have abandoned the better qualities they formerly exhibited.

We the people of Gujarat are considered backward and wise. We should know our duty. We should be ready to undertake work in every sphere of our lives. Much work has to be done. We shall not profit by blaming each other. Some Ministers and officers come here and you meet them. Many persons are angry because of the controls. Bribery and corruption are also there with the controls. But our country is not small, one-fifth of the human race lives here. Moreover we have not got sufficient able and trained officers. It is therefore, difficult to maintain the controls machinery properly, even God cannot do it. If you want that bribery and corruption should disappear and the black market should vanish, you should take a different course. You can do it if you will make a genuine effort. I receive many letters that I should do this thing and that. I do in my limited field whatever is possible to be done.

In the matter of foodgrains there are lots of difficulties. Shri Kumbhaji Marich has written historical novels on Feroz, Sher Shah etc. He can also write one on the scarcity of foodgrains. He is very energetic and is working very hard. He also celebrated the tree-plantation week. But the work is not so easy. There is a shortage of foodgrains. People will not agree to live on one meal a day or to eat less. As a matter of fact many are actually living on one meal a day. Unfortunately, we did not receive sufficient training for Swami. We should share our mutual difficulties and live in peace and unity. We have to manage somehow for a few years. By that time our big irrigation and other projects will be completed. Then there would be no shortage. Lacks of acres of land are lying uncultivated. Fields of rivers affect some parts. There is so much wealth lying hidden in the country's soil. It is not easy to avail ourselves of it immediately. We have not got sufficient technical experts

nor the means to exploit and harness these resources. All people cannot be selfish. I do not expect them to be. But they must and can be selfish at least to some extent. If those who are capable and clever devote some of their time and energy to the welfare of others they can do much good in our country. Once we were exporting foreign cloth. Today the condition is reverse. Our cloth goes to Manchester and it goes to other countries and comes back to us after being processed there. They use their intelligence. If we do not add anything to our legacy, it will be exhausted.

Ahmedabad can neither be called a city nor a village. Big cities of the world are of a different type. If you go to Bombay you will get a different idea. In Ahmedabad you will get another idea. Our city is old but all old things are not bad. We should preserve the good old things and leave out those that are bad. We have got the capacity for organisation. There is the Mahatma Mahajan here and some other associations also doing their work. Such associations are to be found at very few places. They should not only co-operate among themselves, help their own members but should help others in the city, and the people in the surrounding villages. They are trained like that and I hope they will continue to do so. Here the Mahatma Mahajan and the millowners work together in harmony. If we follow that example it will benefit us in future. The traditions followed by the Mahatma Mahajan are praiseworthy. Those who have followed other paths have brought harm and disaster.

My message to the farmers of Gujarat on this occasion is. Grow as much foodgrains as you can, do not hoard, do not waste. Give whatever you can to your neighbour. Our deficit is not very much. Only 6 or 7 per cent deficit is there. We can soon make it up. The people of Gujarat are clever and they should do their work with a proper understanding of their duty.

In a way, my life work is completed. The country has achieved independence. Now what remains is its consolidation. Something has been achieved but a great deal remains to be done. Many believed that our administration would break down as soon as the Britishers leave us. But it did not happen. We are doing our work in such a way that we can take our proper place in the family of nations.

The conditions in the world today are very uncertain. There is no peace-loving country like Tibet in the whole world. Throughout history it has not harmed any one. But now the army of China has entered Tibet. Yet nobody can say anything. The people of Tibet are non-violent but there is no certainty about what the violently disposed persons will do or where they will end. We should therefore be alert and on our guard.

Once the country is stabilized and consolidated, the other difficulties can be removed. We can then see how much of unemployed people can get work, how village industries can be developed, how the industries in the city can prosper. It is not the work of the Government only: the people should also co-operate in this. In spite of all sorts of criticism and uncertainties I feel that everything will be all right in the end. We have intelligent and resourceful people. We have only to work and work with a will.

You have presented a cheque to me. I have no use for it myself. I do not need money. If I need money I know how to get it. It is for your use and you can make such use of it as you like. I only hope that you may be self-reliant and then God will look after you. You do not need leaders. Gandhi has shown us the way already. If we do our work with co-operation and goodwill our work and worth will show out.

May God Bless You

(Transcribed from Japanese)

NEW RULE, NEW SCHOOL

In the course of several of his speeches since the Naik Congress, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel has expressed his extreme dissatisfaction with the present system of education. He calls the 'bookish education' now in vogue as utterly worthless, nay, harmful.

If such a statement were made by an ordinary man, it would not be so important even if the speaker were a distinguished thinker. But when it emanates from one who is not only a great leader of the nation but also holds the reins of Government, one would naturally ask the question: "Why does he not change the present system of education if it is so rotten in his view?" Sardar Patel has answered this question also in his Ahmedabad speech. He has said: "We are not able to introduce the revolutionary changes that we should in education on account of the cobwebs of the past difficulties that cling round us."

It is also clear from his speech that whatever might be the difficulties in the way, the obstructions have to be removed as quickly as possible. I have more than once expressed my views on this matter. If the system of Mr. Patten placed before us by Gandhi is not acceptable and if the evolving of another suitable system should take some time, let all educationalists sit together and discover it and till they do so let all schools and colleges be closed. The closure of schools will not cause as much harm to the nation as will be done by continuing the old harmful system.

Once in the course of a discussion with some friends I put the question, "When an old Government changes and yields place to a new, will the old flag continue?" "Certainly not," was the prompt reply. Then I added, "So also is education. As a new flag follows a new Government, so also new education must follow a new Government. If old education continues in spite

of it, we should take it for certain that the Government is new only from without, the inner condition remaining unchanged.

VINODA

(Translated from Hindi, December, Mar. 1939)

(Note: This reminds me of what took place at the Sahasrati Ashram, circa 1920. The experiment at the Sahasrati school did not get satisfaction to any one. It was found that though the teachers (i.e. we) were good men individually we did not possess those qualifications which would make for the success of a free national school. So Gandhi ordered the school to be closed for an indefinite period, retained all the teachers who were prepared to stay, and asked them to train themselves in spinning, weaving, agriculture and also reconsider various subjects of literary study and the system of pedagogy from the standpoint of national education and character.

Of course, there is the apprehension that Vinodap's suggestion—which I too put forth some months ago—also comes within the purview of Shri Vallabhbhai's remark that this too is a cobweb, which we cannot easily get our release from. When several 20th century educationists meet together, they might agree to differ on most points including the one of closing the present institutions.

But this seems to be a necessity. Nothing else would happen if there were chaos for a few years. Why only we would have to submit to suspension of these activities. If we can do so boldly and consciously to prepare ourselves for a new life, a few years spent in self-preparation will give us better results afterwards. The worm does not change into a beautiful butterfly until it shuts itself in a cocoon for several days. Apparently it looks as good as dead, but is intensely alive and evolving inside. So, too, education will not cease to evolve during the period of its apparent suspension. But it requires boldness, faith and characterisation of the heroes of political and religious revolutions.—R. G. M.)

ASSAM EARTHQUAKE RELIEF FUND

From 12-11-38 to 15-11-38

Name & Place	Rs	as	ps
Shree Govindrao T. Khairat, Ahmedabad	50	0	0
A. Chaudhary, Ahmedabad	10	0	0
Shree Maheshwar N. Parikh, Ahmedabad	5	0	0
Shree Sahasrabai K. Nani, Pune	5	0	0
Shree Sahasrabai K. Nani, Pune	5	0	0
Shree N. J. Dary, Bombay	4,312	0	0
Sardarwar Sahasrabai Nani, Hyderabad	5	0	0
Shree Sahasrabai Nani, Ahmedabad	10	0	0
A. Chaudhary, Hyderabad	100	0	0
Shree Atul K. Chaudhary, Bikaner	10	0	0
Shree Maheshwar N. Gangadhar, Bikaner	1	0	0
The Students of St. X's of the Tutorial High School, Ahmedabad	10	0	0
Shree Maheshwar Sahasrabai	100	0	0

Total already acknowledged 12,582 12 0

Grand Total Rs 12,792 0 0

HARIJAN

Nov. 22

1946

THE PEOPLE AND THE POLICIES

The readers will find elsewhere Shri Harikrishna Mahab's reply to Shri Kumbharappa's article "A Blasphemy", published in *Harigan*, of 14th October, 1946. The article was published with my approval; in fact, it was written at my request. It represents the common view of several of us here at Wardha, and I believe, of constructive workers elsewhere.

That Shri Mahab understands Gandhiji as much as Shri Kumbharappa or, for the matter of that any one else, may be readily conceded. It is not the point at issue. What is complained of is that he represented Gandhiji in a distorted manner, and he did this as an important Minister of the Central Government, and under circumstances in which he could not have been regarded to by any one in the audience (even if one qualified to do so was present), about the manner in which he represented the so-called Gandhian principles of non-interference by Government and its non-responsibility for shortages, famines, evils of mal-distribution etc. This is what is charged as "misleading his powers to suit his own ends" — the ends being the justification not of controls merely as such, but the particular system of controls obstinately pursued by the Government.

Shri Mahab confesses that "Government have so far not done anything for developing self-sufficiency", and merely adds, "All this is done — there must be control of distribution." Why has the Government not done anything till now? Who is responsible for it? When will the stage arrive, when it could be said that "now the Government has done, or almost done, or begun to do"? He said in his speech that the Congress Party had not accepted the principle of self-sufficiency. If that is the case, it is a revelation. Why does the Government, then, speak of attaining self-sufficiency in food, cloth, sugar and so on? Why does it not say to the people "Do not worry about less growth of food. We shall bring food from any corner of the world. Only give us more cotton, ground-nut, rapeseeds, tobacco, tea, coffee etc.?"

And when Gandhiji spoke of decentral and non-interference did he use these words in the sense in which Shri Mahab wants us to understand them? Did he say that the Government was not expected to promote the social and economic advance of the country both directly and indirectly? It is well known that Gandhiji advocated nationalisation of certain industries, promotion of certain others as a State policy, and

non-interference with industries of certain other types. His programme of production was organically integrated with the problem of distribution of goods as well as profits. As Shri Kumbharappa pointed out, did not Gandhiji want prohibition, banning of newspapers, rice-mills oil-mills etc., control of mill competition against khadi, prevention of fraud in the manufacture of khadi, removal of Harijans' disabilities by legislation and so on? There were scores of subjects in which active interference and control by Government was sought by Gandhiji himself. Indeed, controls will be necessary for the promotion of the Gandhian programme also, but they will be controls in the interest of the poor and the downtrodden, not in the interest of the rich and the war machine. It may be conceded that even these controls would have their appropriate counterparts of corruption. But that corruption will be of a far different type from the present one, and on a very minor scale both in its extent and magnitude. It will be controllable by the smallest local Government operating, and failure to do so would, in his scheme, be injurious to its own existence.

In fact it was and is unnecessary to refer to Gandhiji's views. Even when he was alive, he gave every one complete freedom of thought. Now, he cannot interfere with our policies. We trust all form war policies, without involving him.

Shri Mahab said in his speech that "the Congress Party" had not accepted Gandhiji's principle of self-sufficiency, and so "the people" could not ask for decentral. How does the second proposition follow from the first? When did the Congress Party publicly renounce the principle of self-sufficiency in food, cloth and other elements of life? And when were "the people" asked to ratify the renouncement? Besides, is the system of controls now operating so framed as to ensure fair distribution of commodities and wealth? We submit that it does the very opposite. It is the very system of controls and all that accompanies it, which is responsible for killing all incentive to grow more food, concealing the stocks, resorting to black-market practices, adulteration of articles and making the rich richer and roll in luxuries, while the poor get poorer and starve in the neighbourhood of plenty. The villages are as ruthlessly exploited as in the days of the East India Company, when India was geared for making her an exporter of raw materials to Great Britain and the importer and consumer of the finished products of that country. The same exploitation is now carried on under the name of controlled distribution, the only difference being that the cities and large industries of India herself have stepped into the shoes of Lancashire and the British manufacturers.

This is not the whole charge against the Central Government. It is actually sabotaging not only the Gandhian programme but also the Congress-sponsored nation-building programmes of India, by deciding anti-Congress policies from above. It has set its face against prohibition that no State now has the courage to push it seriously, and the Bombay and Madras Governments who have shown the maturity to adhere to it find opposition not from the people, but from the Central Government itself. Its armed forces and its Judicial and Executive officers. So, too, the Central Government sabotaged the Provincial Ministry's anti-cloth mill policy, with the result that the Ministries, which succeeded the Provincial Ministry, not having the courage to repeat the Hindo scheme forthright spent money as it to show, as it were, to the world that self-sufficiency through khadi was not a practical proposition. Instead of promoting khadi they have almost spent money to kill it. The policies in respect of sugar, cereals, tea, rice, tobacco transport, etc. are, each one, like calculated steps for preventing the villages from ever getting a chance of becoming prosperous.

No doubt, all this shows that the Congress Party does not accept even the Congress programme, but it does not show that the people have accepted the Congress Party's policies.

Very curiously, Shri Mahesh asserts that it is the traders who want decentral, and not the consumers. It may be perfectly true that the traders also want the lifting of controls. But we are prepared to accept his challenge of taking the verdict of consumers pure and simple on the present system of controls.

Shri Karamappa cannot be blamed if he uses strong language on matters which affect the daily life and being of millions of the Indian poor. I do not agree that he has used any abusive expressions in the article in question. This article itself may be regarded as a strong one. But I think I would not be right if I avoided saying the right thing, although a great many of the members of the Central Government (including Shri Mahesh himself) and the Provincial Governments are dear personal friends. It is unpleasant to do so. But we would be false friends, indeed, if we did not say our emphatic 'no', when 'may' was the only right response to a wrong proposition of a friend.

Warlike, 13-11-53 E. S. MAMKUTALA.

Shri Ramana Mahasabhi on Constructive

Readers of Rajghanshi Anant Kaur's article on Birth Control Methods in Harijan of 11-12-52 might be interested to know the opinion of Shri Ramana Mahasabhi on contraception. He said, "It is like attempting to put out a conflagration by pouring kerosene oil over it."

Madras, 13-12-52

A.

A CHALLENGE

New Delhi,
23rd October, 1953

Dear Sir,

I have read the article entitled "A Misapprehension" written by Shri J. C. Karamappa published in the Harijan of the 14th October, 1953. I am not surprised at it because by now I have more or less become accustomed to the tone and temper of Shri Karamappa. But one thing I do not understand how by expressing an opinion, however wrong it may appear to be, I have "misused my powers to state my own ends." With all humility, I may state that I understood Gandhiji as much as Shri Karamappa. Two or three sentences of his article are really worth consideration. I agree with Shri Karamappa that Government have so far not done anything for developing self-sufficiency. Till it is done and till self-sufficiency is achieved, Shri Karamappa's own logic shows that there must be control of distribution. Cloth and yarn will not come being dumped when the control is lifted and free market is allowed. In order to stop dumping control will be necessary and in that control, there is likelihood of various kinds of corruption also. In any scheme, either Gandhian or otherwise, one cannot get away from control. Dollar exchange is not so much necessary for importing necessities as for importing foodgrains. However much Shri Karamappa may try to reduce my argument to absurdity, the fact stands that, situated as we are, some control is necessary. It is the traders who want decentral and not the consumers. Since the traders are voracious and many are ready to advocate their cause, their voice seems to predominate, but the people will have want control in the sense that their requirements should reach them at a reasonable price. It will be better if Shri Karamappa addressed himself to the traders whom he represents and call upon them to treat the consumers fairly and thus enable the control to be lifted. I would ask Shri Karamappa to come with me and approach the consumers and take their verdict on the point.

But one thing I do not understand how it is necessary that strong and abusive language should be used to make out a case. If we meet consumers at any particular place I think I shall be able to explain my own view-point as fully as possible, and I am sure the consumers will appreciate my view-point in spite of the hard words used on the other side by Shri Karamappa.

Yours faithfully,
R. K. MAMTHA

THE NATION'S VOICE

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THE PLACE OF SELF-SPINNING

II

Shri Shrikrishna Das's Criticism and Reply

1. *Desire for Khadi* In reality there has been no recent change in the relative position of the situation in respect of demand. The present very low value of the rupee gives the wrong impression that there has been a change for the worse. In some places the spinning wheel is about 8 as for 8 hours efficient work and, in others, 8 as only. Having regard to the all-round dearth prevailing even the 8 as rate is much lower than the rate of 3 as fixed by the A. I. S. A. in 1935, when it adopted the policy of advancing towards a living wage for spinning.

2. *Awake about Self-sufficiency Programme* Dr Kaji's doubts about the prospects of the self-sufficiency drive are not unwarranted. But it will be best to deal with this subject at the end.

3. *Economic Use of Full-time and Cost of Self-spin Khadi* Dr Kaji seems to think that the argument of saving money by utilizing full-time has ceased to be valid now. As a matter of fact, having regard to the then cheap prices of mill-cloth there was no saving of money even in the past, if one had to buy shirns and pay weaving charges etc. as out-of-pocket expenses.

Dr Kaji's calculations are appreciably correct. If cotton is available locally, the cost is likely to be a little less. If the yarn be good enough, which is usually so when one spins for oneself, weaving charges will be less by a rupee or two. Bleaching is not necessary. So the out-of-pocket expenses for self-sufficiency khadi may be taken to be about the same as that of mill-cloth. However, one factor has to be taken into consideration. Having regard to the quality of mill-cloth now available to the customer in the retail market, the self-made khadi is likely to bear at least 25 per cent more of wear and tear. But after making all these allowances, Dr Kaji's argument still holds good. We may take into consideration one more aspect also. If cotton is grown on one's own farm or in the home yard, and if all the proceeds go to twisting the yarn and making the warp, which are simple enough could be done by one's self, out-of-pocket charges will have to be paid only in respect of weaving. The weaving of related parts, too, can be done by oneself as shown before. Now for this to be implementable on a large scale one factor which will require consideration.

"Shri Kishanadas Gandhi Secretary A.I.S.A. has urged an additional point, which deserves consideration. He points, for the sake of argument, that the cost of 15 yards of khadi is Rs 10-1-0, the value of spinning wheel, but says that, the statement, that the cost price of 25 yards of mill-cloth is Rs 7 only is not quite correct. It is Rs 7 plus value of 100 hours of labour compulsorily wasted on account of unemployment spread by the mill. The acceptance of mill-cloth at Rs 7 would be wrong, if these 100 hours were alternatively employed in other productive work. When this is not so, the waste is a personal as well as a national loss.—B.B.

4. *Mill-cloth No Longer Foreign*: This raises a fundamental issue. The question is, what is the matter of articles of primary need, whether the economic order based on centralized large-scale industries will be conducive to the welfare of the toiling millions of rural India or that based on decentralized village industries? Gandhi's was emphatic that the latter alone should prevail in India. The same is the opinion of the school of thought represented by the spinning wheel. Many people, however, though they are in favour of khadi do not seem inclined to control the textile industry of the country in its favour. Should they not seriously consider the point whether the spinning wheel and the mill can go together? Is there any half-way house between them?

5. *Alternative Employment*: This argument is not granted. It has never been the policy of the A.I.S.A. to ask the poor villager to take to hand-spinning if there is any other remunerative work open to him. In fact, none does so, but the fact is that other cottage industries are not available to all and at all times and places for the villagers who would like to work at them. Moreover there is hardly any of them left, which is because from competition by factory-made articles of a similar kind.

6. *Question of Labour* If more arithmetical calculations were to be had on anywhere, we might say that two members of a family of five, spinning on an average daily one hour each, may spin yarn enough for 75 square yards for the year. The old and infirm can give much more time. Children and students can also contribute much. The upper middle- and rich-class people of the towns and cities and to some extent of the villages also can and should buy khadi for which full maintenance wages have been paid to the spinner. But all these calculations presuppose a much greater development of industries, habits, character and sentiments than we have. Hence for practical purposes it becomes useless to make these calculations.

Whatever yarn is spun at present for wages is spun only by women. They do it in addition to their other domestic and remunerative work. If men and boys also were to take to it the yarn produced would be enough for our immediate purposes. It is not impossible to invent and to bring into vogue a spinning wheel which will increase the output of yarn to a large extent. If we contemplate a far-off complete self-sufficiency in cloth through khadi it should not be impossible, in course of time, to secure a simple mechanism, which will give adequate quantity of yarn for one's own use, and at the same time maintain its basic character of a home industry.

"The A. I. S. A. does not ask the poor wage-earner alone to take to self-sufficiency. Rather its appeal is specially to those that stand for khadi and have accepted its implications, especially members of the Congress, which has made its wearing compulsory for its qualified members.

The A I S A. came to the conclusion that spinning for wage alone can no longer advance the cause of Khadi. The reasons for the same are given in detail in the book *Woolen weavers* (New Orientation of the A. I. S. A.)

It is not that the Association deprecates spinning for wages. It has merely transferred part of that work to certified institutions and is itself concentrating on the self-sufficiency programme because it thinks that this is absolutely essential for further progress of Khadi along with all that it implies and embodies, namely, a non-violent social and economic order based on regional self-sufficiency for the primary needs of life. For this it must strive hard towards self-sufficiency in cloth. Having regard to the fact that, for the time being, the way to this has to be made against heavy odds, the A I S A. is the only institution which can tackle it and is under an obligation to do it.

7 *The Place of Khadi* The idea of co-ordinating Khadi with some political or social movement is welcome. I would welcome some definite suggestion.

Shri Kadam would like to limit the scope of Khadi as a means of providing a supplementary source of income to the unemployed in rural areas. This, of course, depends on a market for it. It is evidently very limited and is progressively going down. Even if the sales reached the target of one crore rupees worth of Khadi, the part of it which will reach the artisans will be almost negligible. It is an item of poor value for the thirty-five crores of population of Bharat. Further our Swami Government must be held responsible to do all such relief work. Should they be any aid at the A I S A. for this purpose? And how long are these poor villagers to depend on the charity of Khadi buyers in free India?

During the last thirty years we experienced several ups and downs in the Khadi market. Only those that work amongst the artisans know the agony they have to undergo when they have to stop providing work to them, when large stocks accumulate. Only recently, the Gandhi Ashram of U P had painfully to curtail its Khadi production by two-thirds. How long would the production of commercial Khadi survive in such a precarious condition?

8 *Improvement of Khadi Technique* The suggestions made in the last para are very important. The A I S A. is wide awake to the need of lowering the cost of Khadi, which has to be paraphrased to mean that all the processes that go to make Khadi should be capable of being done in as short a time as possible. The Association has been endeavouring incessantly, on the one hand, to invent and introduce simple and cheap implements and, on the other, to make them yield more output. The handlooms *charkhas*, devised organically by Shri Balabhadra of the Khadi Production, are plying at Sevagram and other places and now handlooms have also

been introduced to the Khadi Vidyapeeth of Sevagram each costing about Rs 15 only. The same looms made from timber costs about Rs 75. Efforts are also being made to induce the spinners and weavers to improve the quality of the yarn and cloth. But those who have worked among them know very well how very difficult it is to persuade them to take to new methods. In order to reduce the cost of weaving stress is now being laid on doubling and twisting the yarn. This process can be carried on along with the spinning itself by the addition of a simple contrivance to the ordinary wheel. The charges for weaving twisted yarn will not be more than 2 annas per square yard. Classes are being conducted to teach the weaving of twisted yarn to lay men and women. It can be learnt in about 8 weeks. Experiments are being carried on in respect of a spinning wheel which, if successful, promises to more than double the present speed of spinning. I feel that if Government were to seriously encourage and undertake through their own departments research work in this line, we may get the requisite instrument ere long. The two-spindle *biagan charkha* is already there, but its plying involves more strain.

9 *The Essential Nature of Khadi* Now we come to the most important point, namely the prospects of the self-sufficiency programme. With all the corrections in detailed calculations, and improvements in the Khadi technique there should be no hesitation in admitting that from the monetary point of view, in view of the competition of mill-cloth there is in the immediate present, no adequate inducement either for self-sufficiency or for concentrating upon Khadi production for wages. The only answer to this is the one given by Gandhi in March of 1946 (December 1948), which is worth reproducing here.

"A valued Khadi worker writes a letter in Hindustan which freely translated means:

"Compared to mill cloth Khadi is not an economic proposition in terms of prices. To one year with mill cloth you have to drop the cost of hand spinning, twisting and spinning. Even the self-sufficiency theories, it is not a paying proposition. But should you have created such new modes of Khadi that all the people at large appreciate them, which cannot be material?"

"There is no doubt that Khadi cannot compete with mill cloth, it was never meant to. If the people will not understand or appreciate the law governing Khadi it will never be universal. It must then remain the lot of poorer people and cranks. And if it is to be strictly that, the labour of a huge organisation like the A I S A. must mean a waste of effort, if not something much worse.

"But Khadi, has a big mission. Khadi provides dignified labour to the millions who are otherwise idle for nearly four months in the year. Even apart from the remuneration the work brings it is its own reward. For, if millions live in compulsory idleness, they must die spiritually, mentally and physically. The spinning wheel automatically raises the

status of millions of poor women. Even though, therefore, real cloth were to be given gratis to the people, their true welfare demands that they should refuse to have it in preference to khadi, the product of their looms.

"It is the force of habit which makes us think of khadi in terms of price. We must revise our notion of khadi economics. And when we have studied them from the point of view of the national well-being, we shall find that khadi is never dear. We must suffer dislocation of domestic economy during the transitional stage. When people either through State-protection or through voluntary effort, have cultivated the habit of using only khadi they will never think in terms of money, even as millions of vegetarians do not compare the price of fresh foods with those of non-fresh foods even though they may be offered free.

"But I recognise that very few Congressmen have this living faith in khadi. The members are Congressmen. They derive their inspiration from their surroundings. If they had a living faith in khadi, they could do a great deal to popularise it."

HINDUSTANI TALIMI RANGH

Proceedings

A meeting of the Hindustani Talimi Rangh was held in Sangram under the Presidency of Dr. Sharada Agrawal, Patilwadi, Nagpur. Minister for Education, Nagpur, on the 15th and 16th of November. The following points of general interest came before the meeting:

1. The letter of resignation of Dr. Balraj Bhushan from the Presidency of the Rangh was read. In the election, electioneering in the letter it was felt that there was no option but to accept the resignation. It was, therefore, respectfully accepted and the Rangh resolved to place on record its deep appreciation of the invaluable services rendered by Dr. Balraj Bhushan to the cause of Talim. Dr. Balraj Bhushan is the Chairman of the Commission which pay the ideals and principles of Talim. In terms of educational theory and practice and then as President of this Rangh which has been entrusted with the task of giving effect to these ideals in practice. The Rangh is deeply indebted for the guidance it has always received from him in its most difficult task, and profoundly regrets the withdrawal in its duties which compels him to cease to act as its President. The Rangh prays that he may be restored to full health and hopes that it may long continue to have the benefit of his mature judgment and wise counsel.

2. The following new members have been elected to the Rangh:

1. Shri Panchabai Shastri
2. Shri Siddhachandras Agrawal
3. Shri Narayan Doshi
4. Shri Marjorie Spence

3. The Rangh was decided to hold its next All-India Basic Education Conference at Sangram in the first week of March 1981. More particulars about this Conference will be announced at a later date.

Miss Murphy on Basic Education

Dr. Mrs. Murphy, Vice-President of the UNITED, at present directing researches in Central Board and other allied pedagogical problems under the Government of India, visited Sangram on the 1st and 2nd of November. Dr. Murphy addressed the Participants Teachers training students and Mrs. Murphy the Parents and local school children and the staff.

Mrs. Murphy continues

"Basic Education, no longer just to defend or prove the possibility for rural India, or its capacity to improve the material and spiritual well-being of India's village people. What has been done already will be a challenge and inspiration to education all over the world.

"It remains in years ahead for the vital and creative spirit, which has led to the present contribution to education — has now been such as urban education, and university education, where fresh thinking and initiatives as daring as some of those developed here will be required if the present stereotypes, rigid, unyielding limits of education all over the world are to be supplanted by education, which frees the human consciousness of young minds."

Sangram, via Wardha R. W. ARYANATHAN,
Secretary.

Hindustani Talim Rangh

Shri Mahalaxmi Anand Shastri

I have already noted in these columns how sympathy for the victims of the Asian Earthquake has inspired students, teachers and youths in various places to express it in concrete forms. Here is another instance. A young friend of mine, Shri Narayan Dave, and his comrades in Bombay thought out a plan of availing themselves of the opportunity offered by Diwali and the New Year's Day to organise a collection of contributions from the people to this end. They thought of meeting a temporary stall, designated 'Anand Shastri', to receive the collections on the way to the Mahalaxmi temple at Bombay, which is usually visited by mercantile communities on the Diwali and New Year days. As this was to be a purely personal appeal, Shri Narayan Dave asked me to certify that I approved of his effort; I had no hesitation in doing so, as I could fully trust him, he has now sent me a report of the work. It shows that it was executed with care, accuracy and in an organised manner. The total sum collected is Rs 4874-7-3. Some seventy young men and women took part in this work as volunteers. A few printing-presses, electric and loud-speaker firms etc., helped Shri Dave with materials for the stall and printing of handbills etc. All such incidental expenses were borne by Shri Narayan Dave and his friends. The stall opened on the morning of Diwali (2-11-80) at 8 a.m. and continued without break till 12 midnight on the next day, the New Year's Day (10-11-80). The public gave a good response. I congratulate Shri Dave and his colleagues for their enthusiasm and hard work.

Wardha 12-11-80

R. C. M.

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HARIJAN

(PUBLISHED BY MANMATHA DANDOT)
Editor: E. G. MARSHWALLA



VOL. XIV. No. 48 AHMEDABAD—SATURDAY, DECEMBER 2, 1939 TWO ANNAS

ANTI-PROHIBITION PROPAGANDA

Dr Panjabrao Deshmukh is reported to have given notice of his intention to suggest to the Parliament that the Prohibition policy of the Congress be abandoned. It is not surprising. Shri Jawaharlal Nehru himself having set his face against it. The State Governments have been advised by the Centre not to go with the policy of a rapid pace. Some papers have also been carrying on a propaganda against it. The Government of Bombay has been criticised for not accepting the Central Government's advice. Possibly, States which persist in not allowing drink indulgence to their subjects will have to do so on their own responsibility for meeting deficits in revenue.

The ostensible reason is, no drink, revenue. Ours is a nation of paupers. But modern Governments want to run like millionaire's establishments. Money must be found for them now and anywhere. People addicted to self-indulgence and vices like drink, gambling, speculation, races, entertainments etc. are believed to be better patrons of Finance Ministries than honest producers of wealth. Also, the belief is that a country is safer in the hands of people who can kill and destroy men and materials than of those who can educate and create them. So the former must be maintained by the latter, if even their number is less and their expenses exorbitant.

But the plea of revenue is true, if at all, only in part. The greater fact is that from times immemorial vices have been an accompaniment of riches and power. Kings, courtiers, politicians, army-men, judges, and some of the wealthy have vices as part of their accomplishments and social etiquette. They transfer the infection to their menial servants and from them the vices reach the lowest strata of society. The former find in the vices an easy way of killing time; the poor find in it an easy way of forgetting their wants and worries.

Under the eastern lead of Gandhiji, the Congress pledged itself to prohibition. But as in several other items of the Constructive Programme, its members did not sincerely believe in it. Several Parliamentarians cannot do without wine. Several judges, advocates, editors and writers cannot compose their thoughts without

stimulating their nerves with a dose from the bottle. And wealthy people cannot feel lively in its absence. They do not object to the Government taxing them for it. They can afford to pay the taxes and enrich the Government with revenue. They are prepared to be full democrats in this respect. Hence liberty to drink is put forth as a fundamental personal right of the citizen. This is the reason for their real taste to the prohibition policy, and for feeling a measure of satisfaction in declaring its futility.

But drink is ruinous to the people. Will legislators and administrators of law, order and justice fulfil their obligations to the people by encouraging their ruin? What are we heading for?

Wardha, 22-11-39 E. G. MARSHWALLA

MEMORANDUM AGAINST BLACK-MARKETTES

The Barer Chamber of Commerce has sent telegrams to several important heads of Government to the following effect:

"We strongly protest against the wholesale arrest of businessmen and their immobilisation by police under Preventive Detention Act by Madhya Pradesh Government. Such police rule is inevitable in a Government not organised and equipped. The ordinary Civil and Criminal laws are sufficiently work for the purpose. (We request you to stop immediately the application of lawless laws and police tyranny and restore citizens a fundamental rights guaranteed under the Constitution."

Similar protests have also been raised by Mercantile Association of Ether, Bombay etc.

I have already referred to this subject in the columns of Harijan. I have therein expressed my disapprobation of the manner in which these articles are carried out.

But merchants and Chambers of Commerce should also take into consideration a couple of points in this connection. The mercantile community has forfeited the sympathy of the people. In fact, the people are quite disgusted with the profiteering tactics of black-marketeers. The rough and hounding demonstrations are approved by the people; indeed, they would appreciate even more insulting treatment of black-marketeers. Some journals expressed disapproval of my criticism of the police methods and made uncharitable insinuations. As I write

this, I got a letter from a youth praising the Government for their measures. Others have suggested that I should withdraw my previous article. All this shows the extent to which the popular mind is provoked against black-marketing, profiteering, paper-larding etc. Whatever the High Courts might ultimately rule on these methods, for the present they have become useful for both winning popularity for Government and spreading a feeling of terror among merchants.

Secondly, it is not enough that merchants and Chambers of Commerce should merely protest against Government measures. If they wish their protests to be treated with respect, they should also undertake the responsibility of developing the civic sense and honesty in merchants.

Kautilya describes in his *Arthashastra* (Treatise on Political Science) how the various trade guilds of his time controlled their members to ensure that the quality of goods should be of the right standard, and for avoidance of unreasonable prices. They themselves punished those who cheated people with false weights and measures and by adulteration, and even communitiated the offenders. If the present-day Chambers of Commerce do not develop such strength and capacity in them their protest against harsh treatment cannot be very effective. Each Chamber of Commerce should seriously consider the taking of steps in this direction. Otherwise with loss of public sympathy, it is not impossible that some of the Government officers or persons having influence with them might ruthlessly take the opportunity to harass such of them as have given them cause offence and invoked their displeasure.

Moreover, the persons receiving such treatment are hardly quite unknown. There only lies in that there are several others also who are shops of the same kind, but they have been picked out on account of personal spite, while others who are in the good books of the Government and its officers are allowed to do as they please unhindered.

It is difficult to raise commercial magnates with sufficient incriminating evidence. Even if there is perfectly reliable information that a particular businessman resorts to black-marketing, he manages it so cleverly that it is not easy to prove his part in it to a Court of Law. This is one of the grounds put forth for detaining persons without trial.

Most of our present-day life runs out of our disregard of moral principles. If merchants and people in general regarded honesty as the most essential virtue of social life the integrity of our hardships would greatly diminish. The Chambers of Commerce, therefore, should strain every nerve to inculcate civic sense and honesty in the mercantile community. The people, too, should renounce straightforward methods.

In this connection, I reproduce below important extracts from a letter addressed by Shri Kedarnathji, President of "Vyavahar Shuddhi Mandal", Bombay, to several mercantile associations.

"We all know through what difficult times the masses are leading their existence today. The present darkness of the prime necessities of life tests all records of the worst years of famine in the past. The poor and middle classes of our country are being cruelly crushed under its pressure. They are surrounded on all sides by enormous difficulties, distress, internal squabbling and anxiety for the present and the future. The culture, civilization and morals of society had never been in so much danger as they are now. There might be several international causes also for this condition. But we must also confirm that our own hard-heartedness is largely responsible for making these circumstances so tight as to threaten the people's necks to suffocation. Until there is a change for the better in our hearts, no amount of ordinances, controls, or punishments can improve our condition.

"The atmosphere all around us is surcharged with base and violent thoughts, acts and intentions. But even in this atmosphere, my friends and I have a firm faith in the innate divine spark in man. We believe that our life can be pure and better only when that spark gets quenched and we all realize and begin to act on the truth that man is not made to lead a life of selfishness but of *dharma* (duty), and that *dharma* consists in willingly working for the happiness of others and sharing their burdens. This alone can free us from the miseries, which beset us on all sides. It is on this hope and faith, that I have started a society named "Vyavahar Shuddhi Mandal" (Pure Life Association) on 28th May, 1948. Its object is to purify the day to day life of myself and the people. To achieve that object, I am anxious to contact all concerned and mercantile associations, their managing committees and ordinary members at their convenience."

Shri Kedarnath addressed the above circular letter to 24 mercantile associations. I understand that none of them has made a reply to it. If their sense of moral responsibility and honesty has become blent, what sympathetic response can their telegrams of protest induce?

I do not say that to justify police methods but to make merchants realize the decline in their prestige in society.

Wardha, 22-11-50. K. C. MAHAPATRA.

(Translated from Gujarati)

* Address: Shantilal Kulkarni, Mithanagar Cross Road, Solapur, Bombay 24.

PROCUREMENT AND ISSUE PRICES IN HYDERABAD STATE

[The following briefly sums up material. The Central Government should have had the money sent for carrying out these and various other administrative and for meeting local deficit. — G. V. M.]

I give below the Hyderabad Government Foodgrain Procurement and Issue prices in Taluk centres of the State. They speak for themselves and show how the Government agencies are exploiting the people and milking money in the State. These prices are official prices sanctioned by the Government.

(Hyderabad currency is converted into Indian currency at Government exchange rate).

Procurement prices paid to agents who deliver at Govt. Taluk godown doors	Issue prices at the same godowns
--	--

(per patta, i.e. 3 Bengal mounds)

Jawar	Rs 31 13 8	Rs 32 8 8
Bajara	Rs 31 7 0	Rs 27 3 4
Paddy	Rs 28 13 8	Rs 31 7 4
Kangana	Rs 15 13 8	Rs 27 7 4
Wheat	Rs 44 0 0	Rs 54 0 0
Rice	Rs 52 2 0	Rs 42 13 8

I may mention here that no cartage is given to agents, even if they have to bring Procurement foodgrain from a distance of 30 miles and beyond.

Neighboring State Prices

I am also giving below the rates of Procurement and Issue prices of foodgrain in the adjoining Madras State in Bombay State for comparison to show how little margin they keep between Procurement and Issue price, paying better prices to the agents.

Procurement prices	Issue prices
--------------------	--------------

(per patta, i.e. 3 Bengal mounds)

Jawar	Rs 27 12 0	Rs 28 8 8
Bajara	Rs 28 8 0	Rs 31 10 0
Paddy	Rs 28 8 0	Rs 37 14 0
Kangana	Rs 19 8 0	Rs 31 8 0
Wheat	Rs 52 8 4	Rs 53 8 8
Rice	Rs 52 2 4	Rs 52 8 0

I presume that Hyderabad State's poor figures of Foodgrain Procurement are mainly due to these low prices paid to the growers. In my opinion, our State is self-sufficient in so far as staple foodgrains are concerned.

I represented about these abnormal price differences between Procurement and Issue through the Hyderabad Press. The matter was discussed in the recent Government Press Conference and I learn from the editorial columns of the *Deccan Chronicle*, dated 24th October, 1950, that the Government could not give a satisfactory reply. Over and above these huge profits the Government of Hyderabad is paying annually as much as sixty lakhs of rupees as subsidy to this agency known as the Hyderabad Co-operative Comm-

ercial Corporation administered by the Hyderabad Government Supply Department.

I feel that the food problem of Hyderabad may be solved to a greater extent, provided —

(a) As in the Madras State the Procurement and Issue of foodgrain are entrusted to co-operative societies.

(b) The Procurement and Issue rates are revised as follows:

	Procurement (per patta in Indian Govt. Currency)	Issue
Jawar	Rs 28 8 0	Rs 33 0 0
Bajara	Rs 32 0 0	Rs 39 0 0
Paddy	Rs 36 8 0	Rs 40 0 0
Kangana	Rs 24 0 0	Rs 35 0 0
Wheat	Rs 55 0 0	Rs 58 0 0
Rice	Rs 56 0 0	Rs 54 0 0

(c) Proper arrangements are made, just like in Madras State to take weighments and pay off the agents for procurements in their own villages.

Hyd. (Hyd. State) S. A. 28421
30-10-50

NEWARK

In December, 1949, His Excellency (the Governor of Orissa) was pleased to announce a reward of Rs 1,500 for the best and the cheapest labour-saving device useful to farmers in Orissa in any kind of agricultural operation. Twenty entries were received from different persons and institutions. But most of them had been judged by the Expert Committee appointed for the purpose to be suitable or deserving of the reward. His Excellency has therefore been pleased to keep the award open up to the end of March, 1951. The competition is now limited to a few agricultural operations only, viz. sowing, weeding, transplantation and harvesting. As laid down in the previous notification, the other conditions of the competition are —

(1) The design should be simple and capable of being manufactured from materials easily available in any part of Orissa, preferably by local artisans and its repairs should likewise be simple.

(2) Economy, simplicity, easy availability of materials plus efficiency shall be the important criteria in judging the merit of the design.

(3) A Committee of experts will be set up to assess the merit of the designs received. The Committee's decision shall be final.

The competitors are requested to send their designs with sketches and explanatory notes etc. in sealed covers to reach the undersigned not later than 31-3-51.

Public servants under the Government of Orissa are not debarred from participating in the competition.

Governing House,
Cuttack.

Sd. Durgada
Secretary to the Governor

HARIJAN

Dec. 2

1960

THE ISM OF CONTROLS

It appears as if the policy of controls has become an *ism* with the Government. My impression was that the technique of controls was devised during the last world war on both the sides for the purpose of ensuring supplies of all things needed by the various Governments for prosecuting the war. They were not expected to continue after the end of the war. But from some Soviet literature that has come into my hands, it seems that controls are a part of the common creed of all Socialist sects. Hence, since Congress is committed to the establishment of a Socialist State, it perhaps looks upon controls as an instrument that has come to stay. May that be one of the reasons for the lethargy with which the Government refuses to revise its policy?

The technique of controls appears to have been efficiently developed and carried out in Soviet Russia — no doubt, with a good deal of violence also. Governments less Socialist in outlook than Russia seem to think that they, too, might as effectively and benevolently employ the technique, without establishing the conditions and resorting to means which made it successful in that country.

The most important feature of the Soviet experiment is that it abolished private property in the material resources and means of production simultaneously with establishing control over distribution of goods, commodities and prices. It is not a case in which industries are allowed to be run as private undertakings with a motive of personal profit, — attempts being made only to prevent prices going beyond a particular limit and, where necessary, to supply to the people a part of the essential resources of their life. Soviet Russia's makes not a case in which articles are produced primarily with an eye on foreign trade and exchange. The primary object of production is to consume the articles at home in a sufficient measure, before their export is thought of. Soviet Russia's is also not a case in which the State machinery — the services — is equipped with the tradition of respecting high birth, possession of riches and capacity to render monetary assistance to friends and dependents.

None of these conditions are fulfilled in India. The ceiling of private property and income might be as high as the Himalayas and the bottom as deep as the Pacific Ocean — and our traditions — which are also the traditions of our services — are to respect the rich and the powerful and to see that they are not put to any dis-

comfort. We are not very much fond of poor and indigent people, whose numbers have been hardened with work and limbs and clothes soiled with dirt. They might, perhaps, come sympathetically and charitably considerably, but they are not entitled to respect or priority over the farmer when it comes to the sharing of castles and privileges. We are apt to think that these people have always lived in want and poverty. If a few lakhs among them fall victim every year to diseases and epidemics on account of malnutrition, starvation and want of houses or clothing, it is not a new phenomenon in their life. Hence, deliberately or through disregard born of life-long familiarity, our system of controls is so shaped as almost to overlook the very existence of these people. Perhaps, even of the very materialistic economists regard their annual clearance as even a loss in disguise for a thickly populated country.

Hearts of men in their natural condition are never too inhuman to the criterion of fellow-beings. Children and unsophisticated men and women are moved with compassion and, even if they are themselves in want, they share their possessions with others. But when they give themselves over to a sophisticated theory or philosophy, the native sensibility, which is the heritage of man, becomes hardened like the nerves of a leprosy patient.

Controls are needed indeed. They are needed to put a limit on the amount of goods, property and income. They are also needed to set a limit upon the scale on which heavy-industries might be set up and the extent to which they might be allowed to be concentrated in an area. Controls are needed also to prevent large-scale industries from destroying small-scale industries of similar goods and from throwing large numbers of people out of employment. A discrimination must also be made between industries which promote luxuries, extravagance, momentary excitement, nervous passions, congestion in cities and towns and those which produce essential necessities of life and promote health, strength, self-control, knowledge, and industriousness and distribute the population fairly over the land.

Control over distribution is also needed. But it must be of a different type from what is undertaken at present. We are often told that the question of distribution does not arise until there is sufficient wealth to distribute. We must increase our production so that every one might get a sufficient quantity in distribution.

This argument confuses and evades issues. If there were no room at present for thinking of the problem of distribution — all measures for controlling prices, rationing of articles, licensing shopkeepers, preventing free movement of goods etc., should have no place whatsoever. They are undertaken because underlying them

is the belief that whether production is sufficient or insufficient, the necessity for equitable distribution of the produce is always there. Indeed, there is greater need to ensure fair distribution when the production is insufficient, than when it is sufficient.

Obviously, the argument that production must precede the issue of distribution is made in favour of industries only. In respect of agriculture, particularly food, if a State or farmers with surplus production were to say that they could spare only such quantity as might remain after the necessities of their own people were fully met they would be charged with selfishness and narrow-mindedness. When the people of deficit States could not have a ration of 4 oz. per day, how could a surplus State or a farmer think of eating a full meal? The objection is that all should share the deficit of food equally. The same principle should apply to profits and produce of industries also.

In fact controlled distribution need go a step further. If A is a great land-holder and has a large stock of last year's food already in balance, he need not have any part of the new produce (except in exchange for the old) when production in the country is insufficient generally. In the same way people who have already amassed sufficient wealth need not have any commodities, food or share in the profits of industries and may be asked to render their services generously until proper targets of production are attained, so that those who are poor might get at least a pinchful more in wages or cheaper in prices. To do so would be right.

The loss of controls becomes easy-parry in its application, if it neglects control over means of production and private property and income, and is sought to be applied only in the sphere of prices and distribution of commodities. It becomes still more so if the controlled distribution instead of giving priority to people with scanty means and low standards of living and income, neglects or adversely affects their interests.

Wardha, 21-11-50

M. G. MANDREWALA

Ansula K. Commaraswamy

I am engaged upon a study of the life, letters and works of the late Dr Ansula K. Commaraswamy. To augment my collection of material, I should be grateful if any one who has letters, pamphlets, articles, tributes, reviews, books or information dealing with him would communicate with me. Letters and manuscripts will be copied and returned by registered post, and a catalogue of all sources of information will be published.

I shall be glad to hear of any photographs, paintings, drawings, or other material that should be recorded in the preparation of this work.

Abdullah School,
Kuala Lumpur

S. SUBAI YASIN KIDMAN

PRE-ADVERTISED CONTROLS

A REPLY TO MEMORANDUM OF HONOURABLE MEMBERS OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY ON THE FOLLOWING POINT:

* A Government Press Note (Monday) published that they could get hold of only a very small stock of rice from Hojaiya steps in the question of their freezing order.

"There is no reason for being surprised at this. The Government ought not to have expected anything better from their past experience. For weeks before the control orders were actually promulgated they were so openly advertised that merchants knew that they were coming. Hence naturally they hoarded their purchases so that when the freezing order should come they might not have any stock in hand worth the name for delivery to the Government. Surely Government should not have neglected the importance to be so waiting in constant stress to purchase large quantities at a high rate in order to deliver them suddenly on a night to the central officers of law police."

"For some days before the promulgation of the order, wholesale dealers used to register orders of retailers for delivery of rice so soon as it should come into their hands and hoard the better conditioned orders from their permanent and well-known customers for purchasing as large a quantity as they could afford. Customers used to take place within a few hours after their order, only inferior qualities being kept on hand for short and unimportant customers. Thus a kind of de facto distribution is, indeed, effected every time a new control is introduced. Only the distribution is in favour of those who can afford to buy in large quantities. The purchases of weekly or monthly necessities (rice) form the majority of people and a few conspicuous citizens who would not purchase in any but a straight forward manner are the people who are made to suffer, when controls are imposed."

"If a pre-announcement of contemplated orders is added the delay of official publication and evasion of the orders (you can well imagine the opportunity given to merchants to dispose of whatever stocks might still have been left on the date of the publication of a Central Ordinance) besides, could not the Government have chosen a better time than the Shivar festival for introducing the people?"

"To a question put in the Member Legislative Assembly, Shri Chatterjee, Dutt is reported to have said that it depended upon the good luck of the people, whether they would get rice during Shivar festival. It was to be wished that the people had been left undisturbed in their good luck. But the Government interfered with their good luck and turned it into bad luck."

Another merchant from District Amrit (geographically in Kanchipuram but politically in Hojaiya) reports similarly. He adds the matter in

"merchandise control officers not being able to get more than five or ten tons of inferior quality rice than a few tons in a town where apparently some thousands of tons had hoarded there etc."

Also he adds the incident to corroborate this.

"There were three villages under the rationing area of Shikole. As soon as the Amrit Dist. Thirty thousand tons of grain had been procured from these villages. But the order steps had no grain now for distribution! One should imagine the confusion of those among the cardholders who had the other means of getting cereals and compare it with the fact that in the neighbouring villages in the Government there was an abundance and no artificial impediments in buying and selling. The problem of high prices was of course universally present, but there were signs and less high than 'black-market' prices."

The only comment I can make is that control, in India, are a form of legal punishment for being too poor or too honest.

Wednesday 25.11.59 K. G. MANGRUKHALLA CONSTRUCTIVE LABOUR MOVEMENT

[Extract from the Presidential Address of Shri Khandabhai N. Dand at the Third Indian National Trade Union Congress, held at Jaipur on 23-10-59]

Our Role Among the Working Classes

We must not confuse the question whether the confidence which the large bulk of workers have shown in the Organisation has been properly utilised by the leaders entrusted to us in its constructive work among the workers. I must very frankly confess that our confidence has been in the form of supporting the working class with the advantages and disadvantages and the various and numerous of different demands and social factors. Considering them as well as the country has not kept pace with the expansion of our Organisation. I personally believe that as long as the working class does not realise its own responsibility towards the country and the industry in which it is working and believes merely as an unorganised, isolated of considering themselves responsible citizens of the Republic, the Organisation which they have created will only continue a superficial and an ineffective body. I would like to point out that the I. N. T. U. C. in its constitution, has very clearly laid down that the object of the Organisation shall be to raise the status and individuality of the worker engaged in the industry so as to make him fit to shoulder the major destiny of a citizen. To the extent the unions affiliated to our Organisation have been able to work out this aspect of the constitution the movement has achieved its object. Therefore, this is in essence the work which we are discharging. We must realise that any single day lost in attending the two parts of the I. N. T. U. C. among the working class is lost for ever, and in the present context of the economic and political situation in the country, we cannot afford to be inattentive or inactive.

Two Types of Labour Movement

I feel the great failure of labouring in the last of Mahatma Gandhi. The abandoned Trade Union Association which I have the privilege to serve for the last seventeen, in the country of Mahatma Gandhi who paid the "experiment" (as he used to call it) at the end of his life. *** As the experimental proved subsequently successful in the various aspects, it was thought that in 1939 to extend the solution in other centres. The late Prof. Abid had also working more or less in the present five movements there and the result is Jaipur labour movement. We see that two types of labour movement — one based on principles of co-operation and education followed and worked by Gandhi and the other based on the traditional technique of mass force involving direct action and rejecting arbitrariness of arbitration by either party worked simultaneously in the country. As it has been seen, the traditional or Gandhi's technique has proved successful, while the other has not suited our country. *** The Indian National Trade Union Congress is based on the same principles, mass and proved successful in experiment, and in my humble opinion, it has placed before the country the most effective and beneficial approach for the solution of the problems that arise between the industry and the working class.

Labour Movement and Politics

As a close student of trade union movement in the country and as one who has worked as a trade union worker for the last three decades, I must say that unless the trade union movement in this day in day activity is substantially divorced from the activities of any political party there is no future for any independent and free trade union movement functioning as mass force. I do realize that in the workers world where States are almost entirely governed on the basis of class prejudice, hatred

and intense politics in its activity. But in the case of trade union workers, the trade union movement and the service of the working class should be the main basis of their activities while politics should be incidental to the trade union and incidental only in the extent that political activities helps in furthering the interest of the working classes. If, however, the trade union movement is made simply an instrument through which any political party would like to achieve, it will spell disaster not only to the trade union movement but to the country as a whole. *** The socialist and democratic Socialist parties are in a clear example of what I have said. I have given this illustration with a view to warn the working class of this country against their future exploitation.

Independent India and the Workers

The prosperity of our country as a sovereign Democratic Republic is in the main vested in the year. The Constitution that has been framed by our own representatives, assembled in the Constituent Assembly, represents a State based on democratic ideas and which provides: Every citizen of the country who has attained the age of twenty-one years, according to the Constitution, have a right to participate in the form of our Government. The Constitution guarantees the fundamental rights which if exercised with foresight, discrimination and courage, will put us on a better basis of participation which we find in reality. But even such a Constitution will be of no avail unless every citizen is able to take on his responsibility and discharge it honestly as to influence the State in making a proper policy and execute it efficiently. *** The Constitution has guaranteed to every citizen full opportunity to develop his or her personality. Every citizen has the right and privilege to express an opinion and would prefer that he should. Even then if our leaders disfigure are not fulfilled but as understood that it is due to either our own fault or ignorance or lack of responsibility. I would like the working class and to feel as if they are experts or waterfalls but to feel not before as co-operators and partners in the common goal of making our country, make a progressive, just, the model the others of the world.

While discussing the relationship between the trade union movement and politics we have to take into consideration the peculiar circumstances of our country and the economic conditions. The proportion of industrial labour in this country is hardly five to five per cent of the population and it is, therefore, not possible for them to create the social order which they desire merely by their own efforts. They will, therefore, have to align themselves and work in cooperation with the political party which has as its objective removal of exploitation by powerful means and a reformation of the social order as a just and equitable basis. It should represent the poverty and the lower middle classes who form more than 80 per cent of our people.

The Economic Situation in the Country

As we all know, the economic situation in the country is far from happy. *** I do feel that the business community and workers must recognize their role in building up the economy of the nation because ultimately they are the people who will suffer most if production is at a low level. *** With mutual cooperation, it is not difficult to remove obstacles in all concerned economic activities and achieve more efficiency. When I say that the production should be efficient I mean efficiency of mind. The worker has to give his best, so to speak, but the other factor is production, namely, management, has also to contribute its honest share in the efficient and economic management so that the product in every industry is made available to the consumer at cheap prices. Time has now come when more laying on the stages of more production, without other steps of the Government taking its share of responsibility will be of no avail. In my opinion, the Government must now take this initiative and introduce the necessary discipline in the key industries of the country by proper planning and

avoidance of all lockups, management and union. Let production be hastened to meet the needs of the country and the profit motive be subordinated to it maintained by service motive. For stability of the country primarily depends on the economic policy of the Government. The fact that the present policy has failed is beyond doubt. A Government pledged to restore concentration of wealth to the hands of a few would have to have its accounts with an eye on the man in the village who hardly sees the hand. Big business cannot appreciate the ideas of hardwork and we, therefore, urge upon the Government the desirability of shaping its future policy in consultation with wage organizations and those who can represent properly the popular will. As far as the working class is concerned, I need not say that under the guidance of the organizations which I have the honour to represent, they are determined to pull to full weight and strength to help the nation in this hour of trial and emergency. The Government should treat the present situation as an emergency and begin to act accordingly. The debt has been provided to continue help through and Government must place before the country its clear line of policy and in the interim and wage matter but, concurrently, bringing respective duties and the return to various sections of the community. The Government will then have the sanction of public opinion behind it.

Change the Top-heavy Administration

I am surprised to remark in this connection that the old financial and administrative setup left by the British and which was entirely designed for the Imperial, pump and expenditure is still being continued with out any variation. This administrative machinery has given rise to a top-heavy structure which, in my opinion, is inconsistent with the national economy of the country. It was obviously not intended to serve the interest of the people and therefore it is not suited to our purpose. It is so expensive that our people are groaning under its burden. Therefore, even if an appeal is to be made to the masses in large scale of the present requirements with a view to make available the present savings and surpluses of surpluses for the future economic development, the example must be set by those who are at the top both in the Government and commercial and industrial interests. I am firmly convinced that the existing wealth-producing capacity of the country cannot bear the weight of the higher salaries and earnings of the classes which are set to perpetuate this tradition without taking into consideration the overall interests of the masses. The income and consumption of the various sections of the community would have to be coordinated with the wealth of the country and I believe that the existing disproportionate unequal distribution of the national wealth is the main ground for the disturbances in the economic structure. The Government has set up the Planning Commission as desired by the Parliament and its work is back. Now that the Commission has had sufficient time to study the Imperial problems facing the country, we hope it will place before the country its own analysis of the situation, suggest plans of development and re-adjustments of the economic structure and determine the priorities. In this connection, I would urge upon the powers that be to give priorities to the first business in the development of our agriculture, irrigation and rural resources so as to ensure increased production in food and industrial raw materials. The resources of the country being limited any plan for utilization of the economic resources for industrial development will be a structure, unwanted to our country.

Labour Legislation

The Government has on the last two labour legislations dealing with the organization of trade unions and settlement of industrial disputes by conciliation and arbitration. I have no hesitation in giving my support to the general principles of these two Bills and the Working Committee of the Indian National Trade Union Congress has while supporting the general principles underlying them, strongly criticized certain objectionable features of

the Bills. The Government's assumption of power to modify or reject the awards of the Tribunal is an undesirable and unscrupulous step and, therefore, that provision must be dropped. The inclusion of the questions of retrenchment, including reduction of workers by retrenchment and controlling workers as 'scabs' from the ambit of industrial disputes is also unacceptable. We also feel that the procedure laid down in the Bill for the settlement of the disputes required to be amended so as to make it as prompt as possible. The scheme of the Bill should prohibit any arbitrary or unilateral action by either party without following the legal procedure. I hope that when the Labour Ministers Bill emerges from the Select Committee it will have undergone necessary changes and be free from its defects.*** I do not say that either the present draft Bill or what we expect to get, is the final step is going to be perfect in all its aspects. But the Indian fair policy of the leading parties to settle their disputes by arbitration having met with failure a new approach to the problem of industrial relations is necessary and the new legislation is an attempt in this direction and as such deserves support of the working classes. If the working class show the doubts in actual practice, they will certainly be satisfactorily removed.

Proper Basis of Industrial Relations

While discussing the Labour Relations Bill, I am tempted to place before the Conference in general terms, my own view about proper industrial relations. I have been in the trade union movement for the last three decades and had the privilege of understanding these problems from Gandhi directly. From the experience I have acquired, I have come to the conclusion that industrial relations can only be adjusted smoothly by removal of inequalities and arbitrations and settling that by arbitration. During the British regime we have gone through a period of industrial relations to this country based on the traditional principles of laissez faire methods. If that experience in our country had succeeded, we would have had by now the strongest trade union organization but the actual result is otherwise. The employers and the Government instead with the usual methods of industrial relations, followed the path of direct action resulting in acute hardships and distress consequences to both the industry and the working class. If we have learnt anything from this history, we must come to the conclusion that the policy and methods of unregulated relations between the employers and workers have failed to achieve any substantial gain for the working class either in the matter of material benefit or organized strength. During the time passed some Imperialist industrial nations like the United States and Japan have followed the principles and methods of consultation and arbitration as practiced and practiced under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi. It is a matter of history that where these alternative methods were followed, the workers' organizations gained strength, and raised the status of the working class by giving them not only a higher standard of living but also making them morally and politically. The conclusion is therefore obvious that even actually the solution of an industrial dispute by peaceful means is followed almost to the last resort in the interests of everybody. In the present situation of our country this method is by far the most effective and beneficial. As I have stated in some other places, the total rejection of methods practiced in some industrially developed countries is not appropriate for our purposes. I will say with emphasis that the policy of "direct action" in every case is most compatible with regard to industrial relations. The principles of arbitration and negotiation are of vital importance and had led to the ends of the country and in the interest of all concerned. We therefore adhere to them, but in cases where the employer refuses to refer the dispute to arbitration or does not comply with the award or makes union drag, and where the State refuses to refer a dispute to arbitration, the workers are not only entitled to but it becomes their moral duty to resist in order to make industrial and arbitrary action of either employers or the State with all

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TWO ANNAS

NOTES

Emancipation of Kothas

It is gratifying to learn that the Government has revised its par policy by raising the minimum price of sugar-cane to Rs 1-12-0, ceiling price of par to Rs 12-0-0 and permitting unrestricted working of kothas and gum-pans. As a logical consequence the price of sugar has also undergone a rise of Rs 1-4-0 per maund over the present price. It is possible that cane growers and gum-pans may regard the raised price also as inadequate. But this is a subject for careful calculation and not of principle. The emancipation of kothas and gum with, I believe, be welcomed on all sides.

An opinion seems to prevail in Government that the increase in demand for par last year — due to unemployment for distribution of liquor and hence the necessity for controlling its manufacture. This may be true to a certain extent, but there are other and proper reasons for the extra demand. The supply of sugar having heavily failed and par and Bhadani having an open market, people naturally substituted these for sugar even where the latter was always normally used e.g. tea, coffee, milk. Confectioners also used par and Bhadani for preparing confections and even sold away their ration sugar in the black market because though par appeared to be more costly than sugar in the open market, in the black market sugar continued to be rated higher. Dealers cannot be much taken into account since they would pay any price for their black purposes and the effect of fixing a ceiling price, so far as they are concerned, would be to lower the black market price in their favour. For instance, if the ceiling price of par is Rs 12 and the black-market price Rs 22, they would have to pay Rs 4 on. If the former is Rs 12, they would have to pay only Rs 2 on. In fact, it should be realised, the black-market has also a sort of buyer depending upon its own rules of demand and supply and cost price and margin of profit calculations. If the trader can afford or is willing to sell at Rs 22, he will keep to that price as long as the ceiling price is below it. The remedy for stopping black traffic whether in the nature of demolition or smuggling must be

sought elsewhere and not in fixing ceiling and bottom prices. The latter are needed for the protection of the consumer and the producer of raw materials respectively. It should be remembered that no large-scale illicit acts can take place without the co-operation of Government staff and want of strong active public opinion against them. The creation of strong public opinion requires well-organized constructive effort through voluntary organisations, constructive workers' associations, Congress Committees, religious preachers, etc., and the participation of administrative staff requires the assistance of a new spirit in the services.

Wardha, 2-12-59

The Final Stage of an Industry *

Gandhi taught to the people of Ahmedabad that there was no inherent conflict between Capital and Labour and it was possible to establish harmony between the two, he showed also the way of doing so. The unique benefit of his method to industrialists, workers and other staff engaged in the industries of Ahmedabad is well known.

Both industrialists and workers should now jointly think out how they can give the utmost benefit of their produce to the people. The final stage of producing goods is not the reaping of maximum profits by shareholders and workers for themselves. No doubt industry is a means of improving their own economic condition also but it is not the true aim of production. The true aim is to produce for the people good, durable and cheap cloth. From the mill-owner to the last retailer, only if all fulfil their functions honestly and at a reasonable rate of profit and remuneration, can an industry bring welfare to the people. It is the duty of industrialists and workers to see that this obligation is fulfilled by them as also by all the middlemen who handle the goods produced. I request the associations of both industrialists and workers to ponder over these fundamental of social duty. All proceedings are held on behalf of God, their real owner.

Wardha, 28-12-59

R. G. M.

(Transmitted from Gujarat)

* Message sent to Ahmedabad Labour Union for 22 December (the Foundation Day, 1958).

Karmayaga is Family Leth

We should love our son in the same way as we love the world. There should be no distinction between the two. So also with regard to our own Self. Let us ask ourselves: "Do I love my son more than I love my neighbour?" Or conversely, "Do I love others less than I love myself or my son?" If the answer is in the affirmative, we are in the wrong.

Every one should realize that the estate earned by his father is for the whole society. He has no exclusive right over it. It is the responsibility of the father to educate the son properly up to a certain age. Thereafter he must be made free to live and remain as any other freed. If these things are clear to the mind, a man with a family is also a karmayaga, in accordance with the Gita.

TRINOLA

(Reprinted from the Harijaga, Nov., 1939)

Coca-Cola and Communism

With reference to the note in Harijan of 4-11-39 regarding Coca-Cola and its numerous outlets on the human system, the following facts also warrant its immediate closure in the larger interest of checking the already augmenting unemployment in the country.

A Coca-Cola factory has recently been started in Delhi and the scheme is to erect as many such factories as possible in the whole of India, covering practically all the big cities. The capitalists of America and India have combined together to run this so-called enterprise. In the course of a short time these few factories will replace thousands of small, scattered water manufacturing factories mostly owned by lower-middle class people and run on a small-scale basis without using electric power.

In Delhi city this single factory alone will cause more than 150 such small factories, which at present cater to the needs of the city, to close down for not being able to stand competition with big business commanding all the modern resources in money and material. Their closure will render about five thousand workers and their numerous dependents almost beggars without offering any means of alternative employment.

No popular Government can afford to remain as a mere passive on-looker when thousands of workers are being systematically reduced to poverty and hunger. It is all the more amazing that a responsible Cabinet Minister should perform the opening ceremony of such a nefarious scheme.

It is time that the Government should realise its mistake in allowing such factories to run, ignoring the larger interest of the country and its people.

ANANDRAM

Has Water?

"What water should be turned because it is used to adulterate with water." What a suggestion to make? And how should I think seriously?

Let me talk to a child. What will happen without water?

People will die of thirst, animals also, and all vegetation, therefore no cows, and no milk,

and also no rice and no wheat, and also no oil—needs to make vegetable oil?

Is it well worth pursuing the argument further? On the other hand who will die for want of vegetable?

J. M. COOPER

A FELLOWSHIP OF FRIENDS OF TRUTH

One day in January 1937 I was writing through the letter of Mahatma, Kailashji, with simplicity when he was in the midst of his "Be or Do" wherein he laid the wounds of centuries that had severely lacerated the hearts between Muslims and Hindus. In the course of our talk I found with him a manner that had been in my heart for many months. What I said was something like this, "It seems to me that what the world, and specially what India needs above all today is some religious fraternity which can be and will be joined by adherents of all the great faiths. I am not thinking of a 'syncretistic' movement, which deliberately tries to take the best from each faith and join them together. I am thinking of a union of hearts, a fellowship in which men of each faith—Hindu, Buddhist, Parsi, Jew, Muslim, Christian—may find themselves at one because they are united together to practice the work of God in the world. And I have wondered" I went on, "whether the Society of Friends could help to provide such a meeting ground. Of course," I added, "if you could show me that in fact some other group is better fitted to provide such a fellowship, then I ought to consider joining that group. What do you say?"

He did not answer without giving some time for thought. I do not know that I can recall the full answer that he gave me, but the part that I remember clearly was in substance:

"No," he said, "of the societies that I know I do not think any other would be better or even as good. I think the Friends are the best. But only on one condition, are they prepared to recognise that it is no natural law for a Hindu to give up a Priest or a Muslim to give up a Priest or a Christian to give up a Priest?" I particularly remember the expression "give up", the emphasis on the idea of growth in a faith, important. I replied: "Some would agree to that condition and some would not. I am one of those who would readily accept that position, not only for Muslims but for Hindus and others."

And now of course I have made no attempt to give the challenges offered by Kailashji more than two years ago.

The Religious Society of Friends, which is addressed by Quakers and originally called itself "Friends of Truth", came into existence in England at the time of the Civil War and the Commonwealth, in the middle of the seventeenth century. It soon spread to America, and lately such groups have been springing up in a number of European countries and also in Asia, Africa and Australia. During the last forty years of its existence, it underwent three persecutions, which severely tested the movement and purified the members of its members by offering them the prospect of long-term imprisonment and often brutal treatment from soldiers and others.

They were persecuted for their refusal to accept the authority of the State, whether in religious or political. Then they insisted that the authority of a faith was superior to the authority of any human-made dogma of any Church or holy book. *Ministry of the Ministry of the Ministry* they declared, and took precedence over the will of the State. Their way of worship was simple. In their opinion and manner they refused to accept any such distinctions. Although in general they accepted the current view in Christianity which identified Christ with God, and were ranked in the Christian religion they remained in the doctrine after that simple statement directly in every man who will listen to His voice. He was speaking himself before Christ came upon the earth and He has continued to speak His word to man in every age and place.

The Quakers declared that what mattered is a man's life was not what he believed metaphysically, but what he experienced and lived by.

The Quakers, in whom the inward experience of God, as revealed through Jesus Christ, is a precious and rising power have from the beginning been especially leaders and open toward those of other faiths who, like these selves, have sincerely sought, and yielded to the truth of God which they have found in their souls.

Always, the emphasis is on first-hand experience. "Christ calls this," wrote George Fox, the founder of the Society, "and the apostles say this but what comes from you? Art thou a child of light, and hast walked in the light, and thou thou speakest, is it inwardly from God?" It was not a dogma about Christ or God that led the early Quakers together and has kept the best friends there too, but the experience of life "having the seed of life in their hearts."

What has been said so far might suggest that the whole Quaker emphasis was an spiritual liberty and on the authority of the individual conscience. If that had been the case total, it is almost certain that those Friends of Truth would have survived for only a very short time as a distinct community, and would thus have suffered from the natural consequences that must soon destroy those who have no conviction as much as spiritual Godliness. Where then, did they find the necessary correction? Partly in the Christian scriptures, partly in religious writings in general, partly in the respect they showed to the experience of their fellow members, but, especially, in the frequent and regular practice of corporate worship, which has been the very life-blood of the Society from the first beginnings till now.

Their meetings for worship were in striking contrast to the carefully prepared, prearranged rituals that are common in most churches, temples or other places of worship. Since God, as the Quakers would in their experience, speak to every human being, heart, and every human being can become his instrument and his friend, there is no need of any special ritual of worship in words approved in God; rather there is a danger that outward observances may distract the mind from the essential purpose of communion, and become a barrier not a doorway. The Quakers have no special prebened and no fixed ritual. From the beginning, when they met to worship God they met in silence. Sometimes they would remain in silence for an hour or two, sometimes one or several would share some truth that seemed to be revealed in their hearts. And this practice of silent, unprogrammed worship continues in many Quaker meetings all today. It was here an extraordinary power to unify the worshippers in love for and submission to one another; and it can interpret the worshippers so that they go from their silent gatherings with fresh power to fight oppression and evil.

As most principles of God of truth of goodness, it is to be found in every human heart, all violence committed by man against man is evil. Yet, the Quakers have seen, again and again, how good and how of power. They could have no part in war or preparation for war even in a way of defense. They trusted God to be their defense. They hoped that it was in accordance with His purpose that they should perish rather than defend themselves with swords or guns.

A striking observation of the application of this principle to public life is to be found in the early history of Pennsylvania. A number of Quakers settled with William Penn in this new land where their neighbours were the warlike Red Indians. But for twenty years the Quakers lived peacefully and they had no soldiers to defend them. They treated their Red Indian neighbours justly. The latter rarely or never did them any harm, even at times when the Indians were at war with neighbouring white men. This "Holy Experiment" is now evidence, as we call it, looks down upon man who had at first in their methods such change of Pennsylvania's policy.

While sincerely loved the world, knowing that of God in every man, all things are, and in the very best hearts by grace as I speak no death, by the sword upon it. In their last years all followers have been able to live up to this double ideal of conduct.

Some of the Quakers were among the first in the world "up the chain of slavery, in America and other parts of the world. They began this crusade dramatically, by an appeal to the conscience of those of their own nation who were silent about, and by themselves becoming friends of the slaves. This concern for the free will-being of oppressed and "backward" people too, called, and especially for learning to understand their real needs through friendship, has pervaded through two centuries of Quaker history. They were among the pioneers to become involved in the issues in England and in other international reform. Elizabeth Fry, the well-known prison reformer and friend of prisoners, was a Quaker. Likewise, their opposition in all war has been strengthened by large-scale relief measures for the victims of modern war, but here, too, they have usually preferred to undertake more lasting work, where their wisdom could establish human relations with the individual war victim rather than attempting to direct large administrative schemes.

During the past twenty years and more particularly in the last three years of his life a number of Quakers, "the Friends" as he liked to call them, have been closely associated with Gandhi. The Quaker belief in spiritual freedom led the Society in England to support the struggle for India's freedom. As when they were working for the abolition of slavery they were first and foremost concerned to appeal to the conscience of the people of Britain, believing that the chief "enemy" that must be overcome was the individual conscience in England that the benefit of British rule in India were such that the whole system of alien government was good. It was not the political freedom of India so much that the Quakers were interested about, but the spiritual wrong that kept in India when the personal responsibility attaching to self-government is denied. Later on, the Friends Ambulance Unit, the Friends Service Unit and, in other ways, Friends from the West have not only been able to bring some relief to India's suffering millions, especially in the Bengal famine of 1943-44 and the Punjab troubles of 1948, but also to identify themselves through the medium of personal friendship with India's new life of freedom and spiritual growth towards a better life.

Some of our Indian friends, Shri. Madan, Shri. Patel as well as Christian, have worked with us and we with them, in common endeavour for the relief of suffering and we have joined together in acts of worship. Out of such close friendship has grown a desire sometimes expressed as a definite request that some organic fellowship might be formed. So, now we propose to try a new experiment to bring any who here in us to join a Fellowship of truth. This will be open to all members of the Society of Friends and to nonmembers, to Christians and non-Christians, in all without any test or qualification. Fellowship beyond a certain there is associated themselves with the heart and goal of the Fellowship as outlined below.

The basic test goal of this Fellowship of Friends of Truth will be a common striving towards fuller knowledge of the truth that is God. Members will continue themselves to learn with and from one another of the things that are eternal, through common acts of silent worship and meditation and through other forms of communion with God and man. Each will seek to foster the growth of the Fellowship, developing groups where like-minded people are found. Every member will inevitably find strength and support in the new life to live a truthful life and to work for peace and social justice and human brotherhood. For true prayer must lead to willing action.

Dr. Rajnarain, D.D.

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DEPENDENT FAMINE

Whether on account of floods, or drought, or other causes, famines stare us in the face in many parts of India. Deep in the usually fertile province of Madhya Pradesh, villagers and those who depend daily wages on employment caught in the grip of hunger. For some time they have not been able to get cereals and manage to live on more paltry diet, like chana (gram) or mung (green gram). Though the conditions might improve slightly after some weeks with the arrival of the new crop, still the crop itself being very poor and the prices too high, it will hardly bring relief to the very poor. And it is only December yet. Assuming that the next monsoon will not be so bad as the last one, it will not be till October next, that they can hope to have new crops. Ten months is too long a time to feel empty.

Food is not the only item of shortage in many parts of Madhya Pradesh—particularly Nagpur and Berar. Even in good years there is acute scarcity of water in several villages during summer. In the next season, even such wells as did not run quite dry in normal years might do so and there is a feeling of general anxiety about the supply of water during the year.

With proper effort by popular organisations, combined with Government effort, liberal donations of philanthropists and the public spirit of those who have their own stores of grains, it may not be impossible to maintain a fair supply, and distribution of food.

The problem of water is a more difficult one. It may be possible to supply it to villages near railway stations by means of submersibles and trucks. Where there are motor roads, it might be possible to do so to a certain extent through water trucks. But it is obvious that these arrangements can meet the difficulty only to a very small extent. Moreover preparations should be made from now on to arrange these relief measures whenever possible, and sinking of new wells and deepening the old ones must be undertaken as quickly as possible.

It will not be proper and will not work, if people will look only to Government to do everything to tide over the difficulty. Nor will it be right on the part of Government officers to assume the attitude that they are quite able to cope with the situation and non-official organisations are unnecessary. Publicians whether of the ruling party or in opposition must not seek to exploit the situation for political ends while they themselves do little to organise relief. When a disaster is common to the whole nation, all must combine in the first instance to fight it as

well as possible. There might be differences of opinion among them as to how this should be done. They might be based on different principles. The ruling political party or the Government machinery might not, in the opinion of other parties and workers, be pursuing the best method and might be guilty of gross errors. The drawbacks might be pointed out from time to time and after the difficulties have been filed over, freely criticised and pointed out, if a party or workers so feel. But while the people are in distress all parties and all workers must co-operate in making on a ship might be expected to do in a storm. The ruling party should for the time being be accepted as the captain of the ship. Others might put in their points of view, but they must accept the decision of the captain as final, even.

"Don't the sailors know"

Some one had blundered."

Wardha 27-11-39

K. S. MANDREKAR.

A HINDUPHIL BEGINNING

Shri Viththaladas Jorjani, once his retirement from the active work of the Bombay Khadi Bhander has occupied himself with village uplift work in a village of the Thana District. It is a village, in which the peasant labourers mostly belong to a poor class of advans known as Bakhars. They have no other dependable source of livelihood except working for wages on farms. But even that meagre source is further drained of its contents by such deceit and dishonesty that Jorjani tried to secure for them a separate deal. In his earlier letters he used to strike a note of despair. But in his latest he reports that a rather poor cultivator of a leased land, who had promised to pay full wages to his labourers, had kept his promise on the realisation of crops. In the meanwhile, a big contractor also announced his intention to pay full wages to his Bakhars during the reaping operations. This was an unprecedented event in the annals of that village. It was hoped that this announcement would have its favourable repercussions in the surrounding areas also.

This unexpected gesture greatly delighted the labourers, and it was reported afterwards that other cultivators had also fallen in the line and paid full wages.

From the next harvesting season, a new chapter will open in the history of tenant-cultivators. The Government of Bombay have fixed one-fourth part of the produce in place of the present one-third as the share of the landlord. It is scheduled to come into operation from the next season.

Similar news though differing in respect of the measure of work comes from Shri Viththaladas Khambhar who works among the same people in a village at a few miles' distance from that of Shri Jorjani. It is reproduced below—

"In November, 1938, we organised the peasants —most of whom are advans and Bakhars—into a co-operative society and started a grain-bank on the

total. The society has at present 114 members with a fund of Rs. 5,000 by way of deposits and capital and 300 tons of stock.

Formerly the landowners took one-tenth to two-tenths of the total produce from the village. Last year this share was reduced to a third only, 1950-51 to be further reduced to one-fifth, hereafter. The members elected one and a half times the quantity of rice advanced to the cultivators, and the interest on money varied from six per cent to as high as 25 per cent per annum. The money on the other hand charged 45 per cent interest and the premium on grain advanced has been fixed at 25 per cent only. Besides, the profits are now divided proportionately among the shareholders. The society helps the cultivators in many other ways. It has given the 1,200 members loans to cultivate for the purchase of bullocks and land by and by its greater money to 25 acres for the same purpose. Recently when two of the members died, the society gave substantial help to their widows in their own homes. Under similar circumstances, before the society was formed, the land belonging to these deceased cultivators had passed from their widows into the hands of the creditors. This village-shiksha work has not in reality a whole series of reforms; still this tends to a movement for a united village community, help to those in need in the early or the proper time, prohibition, the traditional way of meeting disputes, participation in public-affairs activities etc. We realise that we are yet very far from our goal. At times, out of over-enthusiasm of the queer and unjust way in which the officials conduct themselves we have even thought of giving up our efforts. But considering that this would bring to naught even the hope that we had cherished, we desisted. The articles in Harijan also continued to inspire us, and so here we are sticking up to our work.

"Let me briefly state in satisfying which is more important and which therefore I want to bring to your notice.

The number of landless labourers in my village is 32 men and 124 women. Previously the male labourers used to get for his seasonal work 4 mds. of rice, 5 pails of sugar or sugar cane, unseasoned grain consumed by the poor) and Rs. 4-15 in cash. The female labourers's remuneration was half of this. Consequently the reduction of the landowners's share from one-fourth to one-fifth the measure seems to give a great deal. But they did not raise the wages of the labourers. Since they are too poor, it is too difficult for them to give their subscriptions to members of the society. A few days back, they met in a conference and took the decision that if their wages were not increased, they should strike. When they came to me I explained to them how it would be wrong to strike work, and finally succeeded in inducing them not to do so, even if they failed to gain their objective this year. Then I called the women and explained the situation to them. I told them that they should not grudge sharing their earnings with their husbands. They were convinced and agreed to pay to their husbands 4 mds. of rice and Rs. 4-12 in cash. Thus without a strike and all the turmoil which accompanied it there was a 25 per cent rise in the wages, 50% profit and satisfaction prevailing in both sides. This incident is leading to good effects in the neighbouring area also."

The beginning seems to be a hopeful one.
Wardha, 14-11-53. K. G. MALHOTRA.

THE NATION'S VOICE

Being a publication of Gandhi's speeches in England and So. M. D.'s record of the reports. Page no. 254. Price Rs. 3/-, Passage etc. As 1/-
NAYATRA PUBLISHING HOUSE
Post Box 302, AHMEDABAD

THE VANASPATHI MENACE

It is rather surprising to find a Journal devoted to the cause of Indian agriculture pleading against the demand made in Shri Theodoras Bhargava's Bill for the prohibition of vanaspathi. The Agricultural Economist of Bombay, however, does so in its September issue. Commonly enough, it holds that in so far as our agricultural economy is concerned, it is not directly concerned in the question whether vanaspathi is essentially good or harmful for health. To say the least, it is the narrowest view of agricultural economy. It is fortunate, however, that it concedes that when it is conclusively proved that vanaspathi is injurious to health, it will be incumbent on the Government to take steps to ban the manufacture and sale of the same.

It is well known that vanaspathi is an artificial product obtained after subjecting a vegetable oil to certain chemical operations

(i) in the course of these chemical operations,

(ii) the original proportion of 1 : 4 between saturated acids and unsaturated acids is changed to 1 : 1. This makes vanaspathi less digestible and a poor catalyst agent for digestive processes:

(iii) on account of hydrogenation, its curdness absorbing power is reduced. Thus we begin to suffer from want of Vitamin A.

(iv) due to its high melting point, it is more difficult to digest and weak individuals may not absorb it at all.

(v) its nickel content is at least a doubtful factor, and

(vi) it does not help in calcium and phosphorus assimilation.

Any amount of stress on the harmful effect of an artificial food is insufficient. Western farmers gave artificial food to their soil with the result that erosion is affected with a terrible speed and "more soil has been lost since 1904 than in the whole previous history of the world." Western men and women gave artificial food to their own bodies with the result that in the course of a Medical Parliament experienced doctors of England are constrained to remark

"The better marketing of the household as in its being an ample succession of fresh food steps to the better of our people the strict of the present exhaustion of the soil, and the increasing and permanent contamination of its fertility concern us very deeply. The quantity and the quality of food are the paramount factors in food. The health campaign can succeed unless the materials of which the bodies are built are sound. At present, they are not."

"Twenty half of our work is wasted when our patients go so far from the cradle (infant) before the cradle that they are certain contributors to a 12 million. Even our country people share the white bread, cheap cotton, dried milk rights. Against this the share of the doctor remains those of day then."

"This is our medical testament, given to all whom it may concern—and whom does it not concern?"

With the spread of an artificial food like vitamin diseases are bound to increase. Artificial food will supply artificial nutrition which cannot help producing artificial men and women with little or no power to resist. Every vitamin and mineral is added and removed from it must be supplied with other artificial preparations, like Iodine, Celin, Shark oil, Liver extracts etc. As soon as their intake is discontinued, health begins to deteriorate again. One never can know what it is to live on a purely natural diet.

The effect of vitamin on the development of our catch-cattle is equally disastrous. In fact it strikes a shattering blow at our village economy itself. It also endorses our morality and degrades character. As vitamin is an addictant also, it has made the availability of pure glass unworkingly difficult. In course of time the latter will disappear altogether, for even sand can be mixed with vitamin. This makes the appearance of sand so attractive, that the consumer does not wish to shun it into obnoxious character. Thus obnoxious production will also be stopped. The situation will then be somewhat like this:

In cities—some milk, no oil, no vitamin, no glass, plenty of vitamin.

In villages—no milk, no oil, no vitamin, no glass, some vitamin.

Science can hardly discover a more efficient instrument to bleed a people white.

Next, vitamin is obtained from oil. The vitamin manufacturer, therefore, does not let the village phone to work in the village in the same way as sugar industrialists do not want Indians to work. Another of the major cottage-industries is also thus apt to be wiped out. Nay, the milk-oil cake being dirtier and poorer in food-value than the glass-cake, the cattle will also suffer in nutrition.

Again, vitamin is the chief motive for the manufacture of vitamin. So more vitamin more groundnut. This groundnut has become a profitable money-crop to agriculturalists displacing the production of food-crops. Besides, we gradually lose regard and taste for various oil-yielding seeds other than groundnut as linseed, coconut oil, castor etc.

There are, I think, urgent reasons for an Indian agro-economy, to urge the banning of vitamin, its production as well as use. This will do real harm to more and artificial harm also to none, except a few vitamin mill owners and some sophisticated city people. On the other hand the banning will be beneficial in more ways than one—

(i) People will be able to get for their use pure glass or pure oils of different kinds, according to their purse and taste.

(ii) The village-ghar will be restored, bringing joyful work to the producer, good cake for the cattle and real oil for the consumer.

(iii) The necessity for growing groundnut might decrease allowing more scope for growing food.

Such ready addictant will disappear.

I have a suggestion to offer America has thrown tons and tons of food grains like wheat into the sea and burnt down sales of cotton. Let our Government do something better. I do not ask them to throw into the sea or burn all vitamin but to make it unfit for human consumption and stop its further production for good. The over-anxious manufacturer may be then asked to take to hydropurifying non-vitamin oils for the good of the whole nation.

Wartha, 13-11-69

207/001 PARASITIAN

THE THIRD WORLD

President Indira Gandhi's Address and his visit to a world tour last year. He has now published a small book giving an account of their journey and experiences under the title *The New World*. It is a kind of state publication and an interesting reading though rather too early (No 84) for the CDS paper.

The title of the book is in contrast with that of the one by the late Mr Winston Churchill, whose book *The World*, written after a similar world tour had become famous during the last world war. While Churchill was after U.S. Britain and other capitalist countries were in alliance with Communism. Pandit, and while we the hope of a United World Government and the end of all wars in that. Presumably Mr Indira did not live enough to see his hope achieved.

President Gandhi has taken a more moral glimpse of several questions of the world, and he feels that "the idea of 'One World' under the existing circumstances is a myth". He has returned with the impression that "at present there are two worlds," or rather, the one preoccupied world is actually divided into "two worlds of ideological values—one dominated by Capitalism and the other ruled by Communism"—which might be trying to destroy each other "push to the total destruction of all". He concludes that the hope of humanity ultimately lies in creating both of these two, and, that this united world is a third one "which captures the will of both Capitalism and Communism and combines the good points of the two." Needless to say that his reference is to the Christian ideology. This is what he says with regard to it.

Presumably for us a great leader and prophet was born in India in about a half way of the based on New and Christian combined in all and constructive approach to good. He proved by his life and work that that there was a stronger power than violence, even the atom bomb could not conquer the untamed spirit of Man. He also told us that civilization must permeate every aspect of our material life. If we had to be civilized men and women, the social, economic, political, educational and moral organization of a country should be conceived in character. In other words, the basis of civilization have to be good and sustained in all directions. Attempts to build peace on the foundation of good and economic violence are bound to fail. In order to win lasting peace, we have therefore to set our own house in order. This was the message of that glorious leader and sage.

The Christian way of life preaches the Fundamental values of Simplicity and Obedience to Labour. Both Capitalism and Communism are based on the materialistic vision. They attach importance to the standard of living while Gandhi was anxious to raise the 'standard of life' which concerns the development of the whole personality of man. Mahatma Gandhi told us that true happiness and prosperity consisted not in the multiplication of wants but in their control and abstinence.

In the spirit of the Christian way implies equal treatment for all before being irrespective of any

HARIJAN

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TWO ANNAS

MINIATURAL SCIENCE

Last month when I was ill, a news item in the *Frederation Times* was brought to my notice, which I did not write about as much as I was able. It is dated Mysore, October 22nd, 1936 and gives a description of the formal opening of the Government of India Technological Research Institute in that city. The passage which has stuck in my mind, as it struck into it red hot, reads as follows:

"Dr. D. S. S. Bhattacharya declared:— I have assumed charge and others who have made similar speeches about the immediate necessities of the Institute then, within a year of its inauguration, it will make a decided contribution towards the solution of food shortages in India by an technological research."

"Dr. Bhattacharya stated: 'New food industries such as the manufacture of breakfast cereals and yeast are being established in the country and for their proper development, a research institute is a real necessity.'"

Breakfast cereals and yeast, brethren! What trophies of good will they do to the hungry masses? These things will, at the most, supply more delicacies to those who are already fully, if not overfed. It is a big joke, but a still bigger tragedy. Our leading men of science, who are now-a-days busy developing the country are so completely divided from the toiling poor that it is impossible for them to think in terms appropriate to the needs of the millions.

The distinguished Doctor, whom I know personally, must forgive me for my frankness in the name of the wretched illers of the soil, who produce the food that counts, I would appeal to him, and all those in his category, to apply their science to the labourer's hot and empty stomach instead of the rich man's breakfast table.

Puduchok, 24-11-36

MIRA

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IMPROVEMENT OF KHADI IMPLEMENTS

(Summary of speech delivered by Shri Aravindha Gandhi, Secretary, A. I. S. A., on 12th November 1936, at the Fourth All-India Khadi Conference, Madras (Tamil text).)

This is the fourth session of the Khadi Implements Conference. The khadi legislation on which we collected three years ago has opened up a new topic. It brings in a glint of light in the field of khadi. Khadi is struggling for its very existence. It is a critical position and demands from us a decisive answer. Leaders of khadi hold great hopes in this regard on what technical improvements we can effect in the khadi implements. The saving simplicity which we have inherited has not been compromised only by building three ropes. Let us try to do that.

We have certainly made some progress during the last three years. Our life is changing more rapidly than our pens, and within our progress look slow and rather primitive. The construction of industrial machines rapidly, and along with it the concentration of wealth and power in the hands of a few. The whole atmosphere is filled with a mad run after mass coin competition. Indeed the law is so strong that even khadi is caught in its snare as an instrument of hoarding power and wealth. And when people find that it produces neither, they look to turn to it. But, as it remembered that the whole objective of khadi was and has been not one of making and wearing power and wealth but power and of contributing to all round. In other words, its object is not to establish one's own authority over others, but to free oneself from authority to others. It was derived not for increasing wealth, but for freeing oneself from its grip. If we want to make this historic purpose of khadi clear, and make it the basis of achieving this object, wherever leaders there we ourselves in the race must be contented with it, no matter how slow their working speed, and consistently with it, we have to reach the goal of self-help, dignity and self-sufficiency. Hence, we must first learn to produce in every village and in every home. The old implements to do this are useless. But we are not content with them. The new ones are also there. But they do not help themselves to be used in the conventional way. Hence we must to introduce such improvements to them as would give an satisfaction for their working, and at the same time be employable in every home. Every now and then the new implements giving rise to new problems. If our improvements have reduced with these figures we would be able to make people more ready to take to making their own cloth.

That gives the direction of our efforts in technical progress. With this object, we can our eyes on similar India and develop equipment in other countries. It was reported that Japan had some good types of spinning apparatus, and as we decided to visit some of our technical missions there, in the meanwhile, we got an opportunity of examining some models of Japanese spinning machines reported by the India Government. Actual comparison

claimed that they did not produce more yarn than our cottony machine (which, the experiments which we are carrying on at present promise better results than the Japanese machine attached to us).

Last year we paid particular attention to such as persons involved in cotton in India also. And I am glad to report that we are fairly on our way to a cotton which will produce more yarn and make the spinner to be self-sufficient, more easily and consistently without in the least time making him a victim of capital money economy or dependent on him and their parts which he cannot himself manufacture, or driving him to leave his home for seeking employment during periods of famine. Also, as you know our aim is to make use of the whole time and energy of even an ill-chance man. We have managed to achieve complete success but the progress is brighter than before. This will be one of those models here and be able to discuss them.

We have to bear in mind that we shall not have achieved our purpose merely by finding a machine which can produce more yarn. We have to consider the whole cycle of operations from the production of cotton to the manufacture of cloth, and contemplate both the human, mental and the way to make them. All the four operations namely the growing of cotton, spinning, weaving and weaving have to be organized on the basis of self-reliance, self-sufficiency. Only then shall we have secured ourselves for the making of cloth in every time, and for trying a strong and deep foundation of India in our operations have we shall have to consider the processes by all these operations and treat them as having parts of our entire process.

The discussion of implements will accommodate the modification of the different kinds of cloth manufactured for ourselves (yarn) and that for self-sufficiency. The aim of the two being different, each will give a different solution to our problem for the improvement of tools is considered that the making of the machine is an important factor, while in self-sufficiency that the construction of the machine is the major consideration. This has resulted in a bifurcation of efforts in finding the implements. They go along two different lines. At times, they seem even to conflict mutually. The commercial approach leads us to the extent of a machine which must give made of iron as in a machine, while the self-sufficiency approach, principle is to make our own tools in the use of the machine. This approach contradiction arises as I have observed, from our attempt to reconcile our objective with the imagination and imagination of the modern age. However both the approaches have one common point, namely, the object of making every village self-sufficient in its requirements of cloth. The difference between the two is that while in the one case the idea is that the job will be done by a few people in a village or a station, in the other I will be done distributedly in every home, even on weaving in them. There is also a suggestion that both these approaches can be mixed so that some operations are performed professionally, and others distributedly. Again, in the approach to the problem as a problem, there are two different self-approaches that we have seen in self-sufficiency regarding the material and the application, or in the spirit of production? Shall we give more importance to the individual and the development of his mental skill, or only to the quantity of production irrespective of skill? There are differences of opinion on all these questions and these differences have led to different ways in the conduct of experiments also.

However, I think that if the main objective of India is to be fulfilled in these different experiments may seem beneficial to us in one way or another, though we shall certainly have to consider very carefully the

extent to which we shall adopt one or the other variety at one period, we were interested in the idea of self-reliance and thought that it would be beneficial in national property. The reason was that we were struggling at that time against foreign domination. That reason no longer stands. There is no reason why we can have only a half-truth and no truth brought with material for a national war. There are nothing our village from as while we are at village self-sufficiency we must have in mind that the interests of the individual farmer. The objective of the integrated development of the entire village community, and the full utilization of the cheap man-power are not in any way precluded. This will require more amount of patience on our part. During the last three years of our experiments we have also not that there is considerable more for both efforts and improvements in the tools for the purpose of obtaining freedom from the grip of money. Take the example of the handloom which has to be handmade implemented as well as an efficient spinning wheel. It has proved to be superior over the hand machine. Again, three years ago it was no more than a hand loom that could be done in the same way as spinning instead of with the heavy casting machine and that both spinning and weaving could be done simultaneously. Now that loom has been well-nigh perfected. We are not yet fully successful, but the reason is that we have restricted the imagination to achieve more success and continued our business on the one, as much as possible of material which could be obtained and manufactured locally. In these ways to some delay, but why need we be impatient and dissatisfied? We have also been restricted upon a more ambitious project of a machine one which can be manufactured wholly with village materials and you have the capacity of producing more yarn. And the project, provided to be successful. This is, indeed, the time when we should call forth all our energy and devote ourselves with full determination to develop the implements fully developed, with our own.

It is evident our background of more than that you will examine the efficiency of the improved wheel that we collected here for exhibition.

Let me, in the end, address a few words to the Hindi lovers. They should ask themselves why they go Hindi. Many look to it out of sympathy for the poor but that we find this sympathy only to the point of rendering a slight relief to the poor and stop there? It should be asked if and transform it into the form which will be really to poor, eradicate poverty and establish a society based on self-sufficiency? If we have not our heart on that transformation, that is, on a society free from exploitation, where nobody needs what from more material abundance of that will not suffice. Because today exploitation by numerous other means for control the little relief which Hindi might give. The duty of every individual is to construct a society and create a future where exploitation will be impossible. Every individual must see to it that he does not escape himself in any activity tainted with exploitation. In the commercial economy which divides today many of the ways by which the rich man finds wealth are merely ways of exploiting the masses. In the one hand, they are being deprived of their means of livelihood and on the other, ways are being found through false trade and commerce to rob whatever little is left with them. Self-sufficiency is the only way how they can free themselves from the exploiting machine. This self-sufficiency starts with cloth. That is why we have adopted cloth, and would in future too. It is not my present purpose to go deeper into this subject, but let us bear in mind the essential point that we see that fundamentally because we want to eradicate this exploitation. This means that we cannot find ourselves merely in cloth self-sufficiency, we have to go forward all along the way to complete village self-sufficiency. We have to direct our efforts

in the real that in the primary construction of the village as a group of villages that is their self-sufficiency. Not only that we shall also have to act that in these units of our national life the whole power either of wealth or governmental authority remains decentralised. There only shall we reach the goal we have set for ourselves.

(Translated from Hindi) KENNEDY GANDHI

IRRAWADDI IMPLEMENTS CONFERENCE

The following resolutions were passed in the All India Irrawaddi Implements Conference, held at Mandalay on 15th and 16th November 1939

1. Invitation to Technicians

"In order to encourage research work in Irrawaddi tools and implements so that results might be reported and ways found for giving them a practical shape, the Implements Improvement Committee resolves that as many of its members as possible should work together in a general research laboratory in order to complete their experiments. This conference invites also other technicians engaged in the improvement of Irrawaddi implements, to join this laboratory for at least one year."

Now, the Implements Improvement Committee was founded about three years ago. It was felt during this period that given facilities and encouragement, workers can produce good research work. During the last year several good models were derived as we saw from some of the samples and demonstrated the ability of the handicrafts. But the opportunities are still at hand to improve progress within a vigorous and concerted effort. It needs in this direction, it was therefore, decided that arrangements should be provided for the concentration of selected workers of the A.I.R.A. at one place where they could enjoy the benefit of mutual consultation and advice and make better and quicker progress. With this end in view, we invite, besides the A.I.R.A. workers after independent workers also in this field to join and share the responsibility with us in order that we get an opportunity to exchange views on the work done in the past as also the one to be done. We hope that the industry will welcome this concentration with enthusiasm and a host of workers will devote their to this enterprise for the service of the country.

2. Limitation of Research Work

"This conference resolves to concentrate on the various attempts made to produce more pans, both qualitatively and quantitatively by different workers in order to arrive the end of obtaining self-sufficiency in every form and shape. The spinning efforts involved in this enterprise are in the experimental stage and more work will have to be done on them. Along with this it is necessary that the workers should have before them some clear thinking principles, which should guide them in carrying on this work. The workers assembled here request the A.I.R.A. to give them clear direction on the subject."

Next, it was noticed in the exhibition that different people have devised ways and means of harvesting paddy production in their own manner. They offered very materially as the farmers had no clear idea of the principles on which improvements have to be made in respect of production, cost of implements, expenditure on machine-made parts, employment of electrical and other power etc. For instance, one of the samples exhibited contemplated the use of electricity to drive wheels, bull bearings, spade parts of self-harvesting and other and other things articles for planting about two boats (of 500 pounds or 250 pounds) in an hour, that making it cost quite considerable between five and seven hundred rupees. Such a machine will not serve any purpose as it can neither compete with the old as regards year output,

nor have a place in our decentralised economy from the point of view of the output of capital. It is very desirable that the Workers of the A.I.R.A. at such points must be made clear in technology so that they might work within such limits.

3. Importance of Machine-Character and Self-sufficiency

"This conference is glad to note that the number of self-sufficient spinners is growing. But this work is being expanded also by the spinning clubs and the attempts are made to introduce hand crafts like agriculture, handicrafts etc. In our primary efforts to make that the Irrawaddi work may proceed on this basis this conference requests all such work try and better to completely stand in the following manner:

(1) The annual cotton requirements of an expenditure should be produced by hand or woven from the surrounding locality.

(2) Tools like the spinning etc. have been obtained purchased from common workshops and also sent there for repair etc. This is not only for a moment's sake. It is desirable, necessary for better methods and facilities to introduce machine character, which must be prepared and repaired by hand or at least locally. The production of machine character is especially recommended for the whole from the educational point of view also.

(3) The problem of weaving handspins runs continuous in its series. If the yarn is not made for this purpose it results itself out. Weaving must therefore be given a definite place in our curricula and self-sufficiency programme. Spinners must be able to weave by themselves or in cooperation with others that of a width of at least 24 inches."

Next, this self-sufficiency occupies a very vital place in the social order of decentralised and harmonising economy. If we are to construct it, this conference through the above resolution, currently spreads in all individuals, workshops and institutions engaged in the task to have no more concern in carrying out all operations from the collection of cotton to the weaving of cloth in their own area or locality. Though a small proportion is apparent. It is so much that if given effect in itself it can fulfil our hopes.

(Translated from Hindi)

HARJAN.

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HARIJAN

Dec. 18

1934

SHRI ARAVINDA

NO more will be seen even by the permitted few on the special days the great Yogi, Shri Aravinda. The unexpected announcement on the radio this morning of his passing away at 1-55 a.m. came as a shock. The passing away from our midst of a great man, who was not only a great jewel of India but of the entire world, naturally saddened us. Notwithstanding his many joys and sorrows, the laws of Nature graciously work and it befits man to keep his fortitude and understanding unshaken in both the situations. Along with his great co-worker, the "Mother", and his countless disciples and admirers I pay my humble homage to the illustrious Teacher.

A patriot, a revolutionary, a politician, a scholar Shri Aravinda had for nearly the last forty years devoted himself to the realisation of social discipline and spiritual life. His new interpretation of yoga attracted followers from far and near. He inspired hope and self-confidence in countless workers in the East and the West and helped many a sinking soul to rise out of the mire of despair and melancholia caused by an erroneous understanding of religious life.

Readers and Shri Aravinda's followers will excuse me if I repeat what I said at the immersion of Shri Ramana Maharshi into the Infinite. An unhealthy and disfiguring development has taken place with the Haridwar to found a new sect in the name of a guru. The followers laid their ears on the throne of God and began to offer him worship and homage as an avatars of God.

Humbly but definitely and seriously, I remind that this practice must be abandoned if humanity is on the path of progress. Individuals with progressively higher attainments in karma yoga, action yoga and knowledge will continue to be produced from time to time. To withhold the guru as the full and perfect conscious manifestation of God is to limit Him. That Supreme Power is incapable of full manifestation in any one thing or animal. The aim and the efforts of followers should be to attain at least the plane reached by the guru, along the path shown by him and if possible to proceed further. It can never be so any simply that their guru had attained the utmost height, and neither was there any in the past, nor will there be any in the future who can be compared to him, and to confidently believe that he is the sole regulator of the Universe, and to take in that belief the satisfaction of having achieved the supreme heaven of life.

Shri Aravinda made new contributions in the realm of philosophy, religion and yoga discipline. Some of these are of a permanent nature and ever useful to mankind. But the good of mankind lies in looking upon and representing him as man, not God. This realisation I place humbly before the Mother and Shri Aravinda's followers to ponder over.

Wardha, 5-12-33

K. G. MANDREKALA

CORRECTIONS

In my article "The People and the Politics" CINA, November, 1933, I observed:

"What is complained of is that he (Shri Mahatma recommended Gandhi) is a distorted mirror, and he did this as an Imperial Minister of the Central Government, and under circumstances in which he could not have been helped to by any one in the audience (even) if one qualified to do so was present; about the manner in which he represented the so-called Gandhian principles of non-interference by Government and its non-responsibility for shortages, famines, crops or non-distribution etc."

Shri Harikrishna Mahlab says about this in a letter to me:

"It pains my comprehension how this could be written by you in the Harijan. The fact is that I heard a statement in the Press explaining the Congress Resolution on Controls, immediately after the Main Session of the Congress. Shri Manareppa referred in his address to this statement. I do not understand how I missed my power 'to set my own ends' in explaining a Congress resolution as a Congressman. If the holding of the office of a Minister can be retained long association with Gandhi's aim can be achieved."

The article both of Shri-Manareppa and myself were based on a report of the P. T. I as published in the Times of India dated 25th September, 1933 (4th edition). The report is so worded that we took it to be the report of a meeting and not a statement by the Press. Hence our charge against Shri Mahlab of having misused his position as a Minister to suit his own ends. Now that I learn that it was not a speech, but a Press statement on his capacity as a Congress leader, I am happy to withdraw the words complained of by Shri Mahlab and express my regret for having caused him mental hurt by an unreasonable imputation.

This of course does not affect our views about the policy of controls and about the basic matters discussed in the article. Some of these may have to be further cleared up by and by, but one misunderstanding I might correct at once. If there is an impression (as Shri Mahlab has carried libelous) that we are against controls as such, it is erroneous. Nor did I understand Gandhi's advocacy of decentral in that sense. It is not an absolute case of control versus decentral, though it is so loosely spoken of at times. But it is not also a case of mere mechanical and statistical details. There are also some fundamental principles involved. Some of these have been already discussed before, e.g. in the article "The Iron of Controls" last week.

Wardha, 20-11-33

K. G. MANDREKALA

SARYODAYA "LETTER-BOX"

Broom and Weaving

If we do everything else but neglect *khadi* I feel we go away from our ideal. All workers, great or small, should now learn weaving as they learn spinning in the past. If feasible every worker should weave his cloth. This is easy with *chhatra* (chhatra-khadi) yarn which should be done. If you can weave without looking *chhatra* it may be done. *Nikhilnandan* wore his *khadi* just a few days back. He writes that due to want of practice for many years, he experienced a little difficulty. As a beginner keep his eyes by constant practice and the garment, his body by constant stitching, so should all men be practised continuously.

Adopt the Spirit, not Forms

One thing I have been clear about from the beginning. We should not adopt the specific habits, forms or activities of *khadi* as any other form, but their pure character and the spirit behind their activities. *Khadi* is now gone. It was introduced and served our neighbours to the best of our capacity with a pure and enthusiastic heart, we shall achieve a great deal. But, if we continue ourselves in *chhatra* activities, I fear we shall lose touch.

Detachment

I desire to place before you and other student workers an important point. You are here, you desire to serve, most of you have no other motive. Even then you will not make purity of mind and inner purification without possessing the important quality of detachment. We should not be obsessed with any political idea, but should learn to keep the eye while thinking. I have seen many workers people having some serious somewhere in their minds. Some are attached to the end of their hair others in their interests. I have seen people who are not attached to anything, but are proud of their heart. *Pratyak* therefore requires emancipation of even great *detached*. *Pratyak* and *pratyak* must be discarded completely. You should sincerely remind yourself that you are pure ones and nothing less.

Village-activities

The starting of *Kashyap-dham* is an auspicious beginning. The selection of small villages as units of service by the *Kashyap-dham* group is a big advance in this heart. It was an image of *Khadi* Man who resides in his day villages. I hope the training received by our student-workers in *Kashyap-dham* will make them motivated and imbued with a spirit of village service that is, make them rural in the real sense. That it is impossible to serve villages without becoming village-minded is a proposition I observed from my own experience. It is a happy augury that *Devdas*, who will service his village *Khadi*, is showing the function.

Anger and Hate

Introspection consists in examining our faults, reflecting to free ourselves from them, retaining the original pure nature of the soul and taking the support of God's grace for that purpose.

There have followed the practice of naming spiritual qualities in negative terms; for example *adharma*, *adharma*, etc. Negative language helps selflessness and frees us from feeling the burden of duties. The ethics however, have to be positive. The mind should always dwell with kindness and friendliness without being conscious of them. This constitutes *adharma* and *adharma*. As we progress in transcending the level of the body, the areas of difference between 'I' and 'not I' diminishes and non-dualism becomes natural.

Anger is very much different from hate. The latter is altogether an evil and not to be tolerated. One who is free from hate may at times succumb to anger. The

anger of a human mind will not be related, but at the same time it can be so great. Hence one should not allow it to spread. My experience is that anger makes of life one constant fight. I have observed in a fight with, but these experiences to take a place of anger in the month when one gets angry. But spreading the doors of hate is not an error. Sometimes it might require the whole power of wisdom to do that.

Do not be too Soft

My final conclusion is: *Khadi* is pure and essential. It has neither *detached* and *detached*, nor *detached* and *detached*. Therefore, while a person should have due respect for others, the right thing for him is to do what he himself thinks to be proper and also to bring him satisfaction.

My mother often used to quote a Marathi proverb and tell me, "There do not be too soft (detached) of the earth is too soft, then clay it goes with the stone, turned of the pictures." This is a leading warning. It should be discriminately followed.

The desire to be in the company of the good and the wise is not to be depressed as gross attachment. But remember that the good and the wise does not mean their physical bodies only.

Khadi Has to be *Detached*

(Message to the Khadi Salaks, Paritosh, Baroda)

I am unable to attend the Conference

The responsibility on the participants of *Khadi* has increased now. They must be sufficiently enlightened to show every one to enter into it, and to make it strong and really accessible to all. The people of non-*Khadi* provinces have also a responsibility. It looks well that their respective obligations they will make better a homogeneous and integrated whole. I hope we shall serve the cause of *Khadi* and endeavour to make it root with this aim before us.

YSHODA

(Translated from the *Paritosh*, Nov., 1965)

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APPENDIX II

The Lessons of History

"The watersheds of the advanced country have been struggle for economic competition, class warfare, commercial competition, between nations, military warfare. The struggle for existence has been continued into the gospel of hate. The full conclusion to be drawn from a philosophy of evolution is fortunately of a more Indian and character. Humanistic organisms modify their environment. These organisms are successful which modify their environment as so in social work other. This 194 is struggled to nature as a real state.

"There are associations of different species which mutually co-operate. This differentiation of species is exhibited in the simplest physical entities such as the association between electrons and positive nuclei and to the whole realm of animals nature. The trees in a Brazilian forest depend upon the association of various species of organisms each of which is mutually dependent on the other species. A single tree by itself is dependent upon all the various classes of shifting circumstances. The wind shakes it, the variations in temperature check its foliage, the rains drench its soil. Its leaves are blown away and are lost for the purpose of fertilization. You may choose individual organisms at this time in exceptional circumstances or whose human activities has intervened. But in nature the normal way in which trees flourish is by their association in a forest. Each tree may have something of its individual perfection of growth, but they mutually assist each other in preserving the conditions for survival. The soil is preserved and shelter, and the resources necessary for its fertility are neither washed nor blown nor washed away. A forest is the triumph of the organization of mutually dependent species. Further a species of monkeys which sits the forest also contributes to it.

"Organisms that have come within the same advantages of differentiation. In the history of the world, the group has not gone to those species which specialized in methods of violence or even in definite warfare. In fact, nature begins with producing animals trained in hard shells for defense against the life of life. It also experimented in this, but smaller animals, without external armor, unarmamented sensitive and alert, have cleared three centuries off the face of the earth. Also, the lion and tiger are not the successful species. There is something in the ready use of force which defeats its own object. Its main defect is that it is very co-operating. Every organism requires an environment of friends partly to shield it from violent changes and partly to supply it with its needs. The Gospel of Peace is incompatible with a social life. By force I mean enervation in its most general sense.

"Almost equally dangerous is the Gospel of Unfriendliness. The differences between the nations and even of mankind are required to preserve the conditions under which higher development is possible. One main factor in the spread of hate of human life has been the power of wandering. Perhaps that is why the atmosphere of materialism failed badly. They could not wander. Animals wander into new conditions. There have to shed themselves of the. Mankind has wandered from the trees to the plains from the plains to the sea coast, from oceans to oceans from continents to continents and from both of life to both of life. When man comes to wander, he will come to record in the state of being. Physical wandering is important, but greater still is the power of man's spiritual wandering—wanderings of thought, adventures of passionate feeling, adventures of aesthetic experience. A diversification among human communities is essential for the provision of the impetus and material for the life of the human world. Other nations of different habits are not enemies; they are potentials

Men require of their neighbors something sufficiently close to be understood, something sufficiently different to provide stimulus, and something great enough to command admiration. We must get respect, however, all the virtues. We should even be satisfied if there is something old enough to be interesting.

"The very beauty of wandering is that it is dangerous and leads both to even risk."

—A. N. Whitehead, *Science and The Modern World*
The Times Bookstore, London & Bangalore,
19 1930

MAHADEV DESAI

[Remembrance of the Oriental Translator's Office, Bombay] by D. A. Desai, a retired assistant translator of that department, is a small book containing some interesting accounts and anecdotes of several distinguished people who had worked in that office whether for life or for a short period. It comprises a note about Untranslated Desai also. The author did not ever come into personal contact with M. D. but has given some account of the DESAI life in that office as heard from others. A part of the book is concerned with the author's perception. —R. S. M.]

Mahadev Desai wanted a reader for himself and M. D. contacted his friend, J. B. Desai, as to what he should do. I describe in Desai's own words how it happened. He writes on page 24 of his autobiography book entitled *Dark and Delicate Shores*:

"I told M. D. long ago when he asked my advice as to which of the two offers I was before him he should accept. I told him to reject the offer, go down the nearby point of view—I was from his old friend V. L. Mehta—and unfortunately to follow his conscience and the decision which prompted him to prefer Mr. Desai's invitation to join him. But I warned him never to forget that the chosen path was a very spiritualized path, and that with Mr. Mehta."

—M. D. accepted the offer and became Mahadev's secretary, and remained devotedly attached to him through thick and thin until the last day of his earthly existence.

As long as M. D. remained in the O. T.'s Office, he led a very simple life. He had a cheerful disposition and always wore a smiling face. His manners were so amiable and polished that to see him was to love him. Those who had a considerable knowledge of him immediately changed it into an opinion that when they came in contact with him, he never attracted or displeased any one. He was a perfectionist in the true sense of the term as used by Cardinal Newman in his definition of a gentleman. It is my life sorrow that I could not get a chance of meeting him, but I have begun to love him and respect him from what I heard about him from his close associates. The late Syed Abdullah Syed, editor of the *Barakat Chandra*, and V. L. Mehta and also from J. B. Desai himself.

In the O. T.'s Office his initial salary was Rs 40 only, the lowest pay that could be offered to any translator in those days. He accepted a junior post in the Oriental branch and his work was supervised by two persons, viz., Khalid Shah and Champalal Mehta, who happened to be above him and were able translators in their own way. When he was in the O. T.'s Office nobody ever thought that a junior translator like him would one day become a great author or that he had great heights of fame to which he actually rose. All that they knew was that he was an amiable gentleman and a loving personality. His work in the office was, however, above the ordinary run. He was very diligent and a genuine reader, qualities which stood him in good stead throughout his association with Gandhi.

S. A. SAKSHI

*Published by Talal Marfat, Karachi.

VILLAGE PANCHAYATS IN THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

In December, 1947, when the new Constitution of India was being drafted, I had drawn the attention of Gandhiji to the fact that there was, till then, no mention of village panchayats in the future administrative set-up as visualised in the draft Constitution. Concerning this point in *Manya* (Dec. 21, 1947), Gandhiji observed:

It is certainly an excellent calling for immediate attention, if our independence is to reflect the people's value. The greater the power of the panchayat, the better for the people. Moreover, panchayats to be effective and efficient, the level of people's education has to be considerably raised. I do not conceive the increase in the power of the people to military but to moral terms.

Several members of the Constituent Assembly took note of these observations of Mahatma Gandhi and pressed for the provision of village panchayats in the new Constitution. As a result of such discussion, the following directive was also included in Part IV of the Constitution of India:

"The State shall take steps to organise village panchayats and endow them with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of self-government."

This directive is surely to be welcomed. But much would naturally depend on the way it is implemented. If the directive is not to remain a paper wish and a paper-resolution the Government of India should appoint a Commission at an early date to report on a systematic plan of panchayat organisation throughout the country. The Commission should carefully study the working of village panchayats as they exist today in different parts of the country and recommend a suitable scheme for adoption by the State governments. At present several State governments have passed Panchayat or Janapada Acts. But their working cannot be regarded as satisfactory. The Commission should make detailed recommendations with a view to achieving uniformity in basic principles of decentralised democracy and self-government.

One of the main reasons why the village panchayats under the existing conditions have not been able to achieve good results is that the ancient *grama-panchayats* were founded on the principle of "composite" democracy, whereas the modern parliamentary government is based on democracy along party lines. The sound working of Western democracy presupposes the existence of well-knit political parties, and the party which captures the majority of seats in Parliament rules the country. India has also copied the same type of democracy under the new Constitution. But this kind of party-democracy runs counter to the genius of village panchayats that existed and flourished in India for centuries. In our country, the panchayats were regarded as the very representatives of God because they represented all the different elements of society. It is true that in some parts of India, the panchayats gradually degenerated into

cliques of particular castes or sects. But the fact remains that a majority of the *grama-panchayats* in ancient India represented the ethos of various castes and sects inhabiting the villages. They were, thus, in the nature of coalition governments for the village communities. In the absence of such composite village councils, it is impossible to expect the modern panchayats to fulfil the important functions that they are supposed to perform. The organisation of political parties for the Union Parliament and the State Assemblies came at the very root of the panchayat system and results in a host of undesirable consequences. This important aspect should be carefully considered by the Commission which may be set up by the President or the Government of India in future.

Mahatma Gandhi was always of the definite view that there should be the widest decentralisation of economic and political power for the real welfare of mankind. Many western political thinkers like Prof. Lasch and Prof. Cole are of the same view. Modern democracy really degenerates into "mobocracy" or totalitarianism. Decentralised democracy is, therefore, the hope of humanity. In India, the Indian nations will never be able to feel the glow of freedom if they have to look to New Delhi for everything. Village self-government along healthy lines would channel them into wonderful constructive activities without which our Swaraj would remain a vague dream. I am, therefore, confident that the directive relating to village panchayats in the Indian Constitution would receive the most serious consideration of both the Government and the people.

Wartha, 23-10-50

B. H. AGARWAL

Care of Teeth

I have read with interest Shri P. G. Gogole's article on the "Care of Teeth" (*Manya*, Sept. 23). Over and above what has been said therein, interested readers may find a simple practice, given below, very helpful in retaining the strength of their teeth.

"Keep both the upper and lower sets of teeth tightly pressed against each other at the time of passing urine and stool."

This advice appeared in an article in the Hindi monthly, *Kalpana* of Gorakhpur, and has since been practised by a large number of readers successfully.

As regards the prescription consisting of salt and bi-carbonate of soda—as even more simple and convenient one is that of salt liberally soaked in mustard oil. This is also very efficacious for decaying and bleeding teeth.

One of the important causes for the early decay of teeth these days seems to be people's addiction to too hot and cold drinks which cause slow erosion of the gums.

No doubt it is also due to the modern unhygienic and artificial living. It is the author of all sorts of stomach and dyspeptic troubles, the latter quickly affecting the teeth in their turn.

LAKSHMINATH SETHUPATHI

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MARGRETA GANDHI)
Editor: K. G. MOHANTY



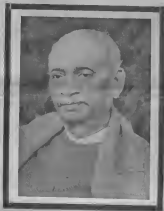
VOL. XIV. No. 47

AMMIDABAD—SATURDAY, DECEMBER 23, 1939

TWO ANNAS

THE LOSS OF SARDAR

News has just reached me of the end of Sardar, not to mention others not known to the Editor Vallabhbhai's earthly life. For several world, each leaves us the record a legacy, which



years past he was more like my eldest brother to me than just a leader. It is always difficult for me to write about one with whom I feel a sense resembling that of deity.

I have got so much used to death that it has ceased to upset me too much. And yet the loss of such dear and respected souls like Jinnahji, Mahadevji, Gandhiji and now

a painful habit troubles me to bear it with seeming composure and to perform my duties without showing signs of being unchanged. But the interest in worldly life diminishes with each such loss of friend.

The world will mourn the Sardar's death, as it has mourned so many others. Even his opponents will pay, for a while, glowing and

unconsciously felt tributes. But after a time, the world ceased to miss them. It broke new heroes and transfers its worship to them.

Personal tributes, however, miss them far good and irreplaceably. The Sardar's death is such a one for me and so many others like me. But since it has to be borne, it must be so done with fortitude.

Wardha, 15-12-50. K. S. MATHURWALA.

LIFE FOR DUTY

Just as the December number of the *Sarvodaya* was about to be issued today, news was received of Sardar Vallabhbhai's demise. The editor of a magazine needs must write something immediately, and so the printers postponed printing for a time and the editor sat down at his table to write. What he will write, God only knows.

It was only a few days since the poet Shri Aravinda passed away and now we have the news that the Sardar is no more.

One of the newspapers writing on the poet Shri Aravinda said that it was not possible for us yet to measure the loss we have sustained by the demise of such a great man. Men of common intellect will not even feel its touch, they will not be even aware of it. It requires a sensitive and refined intellect even to realize this loss. Thus in short is the gist, in my words, of what the paper wrote in connection with Shri Aravinda's death. But the loss due to the Sardar's demise, even men with the greatest intellect will realize in an instant.

The service rendered by a dignified-pose (contemplative thinker) who strives to raise the spiritual level of human life remains recorded in the region of the immaterial. The service rendered by the active (Sardar)-poet social worker who spends his life in solving the problems facing society and in making people's life happy, being in the material, is visible to the naked eye. We have lost almost within the period of a week two such benefactors of ours, men of diametrically opposite natures.

But both of them have completed their usefulness and have left us enough material to guide us. That the Sardar could survive the death of Gandhi was due solely to his strong determined will and the inspiration and grace of God. That he desired to live after Gandhi was simply for the good of us, his countrymen. Hence it was that he buried his grief at the loss of Gandhi in his own breast and attended whole-heartedly to the duties before him.

We should learn this very lesson from their lives and should apply ourselves to the task at hand without being compromised by grief and *unhappy symptoms*. (With the heart ever unclouded, one should discharge whatever duty comes to him.)

Parandham, Patner,
15-12-50

VINDHA.

(Translated from the Hindi *Sarvodaya*)

THIS "MR." BUSINESS

When our Prime Minister gave instructions that he was, in future, to be referred to not as Pundit, but Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, I thought that the Indian newspaper editors would, in his case at least, begin using the respectful prefix Shri instead of the English Mr. But no—soon the very next day they began referring to Mr. Nehru. No self-respecting Indian or Frenchman would dream of referring to his own countryman as "Mr." He would always say *Sahib* or *Monsieur* as the case might be, just as a German would say *Herr*. Each prefix carries with it the right tone suited to, and suggestive of, the man concerned.

For many years during the freedom struggle there was a strong aversion to the use of "Mr." and we were aware of the dangers of foreign nationalism. But now that the so-called freedom is ours, strangely enough the old slave mentality has again come to the surface.

This "Mr." business is horribly degrading and we have our newspaper editors to thank for it more than any one else. How I wish they would awaken to a sense of national self-respect in this matter!

Punebadi, 8-12-50

NRMA

GOVERNMENT AND COMMERCE

The Editor,

I was just reading your note in the *Barapan* of the 2nd instant on steps taken against black-marketeers. You have very ably told what needs to be maintained as regards the duties and responsibilities of Chambers of Commerce in this country. Unfortunately, it is a fact that Chambers of Commerce and Trade Associations in this country have not been co-operating with the established Government, although in their communications they observe that they do not want to support profiteering and black-marketing.

I have just returned from my European tour where I had visited several Chambers of Commerce in the U. K. and the Continent. There is a perfect harmony and understanding between Chambers of Commerce and the Government, so much so that no measure of national importance is rushed through and made into an Act without consulting the important Chambers of Commerce. You will be surprised to learn that before Sir Stafford Cripps announced his devaluation plan, a day earlier he had called the President of the Association of British Chambers of Commerce and explained to him Government's decision on such a question of national importance. There was perfect secrecy maintained till the announcement was made. I shudder to think what a President here in India would have done if Government's decision were disclosed to him beforehand.

Tours,
F. M. SHAH.

Editor, *The Indian Express*.

AN INVITATION TO WORKERS*

Whenever I address a gathering I feel an inspiration. I know not whence as if I was channeling the very essence of my hopes and becoming identified with them. I feel the same just now. And yet I do not quite know what I should say to you.

Samya-Yaga

Two years I went up my dear programme about a year ago and sat down here in Paramahansa's library. I have been thinking hard on the ways and means of making the millions in India workers self-reliant. I am also carrying on some experiments on their behalf. And an impression is growing upon me that there are several things, which for various reasons we had not been able to mention at the time, which are quite simple and simple to do. If we but could do them, much of the difficulty would become unnecessary and our efforts would be fulfilled in a natural manner. Chaitany has left to us instructions sufficiently and fully enough to last us for the whole of our life. Unemployment throughly meaning collective self-sufficiency was an important item in his programme. But for various reasons not much head could be paid to it. I, therefore, resolved to become a farmer. At one time I was a teacher. For some time I was also a weaver. For a while I played also the overseer. Thus after years having one occupation after another I have now taken to agriculture. I imagine you all to be agreeable with me in my work. Please do not ask me to give you a lecture on what I have been doing. But come to my place and see what I am doing and then we might discuss about it. It may not be possible for me in that time for addressing a public meeting but I shall be able to find ample time to talk to inquiring visitors from villages. This is my modest invitation to you all.

Kee-Fushan

I live by the side of the river Chuan, in Kwan throughout the year. Sometimes I recline on her bank, and we begin to chat. I ask her: "Mother, when did you commence your journey? How long will you go on? What is the object behind your incessant flow?" And she replies: "I cannot say when I started flowing. Nor can I say when it will end. I also know not why I flow. All that I know is that I flow. But since you want to know the object of my flowing, well, it is this — to meet the sea."

I reply: "But you have not the sea long ago!" And she retorts: "Here and there I shall go on meeting the sea."

So goes the rippling stream, a flowing witness of continuity. This continuity originates from the ever-freshness of her waters. This would be impossible if new water did not come in place of the old. It is such freshness that is required in the life of the individual and society. Ever fresh ideas, ever fresh conceptions. Tukaram says: "Constant year asked so that every morning brings you fresh awakening." Such should be the fire of the river of life. Those blessed with such life will always experience freshness. Their life will be replete with ever new experiments. The status of life is the pure dynamism — ever! But its applications are many. If the right form of application is not achieved life becomes a void. If life loses its sap, and ideas lose their essence, what is left is mere drift. Hence the need for ever new ideas (disciplined and rigorous effort).

There was a time when our workers rendered very creditable service. But they could not remain satisfied with it. They must pusher over the fact that despite results of the concerned state their life was dominated not again every day. No one ever thinks that there has been already commenced a lot, he need not have any more had. In this restless seeking is contained the inspiration of life.

Never Old in Change

At times I hear people saying that it was too late

*Summary of speech delivered at Warden Talal, Chhat Bhawan Conference on 16th October 1958.

for them to make any change now. The complex of man's incapacity to make changes on advancing old age has entered deep among us. It is contrary to the teachings of our scriptures, which lay down a plan of life involving constant change. The ancient, who realised eternality upon a chain as long as it was a difficult task for it. As soon as the pupil got used to a routine life of studies, the field had him take to a life of service (responsibility). He thought that if the pupil continued to make more studies which had become too simple a work for him his learning occupation, he would grow indolent and lethargic. So the young man had to make a house for himself. He did this with hard labour. He came to be found himself well pleased to that kind of life and his sacrifice and struggles, the field again came in to call upon him to leave the house and give up everything, lock, stock and barrel. If the householder ignored the field to have money for his declining age, the field rebuked him by saying that it was not of about compassion on him that such money was prescribed for him, so that he might not find life dull and joyless and a bore and burden to his own people. So the householder had to abandon all and lead a life of discipline (aspirant) as a renunciate, relying upon the protection of society for his maintenance. But there, too, as soon as he got accustomed to that life and lost contact with it, the field stepped in and commanded him not to remain idleness in one place but take to walking. If the old man protested saying that he could not move about without exterior help, the field barked him a staff and said: "Now take this and take to walking on and on for the good of society. The king too is a member of the staff. He can put down society, but the order established by him is of a very queer sort. Hence this work is referred to you."

"Dying in Harness"†

The English, when dying in harness has become a sort of cherished end of life with some of us. It evolves in them an inclination to stick to their office even though very old. They hold on to their seats in the Congress and most administrative bodies. My argument with them is: Do not die in a harness, if you do not like it, but in there no place of other than the harness or the stable to die in. Why should you not retire to a house, and die there? Religious thinking expects of us the spirit of making new experiments on life everyday. But we seem to have lost that spirit.

The-Rite

You all know the game of Mithila, in which the player who is on his legs gives a push to one of his seated companions and that companion is expected to be always ready to move and carry on the game. If he fails he is declared 'out'. A person must behave precisely so in his life. When he occupies a post, he must be on the look-out as to who will beckon him to get up and leave his seat. It is not desirable that the older generation should wait until it is asked by new men to discontinue. They have lost the capacity of thinking out any new plan of work as also that of exceeding the duties of the old. Yet they stick to their places. Of course, some among the younger too are afraid of the prospect of the retirement of the older people. But this fear is illusory.

Want of Perseverance

We often begin a thing very bravely. I shall give you a simple illustration. When the son of the Peace Army came to the first people joined it so enthusiastically as if all our previous activities had been trivial and this alone was the right thing to do. But now I find that though my them down as so steadily as in the past, the workers of the Peace Army have lost their zeal and drive. There will be a recurrence of enthusiastic activity for some time, when a new programme is started again. But after a while that too will wane, and the state of affairs will again be 'as it was'. This is not good.

Wish-happy Workers

It is to disagree from such gatherings a new matter if possible. If this conference were to give even one new worker who would renounce all and dedicate himself to the cause of service with a single mind it will have achieved its purpose. We do not want a worker who has in one of his feet a good thing with a desire to render service. As Tolstoy has said such a man will be pushed out from both the ends. If there is need for this kind of service in society such service workers must come out in this in a big way.

You have just discussed a few sections of village industries like oil, paper, agriculture etc. Different people have emphasized one or another of them as more important than the rest. Let it be said: When I wish to know in any new workers coming out to work there? I look at you actively with the hope that at least one from amongst you will feel the coming up to join.

Need for Continuous Sacrifice

Some people depict that they had worked as far with great energy, self-sacrifice and determination as required by the Gita. Now that there is peace should they still be expected to make more sacrifices? I tell them also, the Gita is not so simple to be read upon and be finished with. Moreover, if before I have I needed some to assist and struggle to live should I now say that I have? Having been situated they should now give up life? If after losing a life of sacrifice a person gets fed up with it, it follows that he did not enter the path of real sacrifice. There is a good property even peace can show as much as most one set of sacrifice grows into another one. If this does not take place the first set of sacrifice should be regarded as having yielded heaven.

Significance of Service

What is the significance of Service? It means that responsibility has taken on our own shoulders. The big future which was denied to us as far as we come to us. Freedom against power to fulfill duty. During slavery we could not determine our share (except for ourselves). This freedom has now been restored to us. What a tragedy it would be if at the moment of our coming to our own and recovering our strength we throw ourselves down on finished and exhausted! It would mean glitche, the extinction of life at the moment when it should begin to live by itself. This is treachery thinking. None of us however, have fallen into it.

Need of the Hour

The need of the hour is to identify ourselves with the poor masses of India. We must tell them that we could not do so till now for several reasons. The British had not only placed before us various temptations but also the situation they brought in to us was such, as disabled us from speaking the language of the masses. We are told that our old workers could speak English better than the ordinary Englishman himself and some of them even dressed their dramas in English. This should really be regarded as the manifestation of the new from the self. But this is hard history. The call is now heeded with its workers. Come, all on one work together and make the necessary sacrifices too. Let us dedicate ourselves to the service of the masses.

The Twilight Period of Our Society

There is a reference in the Gita of the manner of a person's death. At the hour of parting the great person darkness and confusion his attention upon the rising sun. So the past the hour of death is the hour of our living. Our country is in the same condition today. It is the twilight period when the old traditional social system has to be cut off and replaced by a new rising one. Those who will not create new will lose what they have gained and be plunged into deeper darkness than before. The people must, therefore, shape themselves up the whole

future and begin to be active. New workers must come forward and the old ones must make room for them.

I have already invited you to visit and study the work at Ponnur. I give another invitation also. Those of you who find inspired to renounce their all and to come to us are quite welcome. There is enough work for them.

VINODRA

(Translated from the Hind. Sarvagana, Nov. 1932)

SHRIMATI ANANDIBAI KARVE

Shrimati Anandibai Karve, wife of Shri Bhaskar Karve also Ananash's Karve, the well-known social reformer and devoted servant of the cause of women died a few days ago at the age of eighty-six. There was a difference of about ten or seven years between the husband and wife, the latter being naturally the junior partner.

I had the good fortune of seeing Ananash's twice. The second occasion was when he came to Warananagar on a visit to (Gandhi) and casually visited Parandhara also. Parandhara is situated on a hill on the bank of the river Dharm. He alighted from his car at the foot of the hill and walked up the hill to see me. We had a long chat on diverse subjects. The talks were on mere talks, they were his blessings showered on me.

We also talked about his health, how he kept quite fit even at such an old age. During the course of the conversation I asked him about the health of Shrimati Karve also. He told me that she was also keeping normally good health, but she was much weaker than he. She could not move about much. She had to suffer a great deal more than himself. I then asked him where she was at that time. He said that she was sitting in the car just below. He had left her in the car as she was unable to walk up the hill. Had I not inquired about the whereabouts of Shrimati Karve, it was hardly likely that I could have known this fact. I then went down the hill and paid my respects to the old lady. This incident occurred some eight years ago.

The married life of Shri Ananash's and Shrimati Anandibai reminds one of the domestic life of the great Mahatmas and Shri Gandhi and his wife the venerable Kasturba. Both helped each other in the cultivation of peace of mind, mercy, equity and other qualities. The sacred recurrence of such persons makes the transient lives of men in this world blessed.

Parandhara, Poona,

VINODRA

14-12-32

(Translated from the Hind. Sarvagana, December, 1932)

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"THAT IS WHAT GANDHI DID"

(Prof. Basavan Gang and his sister represented China at last year's World People's Meeting at Manchester and Vancouver. I am glad to share with the readers of Harijan the following letter, which I have just received from him. It shows how well Gandhi's is understood by all those who have studied him seriously.—J. C. M.)

It is now more than eight months since we parted at the World People's Meeting. Satisfaction and Disappointment were like little cases of peace and concord in a desert of hatred and strife. The temptation to look back with yearning is strong. But that was not what the Conference was meant for. The world is now faced with a possible new global war to be fought with all the ingenuity of mass destruction and regimentation that man can conjure up. How are we going to relate the World People's Meeting to the present situation so far as each one of us is personally concerned? The goal is stated to be the source of a living stream which shall, through our individual consecration, gradually but irrevocably clothe the desert with an ever-expanding green verdure. In keeping with the recommendation of the Conference, we endeavour to seek light and guidance in fellowship. Greetings to you.

In spite of the war in Korea, I still hold fast to the belief that the dawn is nearer than we dare to hope. Darwin took God away from man's intellect. Gandhi reinstated Him. It is an impossible way of doing it, but no expression less shocking can adequately convey the tremendous significance of what Gandhi did. The philosophical basis of all modern thinking and the revolutions it has brought forth do not lack in blindness. But it is evident that they have been progressively more scientific and, typically, as a consequence less spiritual. The modern idealist is prepared to die by the million in order to build up a secular utopia by secular means alone. He denies the reality of anything but that which is material or secular. While he utter sincerely denies everything before him like a tamara, his terrible blindness into the very blindness at its core from which he draws inspiration and strength. Thus step by step Darwinism ousted God from His own creation. Then came Gandhi. Gandhi fought unflinchingly the mightiest empires the world had ever known. And he won. He won because he fought on a battleground, and with weapons, of his own choice. Not only words and guns did not feature, even ill-feeling was taboo. There was no intrigue, no lie, no compromise, no hiding behind the belt in any sense whatsoever. He defeated the British by insisting on their being a people with a conscience no less active than any other people's. It was an unknown type of warfare born of faith and humility. For the first time since Darwin spiritually resurrected his supremacy over animals and did so in a struggle involving hundreds of millions of people. This single victory will probably supply enough spiritual motive-

power for reforms and revolutions for a thousand years to come. That is what Gandhi did. Do we fully realize its significance? Surely the dawn cannot be far off.

Let us come down to something more practical. Any pacifist given sufficient following, could drive out an alien ruler by hatred and violence. But not every one can thereby convert the vanquished evilwile conqueror into a staunch friend. Gandhi deprived the British of their Indian Empire only to raise the Commonwealth in which British and India would co-operate as equals to a higher plane of organic unity. The Gandhian technique triumphs while it tears asunder. Inside where it cuts. This is a practical rule of thumb for any matter-of-fact pacifist confronted with a baffling situation. After all human evils do not end with the abdication of an alien ruler, nor with the overthrow of any particular political system or social order, nor even with the abolition of war. No, not at all. It is not given to mortal man to be without sin so long as wrongs on account of weakness. These critical situations will continuously arise no matter what we do. Our concern is our relation to such situations. Do we as pacifists exploit by our very position human sin and suffering for any calculated aim? Or do we retreat and live out of pure love without any ulterior aim at all? That is the criterion. And that is the greatest gain we get out of the Conference, for it is capable of everyday personal application.

I cannot close this letter without expressing our deep sense of gratitude, my sister's and mine, to our Indian friends and the Indian Government. They have been kindness itself. I would like to mention a simple anecdote. My sister and I tried to buy a spoon one day in Madras. We went to a wrong shop. Of course, they could not sell us any. We apologized and came out. We had hardly gone twenty paces before we were overtaken by an attractive young fellow. The shop would like us to accept a spoon as a present. Would we kindly give them the pleasure of serving us in a small way? He would not take "No, thank you" for an answer. We have the spoon now. And we are going to treasure it as a memento. There you have a glimpse of India, the greatest.

12-9-60

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A GERMAN STUDENT OF HINDI

While even patriots of India and Pakistan fight shy of, or are nervous about, learning Hindi and Urdu and continue to prosper in favour of English, it is interesting to see how a German lover of India is engaged in the persistent study of Hindi in both the script, and how much pains he has been taking to obtain useful literature for that purpose at his own expense and against considerable difficulties of securing money to India in the present international relations. He is the Head-Master of a village school. He has never set his foot in India. But he has learned some of the oriental languages and also Gandhi's writings. The latter inspired him to study Hindi in both the script, and to mould his personal life in accordance with Gandhi's teachings. He came to know me through Miss Barbara Harbord (Nassaukhetan of Sevagram), whom he had known before some months ago he requested me to find for him an Indian friend of Gandhian way of life and thinking, either living in Germany or happening to go there to stay with him for some time as a companion. The object was to obtain a direct contact with Gandhi's ideas put into practice and to hear Hindi as spoken by an Indian. It was not impossible to find one competent for the latter purpose; but I had to realize that I was not in touch with any one whom I could point out for the first purpose.

But meanwhile Herr Albert Reinhold (the that is his name) pursues his Hindi study with arduous zeal. Let me share with the reader a part of his latest letter (22nd October) to me:

I read every minute in Delhi both my Hindi publications. For I am not interested with English editions of Indian papers. I should like to know, what the Indians say among themselves in their own tongue. A year ago I should have thought it impossible to make out a Nagari text. But now, I am glad to say that I am in full hope, within a year or so, to read the Hindi manifest, which will cause some difficulties.

I am greatly in want of a good dictionary Hindi-English and a pocket dictionary printed in Nagari, which I hope the bookshop could procure me. But what price? The trouble is to be told that, when the bookshop sends me, all the papers are returned, that I am not at all sure, whether the request of Indian currency will be answered or, and I don't know the time the bookshop will require. But my work is clear all the world over!

"Two weeks in your last letter that India is not free from the grip of modern civilization. As I am tempted to be tired of modern civilization, I would really regret if the Indian people would give away to the modern civilization for no reason, dressed in the modern dress or later. I will not say that India should not learn from the west. The East, having given to Europe innumerable inspirations for thousands of years, does not comprehend its dignity by taking back the interest. It thinks for right, turns back the East to more than a converted saying the passing revelation. Its southern sea change is a subject is likely to be a very characteristic judgment of European imperialism. Therefore, I wish that the Indian nation would stand fast on its

own ground, and not buy every pig in a pole in the saying is, without looking very carefully at its background. As I am in, Gandhiism can achieve the Indian and as a permanent matter. If according to your own judgment, Gandhiism India has the pain more inside the temple was placed in and kept, this might be better in all its performance during the Third Reich, and what is left is nothing more than a dream. This problem is indeed one of the most important of Gandhi's perception and it demands greater power of soul than the average European, accustomed to his busy life, will ever realize. I regret that the German people generally is very far from recognizing this fundamental truth."

At the end there are the following sentences in Nagari:

"मम श्रद्धा ॥ हि नमः श्री गुरुभ्यो नमः ॥
मम श्रद्धा ॥ हि गुरुभ्यो नमः ॥
श्री गुरुभ्यो नमः ॥

With my kindest regards (मम प्रीति
मम प्रीति)

गुरुभ्यो नमः

गुरुभ्यो नमः

मम प्रीति मम प्रीति मम प्रीति मम प्रीति

Let his example inspire our professors, politicians and patriots. I give below his address, if any of my readers would like to enter into correspondence with him and help him.

Address: Herr Albert Reinhold, Rektor,
Sachhausen b. Hildesheim 2 (Germany).
Wiedes, 22-10-33. E. G. SHARDEWALA.

COCA-COLA IN FRANCE

Further has done right in showing to the public the harmful effects on health of the American drink Coca-Cola. There is a lot of apathy and indifference in this country about these matters, but in the case of Coca-Cola, the public in India could not be blamed, for its properties are absolutely unknown to them.

Apart from the question of white sugar mentioned in the article, there is the definitely harmful effect of caffeine in the drink. The percentage may appear small, but since four or five bottles of Coca-Cola are expected to be taken by some during the hot season, the cumulative effect of the drink might be considerable. Among the children and youth, surely there are no tea or coffee addicts at their age but they may be converted to Coca-Cola with the consequent evil effects on the constitution of the growing young.

In France, the drink was strongly attacked on grounds of health when it was first introduced. The first R.S. meeting at banning its sale in France, introduced last year in the French National Assembly, described the drink as "toxic" because it contained "benzene of soda." The presence of phosphorus is also elsewhere mentioned. One can well question the advisability of putting on the market a beverage with so many so-called stimulants in

a. The whole idea of giving a healthy thirst-quenching beverage is lost if a "dope" like this — in the southern States of America it was so called once — is given to an ignorant public.

In France, both the Commission on Family, Population and Health and the Commission on Beverages have condemned Coca-Cola outright.
R. A. E. POLLAN

A RIFT IN FOOD SELF-SUFFICIENCY

Every one feels depressed that in a country like ours which is recognized on all hands as mainly agricultural and is watered by hundreds of rivers, food should have to be imported from abroad. Government's resolve to stop exporting food is long since proclaimed. Since March, 1950 has been fixed as the final date, after which export of foods will be stopped. In the course of a debate in the Parliament the Government made a clarification that the policy was subject to the following three exceptions:

- (i) difficulties caused by crop-failure;
- (ii) need for raising other crops in lieu of food in the larger interest of the country; and
- (iii) the requirements for building up a surplus central stock.

These exceptions deserve to be examined carefully to find out the extent of the rift they make in the original resolve.

But I propose to confine myself just now to the examination of the second exception only. I think that the reasoning behind this exception is basically faulty. It is analogous to the thinking process of our dependent and helpless farmer about his personal economic affairs. Boiled down it almost means that food will be imported, if it is worth it. It is profitable to do so, not, if it is otherwise. Say, for instance, if jute, cotton or tobacco were to fetch more dollars than those needed for procuring food the Government would not care whether the country attained food self-sufficiency or not, but would encourage crops like cotton, etc. Not that in such cases, Government would altogether neglect self-sufficiency in food, but having regard to the advantage of prices, it would not insist upon full self-sufficiency. In these circumstances, Government would be satisfied if a major part of it was produced here, and a minor one only had to be imported. But even this modulated reasoning is defective at its very foundation. Indeed, it is advanced not by way of a basic policy of the Government, but because, under the present circumstances there is no alternative to becoming as much self-sufficient in food as possible. But if circumstances altered and, for instance, a country like America were prepared to supply cheaply a large amount of our food requirements and there was a chance of our obtaining good prices for our own agricultural products, it cannot be

wondered that even the petty limitations of free self-sufficiency will be respected. The stupidity of American reasoning impels them to burn standing crops in order to maintain high prices. It is said that last year they destroyed the paddy crop with their own hands. We cannot therefore hope to have cheap grains from them. But Government reasoning indicates that self-sufficiency in food will not be much bothered about in case this were possible with the help of some other country.

In a nutshell, the exceptional situation put forth decades on the part of Government a consequential mentality which has no regard for foodstuffs, no thought of the livelihood ideal and no vision for village well-being. It strikes a blow at the very root of our Swaraj.

We all desire to avert a world war, and to develop for our country the strength to do so, or, in case it cannot be prevented, at least to ensure that we remain outside it. But this cannot happen, by our merely entertaining a dream. For its successful materialization, a decentralized economic policy will have to be thoroughly implemented all over the country. If we think only of commercial lines we shall gradually drift towards the view that we must join one of the blocs. As a matter of fact, I am aware of such a drift already. Politicians have been discussing whether we shall choose Russia or America. Seeing the advance of the Communist measure some have expressed the futility of adopting the attitude of neutrality in our foreign policy. We forget that the danger to ourselves can be averted not so much by our adopting a particular foreign policy as by following a right *swadishi* policy.

The Government have instituted an Economic Planning Commission. It is worthwhile to know its views about the exception above referred to. I hope that it will not allow the development of such dangerous breaches in the walls of the nation.

Pune, 11-12-50

VINOD

(Translated from Hindi)

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HARIJAN

(PUBLISHED BY MANILAL GANDHI)

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TWO ANNAS

SARDAR VALLABHBHAI'S DEATH

The news of Sardar Vallabhbhai's death at about 10 o'clock in the morning on Friday the 13th December plunged the whole country into grief. Every one is overcome with sorrow and grief at the death of his near and dear relative and the Sardar had become such a one unto all the people. The Sardar joined Gandhiji about 1916-17 in the work of national regeneration and fight for freedom. Since that time he worked with a single-minded devotion with Gandhiji in the great task of expelling the foreign domination from the country. After foreign rule was ended he joined the Central Government and helped Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in steering the ship of State. The service of his rendered here to the whole nation and he became, as it were, their relative. It is but natural that the people of India should be grieved at the death of such a one.

The sense of grief that a man feels at the death of his relative is not always gauged with the feeling of grief for the personal loss he thus sustains. And the sense of loss that the people of India have felt being very deep their grief also has been consequently very intense. When a man is injured he does not immediately realise how much injury is caused to his body. He begins to realise gradually as the effects of the injury become visible. Exactly the same thing happened to us when we learned the news of the Sardar's death. Today we are stunned, we do not fully realise the loss we have sustained by the Sardar's death. We shall only realise it when the effects of his passing away are visible to us by and by. Only a couple of things are apparent to us today. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru must be feeling the loss at having lost his colleague and comrade at this critical time when our newly-won freedom is still being consolidated. Those who want to see our national life stabilised on a solid basis are bound to feel the loss of the man who alone could inspire a movement necessary to maintain internal peace and order while our new State is being shaped. Every Congressman feels that we have lost in the Sardar an able leader and servant of the people who alone could control the Congress organisation and maintain discipline and order in its working.

While we in Gujarat feel that we have lost a near and dear relative of ours who could be approached for help and encouragement whenever we were faced with a critical situation in the province.

If we go on weeping and sorrowing for the loss we have sustained, and sit still with folded hands cursing our cruel destiny we shall be proving false to the memory of our departed leader. We must remember how the Sardar suppressed the mortal grief he felt at the sudden and unexpected death of Bapu. He did not weep for the great loss he personally sustained along with the whole nation by Bapu's death. He collected himself and addressing the people of India on the radio the same evening he urged them not to lose heart and fall into despair. We should not also note the deep consideration of having lost our duty by the Sardar by slowly sleeping his pillow for the great virtues he showed and the work he accomplished while serving the nation. We cannot persuade ourselves to believe that we have been loyal to the Sardar if we do only the much. It is not possible to adequately describe the extraordinary virtues the Sardar possessed and the great contribution he made by means of them. And it will be for the future historian and not for us to evaluate the contribution he has made to the cause of our nation.

Today we are in a peculiar condition in the Congress the main stay of the country. All are agreed that under the present condition of the country the only way to progress lies in the observance of discipline on our own part and making others do likewise. But almost all people instead of observing the necessary discipline in the discharge of their duties make a hue and cry that others do not do these things. They also forget the moral responsibility of observing discipline and doing their duties and seem to have made a mission of making others very rigorously observe it.

It is true no doubt that the greatest need of our nation today is discipline. But discipline of two kinds: the discipline that is imposed from without with the help of fear or greed, and that which one observes of his own free will for the accomplishment of his cherished goal. Of these the first serves to keep the river going, but it is of no use to cultivate the

moral strength necessary for the shaping of a new order and State. On the contrary, whatever fund of moral strength one has laid by is spent away. The other type not only enables us to carry on the work but goes on cultivating moral strength and enables us to accumulate our cherished ends with the store of moral energy thus collected.

The greatest problem before the nation today is, how to conserve and store this moral energy. The only way to do this is the observation of discipline voluntarily and energetically while discharging duties falling to our lot. The following two incidents from the Sardar's life are enough to bear out the truth that moral strength is cultivated through voluntary discipline only. As soon as he saw, in the very beginning of his public career, that Gandhiji alone knew the true method of working for the political emancipation of the country, the Sardar accepted his leadership, and having once committed himself thus he voluntarily and energetically undertook to observe the discipline necessary for discharging his duties. It was by the observation of this discipline that he cultivated the necessary fund of moral strength that enabled him later to wield such influence on the people of this country. Again, towards the close of his life, he accepted the leadership of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and remained loyal to him and while doing so he voluntarily and zealously followed the discipline proper to his new station and duties. And by doing so he was able to gain that moral strength by which he could influence the Congress and the country and take the work that he wanted from them.

Thus taking a lesson from the Sardar's life, we should cease sorrowing for his loss on this momentous occasion, and by discharging the duties that fall to our lot in a disciplined manner cultivate the moral strength necessary to consolidate and strengthen our nation. In this way alone can we be loyal to the Sardar's memory and discharge our debt to him.

Bombay, 25-12-30

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RESPECT TO SARDAR

I have been receiving letters and contributions from readers of the *Harjan* papers relating to Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. They are full of feelings of affection and respect. Some of them rightly say that the death of Sardar Patel has revolutionised in them the answer for the death of Gandhiji. They feel now that they must have maintained their composure on the death of Gandhiji because they had Sardar to fall back upon. Now, with his death, they feel deeply orphaned. Some have expressed concern for Chhoti Haribhai Patel, Sardar's daughter and greatly hoped that she would be taken care of. These are expressions of genuine feelings of simple, grateful and affectionate people. There is no politics, dishonest or worldly wisdom about them, and so they cannot but deeply move with gratitude all those who were close to Sardar.

Of a different type are the expressions of those who, whatever the nature of an event, cannot but create out of it a suitable occasion for the play of their so-called understanding of politics and ability for organising demonstrations. From the saluting and crowding of their leader's body to the disposal of his ashes in accordance with conventional rites, every small detail is thought of and criticised from the point of view it would affect politics and mass psychology. I heard plenty of such criticism during my two days' stay in Bombay immediately following Sardar's death. Thus, that his body was cremated in the Hindu crematorium at Solapur and not on the beach at Chorvally where the Lokamanya was cremated 20 years ago was made a Gajapati grievance against the Mahatma's Chief Minister and Mayor.

There was an apprehension that the manner of consigning Sardar's ashes to holy waters might also become a subject of "political" planning. The unfortunate precedent set at the time of Gandhiji's death of consigning his ashes to various waters of the world threatens to be the beginning of a new rite. I understand that even Sardar's ashes were immersed in a number of places. The adherents of every distinguished man will feel that their deceased master cannot be regarded as fully honoured, unless his ashes were distributed in all parts of India. I regret if I offend by saying that I have absolutely no sympathy for this type of exhibition. With all my reverence for Gandhiji I did not approve of it even in his case, and all my respect and personal affection for Sardar is unable to make me think favourably of it. We are thus superstitiously adding to the hundreds of places of pilgrimage a few more, and encouraging the devotees people to attach more value to irrational and sentimental hangings. I am, therefore, much relieved to learn that Shri Dattabhai and Haribhai Patel have firmly disapproved the idea. I suggest that no such programmes should

be prepared again. Personally, I cannot conceive, even in accordance with orthodoxy, a better place than the Lord of all rivers—the Ganga—for the assignment of ashes, and when a person is cremated near the sea, as in Bombay, it is queer to take his ashes to a distant place like even Prayag for immersion.

Naturally, I have also been receiving some literary contributions regarding the Ganga, for publication in *Harigan*. I do wish to devote an issue to it on a collaboration basis, but readers and contributors must not misunderstand *Harigan* or its editor, if the space allotted to this purpose is not adequate to satisfy them. The space in *Harigan* is very limited, and so is my capacity to cope with all such work.

Wadoo, 21-12-50

K. G. MANSURWALA

OBSERVANCE OF GANGE FORTNIGHT

The 30th January comes off at its time and passes away. It is going customary to observe a fortnight commencing from the 30th January to the 15th February as consecrated to the memory of Bapu. Millions of men and women in India gather together at different places, pay their homage and return home. But few seem to worry their heads over the meaning and purpose of this significant fortnight.

Bapu came, lived his life in this world and is now gone. But what was his significance? Were his birth and death the those of immemorial others without any substance? Or, was he only one of the many leaders of the past who lived their countries from the domination of foreign rulers? No, he was very much more than that. He showed the way to solve the problems which beset our age. The world is everywhere troubled with war and oppression in one form or another, and the masses of the world everywhere are either exploited or oppressed by particular classes or groups. Bapu was born to rescue humanity from this oppression and exploitation, and he departed from here only after he had fully shown how mankind could free itself from its terrible bondage.

People have fought for freedom in every age, but the fight was always limited to destroying their particular oppressors and exploiters, and not to the system which produced them. The result was that a new class of exploiters and oppressors occupied the place vacated by the former and continued the same system. Then came Gandhiji. He proclaimed: "The root of the trouble is not the individual oppressor but the system. And so long as this system endures a mass change of oppressors will not solve the problem. Hence, our struggle must be directed not against this or that individual but against the system itself."

We suffered enormous hardships on account of British rule. We fought the British and made them quit our country, but we accepted their system. We are reaping the fruits of this today. Hence, it is this which we Indians should specially remember on this occasion. We should consider what that system is and how we can fight it. Gandhiji said that the system of governing by Government oppressed and the system of Capitalism exploited the people. The more the people become helplessly dependent on the State, the more will the State oppress and oppress them. Likewise the more they rely on Capitalism for the satisfaction of their wants, the more would Capitalism exploit them. The society has tried the experiment of destroying the Capitalists without in any way modifying the system of building social life on the basis of capital; but nothing has come out of it. The capitalist has been replaced by a party which has tightened its grip on the life of the people even more firmly and suppressed them. Hence the right solution of the life which the people suffer from is still beyond them.

It is necessary for those who pay tribute to Gandhiji to seriously consider how they can replace the might of State-rule and Capitalism by that of Self-rule and Labour. For this they will have to spread themselves among the dumb millions of the country. They will have to in-lace life into them by developing in them the power to co-operate with the system based on centralised State-rule and capitalistic production and to organize a system of decentralised self-dependence and production by body-labour. The requisites to this are unlimited patience, devotion and determination and, but not not the least, readiness "to do or die."

We must, therefore, dedicate the 30th January to the development of such devotion and determination, and not waste it in sheer pomp and propaganda. We should reserve it for promoting self-purification and self-restraint.

In order to implement this object we venture to submit for the millions of our countrymen a programme, which may not be followed mechanically but with understanding with a thorough grasp of the real purport, basis and idea of it all. The proper way to pay homage is to realize the eternal spirit behind the material ideal by carrying out:

(i) Morning *sajd* (devotion) of the home, locality and surrounding etc. .

(ii) Collective singing in the afternoon for half an hour from 4 to 4-30 p.m. with silence and calm contemplation.

(iii) Mass prayer in the evening at five. (Care should be taken to see that all take their seats in an orderly manner and sing in chorus.)

Sevagram, 12-12-50

CHANDRANATH MANSURWALA

— FRODOG, A.I.R.A.

HARIJAN

Dec. 30

1950

THE INCOMPARABLE SARDAR

It was difficult to believe that the Sardar is no more. He was the principal pillar of the edifice of which Gandhiji was the architect and Pandit Nehru is the corner-stone. I do not know of another instance of such complete surrender of judgment and will on the part of a lieutenant to his general as of the Sardar to Gandhiji during the days of India's struggle for freedom. "When I am there the Sardar's thinking is paralysed," Gandhiji used to say. Things changed in later years but the basic loyalty and the bond of personal affection that united him and Gandhiji continued unimpaired to the last.

There used to be a standing joke between the Sardar and Gandhiji that neither was to precede the other into the next world. During his last days when sometimes Gandhiji used to hear the agony of what was taking place around him, would talk about God taking him away, the Sardar used to chide him. "So you want to get out of all your commitment and leave me in the lurch!" The Sardar had really no desire left to live after Gandhiji but he had the will and the determination to continue to shoulder the burden handed down by the Master to whom his loyalty was pledged as never a soldier's was to his general.

"Other people can find relief in tears. But I cannot weep and that robs me my brain to pulp," the Sardar once told me after Gandhiji's death. Belated that granite coat of armour beat a big warm generous heart, full of the milk of human kindness, as sensitive to pain as it was to affection. But he never allowed his feelings or emotions to get the better of him or to come to the surface. He harnessed them to his intellect, iron will and determination. It gave him that dynamic quality for which he became known.

He was dubbed a friend of the capitalists and the princes. Yet it was he who put an end to the princely order and the capitalists too knew that he was no friend of the capitalist system either. They would have to reform it and play the game if they wanted to retain his friendship and not go the way of the princely order.

He made a broad distinction between the man and the system they represented. His friendship for the individual capitalists and princes was rooted in the assumption that they were not devoid of patriotism and good sense. He was far too practical to underestimate their experience and know how and how badly the country needed both. And so while he liquidated the princely order he retained the friendship and

loyalty of many of the princes. Today some of them are using their talents and experience creditably in the service of the country.

He had an innate distrust of slogans and "isms". Above all he hated hypocrisy and cant. He had seen with his own eyes how people who abused the capitalists most vigorously were not averse to becoming capitalists themselves if they had a chance and many of them, when put to the test betrayed in the little acts of their daily life some of the common weaknesses and failings of the capitalists whom they denounced. He was too big to be merely anti-anybody or such. He was an essentially human approach. He put all men on the same level with himself and he made no demand upon them for which he was not himself prepared. The wiser ones among the capitalists realised that he was trying to save them from themselves and in spite of themselves and they clung to him. He repulsed them—if one may use that expression—for the cause. He was too shrewd to let anybody exploit him.

At one time he was criticised as being reactionary. But his critics soon found that he was more revolutionary than they. At Bardoli he made a revolution while they had only been talking of one. He was not opposed to any reform, however radical, provided it could be shown to be practicable and in the best interests of the country. He was a pragmatist at heart, being both and head a pragmatist. And he had a pragmatist's dislike of utopian, book-learned theories and empty talk. He talked straight, made no sounding promises nor raised any false hopes. But people know that when he talked a thing it happened. When he said a thing they knew what he meant and that he meant it and so they trusted him. He indulged in no bluff nor could anybody bluff him.

He was looked upon by some as an enemy of the Muslims and Pakistan. Nothing could be more erroneous. He did give the first place to the security of the country, there he would take no risks. But I do remember also how firmly he held that such Muslims as chose to remain in India and regard it as their home must get a fair and square deal.

After Gandhiji's death I had once occasion to go to him to obtain address in some cases of individual wrongs in Muslims in those days of hectic madness. Gandhiji had entrusted them to me. He gave me his steady, unstinted support and address was secured in the case of some. Some others he asked me to approach Panditji. I addressed a rather strongly-worded note to Panditji on the subject and showed the draft to the Sardar. He said, "All right, send it." I then repaired to my sister Dr. Sarala Nayer's room; who was at that sitting on him as his physician and staying with him. Hardly had I left the Sardar's room when Panditji came in—his face pale, care-worn, and tense with the mark

of many a sleepless night stamped on it I could not bear the thought of adding to his agony and asked my assistant to cancel the draft I had prepared. As soon as Pandit had left the Sardar stepped in. "Have you handed that note to Pandit?" he asked. "No," I replied. "Well, then don't. Did you notice his face as he came in?" He is as hardened with case, your note might prove to be the proverbial last straw on the camel's back." I showed him the draft, with the word "cancelled" written across it in red pencil and he went back satisfied and relieved.

One had only to see him in the company of his "Imaniban"—the late Iman Sobah Bawa—Gandhi's South-African comrade and the late Abbas Tyabji to realise that in him there was no trace of antipathy towards the Muslims as such. He regarded both of them literally as his blood-brothers and the members of their families as if they were his own. After the establishment of the Indian Government one of his most favourite officers was the Inspector General of Special Police—a Muslim. Needless to say, the liking and admiration was mutual and on the Sardar's part continued even when after the Partition that officer sided for Pakistan.

He was too keen-hat on solving the internal problems that faced India to wish to pack a quarrel with Pakistan, but he wanted peace with justice, never through "appeasement." And when it became possible to conclude a pact with Pakistan on fair terms he threw his entire weight in its favour. I shall ever remember the glow of satisfaction on his face when after the conclusion of the Nehru-Liaquat Ali Pact he specially sent for me knowing how strongly I felt about it and told me "So we have done it." He was most anxious to work the pact for all it was worth and for that purpose rushed to Calcutta in spite of his failing health. He afterwards told me how deeply disappointed he felt that it could not be followed up with quick, energetic sustained action as he would have liked.

He could forgive and his capacity to forgive personal injuries was unbelievable. I could give instances but must not, they are too sacred. Gandhi also forgive but Gandhi would forget too and that sometimes led people to think that he could be coerced and encouraged them to take liberties. The Sardar's forgiveness was all the more amazing because he never forgot and people knew it. That deterred them from trying upon him any of their tricks.

He represented Gandhi's realism in politics, his judgement, his capacity for taking lightning quick decisions and backing them with a rock-like faith and firm action, his organising capacity, his lynx-eyed alertness and vigilance, the passionate love of the villages and their simple folk with their crafts, occupations and way of life and his self-discipline and hard work were reminiscent of Gandhi. At one time he was an overture master. He tried to jobs

that imprisonment was not in the lines of his fate. He pulled out his last cigarette before the gate of Sabarmati prison on his first incarceration but three it down when someone remarked that once in he would have to ask for and obtain special permission to smoke. He never smoked again in his life. Before he was overwhelmed by the cares of the State it was a familiar sight to see him reel out day after day and week after week two thousand, three thousand yards of yarn daily, sitting in the office of the Provincial Congress Committee at Ahmedabad. In his Ashram at Bardoli he lived simply like the people around him and during his first incarceration in 1930 it was he who insisted on reserving special privileges allowed to prisoners in A class in which he had been placed and reducing entirely on C class but allowed to the rank and file of civil disobedience prisoners.

In his own way he represented Gandhi's non-violence too. He had not only recovered personal robes but in a sense family too still. He never cared what happened to his children. He left them entirely to fend for themselves in the world.

To the last he continued to be a loyal, disciplined soldier ready to offer unquestioning obedience whenever it should be demanded of him. He would have laid down office without a word if Gandhi had wanted it and devoted himself unquestioningly to carry out his beliefs even though they might go against his own best. Gandhi knew it, but what would have been the Sardar's obedience worth if he ceased to be himself? Jaya valued Sardar's integrity and independence more than obedience to his own beliefs. He was anxious to see every citizen his or her full stature. Then alone could all add to the stature of the country and so he let the Sardar go his way.

Similarly there were sharp differences in outlook and approach between him and Pandit Nehru but he remained loyal to him to the last in the way he understood loyalty and Pandit Nehru knew better the value of Sardar's loyal support than many of the partisan critics who proclaimed their differences and in the process exaggerated them. Under a different climate these differences might have developed into a grave split or faction but the non-violence that Gandhi had introduced in Indian politics made things different. After all wordy warfare and clash of temperaments, when it came to the scratch these assumed war veterans, who had their schooling under Gandhi, unhesitatingly put the country first, themselves last and sank all personal discrepancies in their common devotion to the Motherland.

There is a talk of erecting a monument to him. The desire is natural. But let us remember that like Gandhi he disliked mere monuments of brick and stone and when they were

proposed in the case of Gandhi! he opposed them. The only moment that was due him justice would be to close up our ranks, forget all personal considerations and realize that solidarity and integrated endeavour in the service of the country of which he was such a shining example.

New Delhi, 29-12-50

FRANÇOIS

AND NOW THE SARDAR TOO

It was on the 9th of March 1945 that Sardar Patel had his first heart attack and it was during that illness that I really came to know him. Five weeks before that, Gandhi's death on 30th January had plunged the whole of India and Pakistan in deep grief. Those of us who bore him his emblems, felt like ship-wrecked sailors. A few days before this and he had sent me to the Muslim State of Muzaffargarh in Pakistan and had intended to send me to Pothohar on my return. Soon after his death a Council for the recovery of abducted women in both Domergues was set up and the recovery work in the East Punjab States was entrusted to me. I started the work keeping Pothohar as my headquarters. On the 4th of April I was called to Delhi. The next day I went to the Sardar's house to give him a report of my work. The Sardar besides being a fatherly figure to all of us, was the Minister-in-Charge of the Priority States. We sat at the lunch table and I started talking. Suddenly, I noticed that he was not eating and had an anxious look on his face. For a moment I wondered if I had said something to upset him. But as I observed his face I noticed beads of perspiration on his forehead and a blueness on his lips. In answer to my question whether he was not feeling well, he clutched at his heart—the picture of coronary heart attack was perfect. I immediately put him to bed and the necessary treatment was given. Fortunately for the country, he survived that attack. As soon as he woke up from the morphia, he looked at me and said in a very moving tone: "I was going to join Bapu. Why did you stop me? And, it was a Friday too." The sentence was indicative of the Sardar's deep affection for Bapu. Bapu had been assassinated on a Friday. It had been a severe blow for the Sardar and on top of that, the vile propaganda blaming him for inadequate provisions for Bapu's safety and even worse and exaggerating his differences with Bapu and Pandit Nehru, had deeply wounded him. Differences they had but no two normal human beings can always agree on every point. The bond of personal affection and loyalty to the common cause were far more important and overrode all differences of temperament and approach. The Sardar felt it beneath his dignity to give explanations or rebut personal attacks and suffered in silence. He was a man who seldom betrayed emotion. Ultimately the post-up grid coupled with age and over-work brought on the heart attack. I stayed in attendance on him for the next three and a half

months. Before that I had met him often and while I loved to hear him talk and looked forward to his affectionate pat on the back whenever there was an opportunity of meeting him, inwardly I was somewhat afraid of him. His piercing glance went right through you, and he could wither you up with his silence. His humour too could be devastating. I tried to keep at a respectful distance. But, during the Sardar's illness in 1944 I discovered under that iron mask a most tender and loving heart. He became father and friend, whose tender affection and wise advice were not to be matched. It has often been said of Bapu that he could be harder than fire and softer than a rose petal. The epithet applied to the Sardar even better. Watching him deal with all kinds of problems of the State from his sick-bed was rare education. I could not but feel amazed at people who criticised him as being anti-Muslim, reactionary, and what not. I have seen him express the tenderest feelings towards Muslims who he felt were hunted and singed. Being a strong and truthful man he stood by absolute justice and fairness towards all. Bapu symbolised forgiveness, the Sardar justice. This was sometimes misunderstood. He was a man of few words and a single word of assurance from his lips was a more adequate guarantee than a spatful of effective criticism from others. He always meant what he said and he did not waste words. He talked straight and to the point and spent no time when the interest of the country was concerned. The other reason which reached far. So far as I know no one could deceive him. He had a wonderfully quick and unerring judgment which combined with his firmness and unflinching determination made him indomitable. He became a symbol of severity and stability. He could forgive but seldom forget. Once you won his confidence and affection you were sure of his unstinted support which could cover a multitude of failings. His gentleness was simply amazing. During the days of his illness he once told me how during his student days he had borrowed law books from a friend as he could not afford to purchase them. After some time the wife of this friend died leaving him with a few months' old infant. The friend had to go to work but the Sardar was staying at home. So, for more than a year, he cared for the little child with a mother's tenderness and devotion. Who could have imagined that the Sardar was capable of that! But there it was.

Equally amazing was his generosity. After qualifying as law he set up practice in Bombay and started collecting money to go to England. He wanted to use in their own homes the men who save thousands of miles across the oceans to make-over India. The elder brother, Yashubhai Patel, who was also a lawyer, learnt of it and came to see him at Bombay about the day before his departure. Said the elder brother to the

younger — " It isn't fair that the younger brother should have the opportunity of going abroad first." The Sardar handed him the money he had collected for himself along with his steamer ticket and passport with the condition that he would not go home to console his wife, who might make difficulties, but pressed straight to England. The initials of the two brothers — V J — being the same, Vallabhbhai Patel boarded the steamer instead of Vallabhbhai and without a word the Sardar waited till he had collected enough funds for himself to go at a later date.

On the last walk that he had in the Aga Khan Palace detention camp, Mahadevibai narrated to Bapu the story of the Sardar's rising from poverty before he joined Bapu. The Sardar used to practice for about a week or 10 days in a month and earned more than enough for his needs. The rest of the month he spent in the club playing cards. Then he met Bapu. The Sardar went to the first meeting out of sheer curiosity not attracted with a sense of amusement. But being a connoisseur of men he saw that odd as Gandhiji looked, he was made of rare stuff. Up till that time the Sardar had abhorred politics. It was a dirty game. But the politics presented by Bapu was different, and the Sardar plunged into it whole-heartedly. The decision came made there was no going back. His children had lost their mother already. They lost the care of the father too. He had adopted a white family — the whole of India. After they grew up they too plunged in and had their due share of suffering and sacrifice.

When power came to the Sardar, he took it as a matter of duty but his life remained as simple and disciplined as before. He had led an Ashram life and had conducted Ashrams under his own care. His daughter Maniben spun for her father's clothes till the very end. When there was a general scramble for moving into more spacious residences the Sardar refused to move. He often expressed his dissatisfaction with the official's way of life in New Delhi. Representatives of a poor country, he felt, had to live nearer to the level of the men whom they represented. He even suggested moving the Capital away from Delhi with its deep-rooted incorrigible tradition of imperialist pomp, and constructing simple huts for the ministers and others on a new site.

The Sardar was not a pacifist in the ordinary sense of the term, although he had been a leading figure in the non-violent struggle for India's freedom. As the Home Minister, he saw that he could not do without the use of force, yet he had maintained a very vital part of the technique and spirit of non-violence. It enabled him to win the confidence of the capitalists and the princes. Like Bapu, he was not averse towards the system of capitalism or the princely order, but

the capitalists and the princes were not debased from his affection. Moreover, he wanted to, and did make use of their talents. The integration of the princely States with the rest of India is a mighty feat the full significance of which is often not realised by unthinking critics. It was circumstances here Bapu had to go on a fast to get princely aid from the princes in the tiny little State of Bhopal, the integration of the task performed by the Sardar in getting more than 600 princes to relinquish their power of their own free-will, will become obvious. If God had given him a few years, he might have outshined the integrated free India of which he had been one of the main architects. The realisation that it might not be given to him to accomplish that made him unhappy.

The Sardar that I met on my return to India on the 2nd of October, 1960, was very different from the Sardar I had left in the summer of 1948. Physically he was a shadow of his former self. Mentally alert and vigorous as ever, he was depressed and he was apathetic. The dangerous trends in India and elsewhere and corruption which had permeated even the Congress oppressed him. It was like the salt losing its savour. But he was not the man to give up. He went ahead with the tasks with the same determination and vigour as before, despite his failing health and kept up a full round of his usual activities. I begged of him to give up touring but as long as his carefully informed staff served him, he was determined to make full use of it. In a way he seemed to be trying to catch time by the forelock and take as much out of it, as was humanly possible. At last the struggle was over and on another fateful Friday, on the 15th of December 1960, he left us to join Bapu. On the day the news of Sri Aurobindo's death was received he remarked: " Bapu has gone, Mahadev has gone, Aurobindo too has gone. The assembly is gathering the other end. There is no fun in staying here now."

With Bapu's death in 1948 there was a big void but one felt secure so long as the Sardar and Pandit Nehru were there in charge of the country's affairs. Bapu's last instructions to the Sardar were that India needed the services of both the Sardar and Pandit Nehru and the Sardar carried on those orders till the last breath of his life. The two complemented and supplemented each other. Now the Sardar is no more. Our heart goes out to Pandit Nehru who has to shoulder the burden alone. There is no other individual who can take the Sardar's place. That shows an additional responsibility on the shoulders of each and all. Let us hope and pray that the collective wisdom of India's leaders and India's people will save India in spite of our grave shortcomings. Little people and big have all to repledge themselves to continue the great work left incomplete by Bapu and the Sardar.

KUMKILA NATHAN

SARVODAYA MELA

The month of February is drawing near, when melas will be held at different places to honour the memory of Gandhiji. The offering of a year's bank will form part of the programme to be observed on that day. It is expected that every man who respects Gandhiji's memory and who is not averse to body-labour will offer for the service of the people, a bank (400 rounds) of self-given yarn. The idea, I am sure, will have a powerful appeal and, only if we would take it to the people, millions will like to take part in this particular activity designed to show our respect to the departed leader. But it needs an organized effort on an all-India scale for its successful implementation. The question is who will make this effort and all the necessary arrangements? In the petty political wranglings, nobody seems to have the time for it. But if others do not have leisure for it, the avatars of the Sarvodaya Janyas who have faith in constructive work should at once devote themselves to it. True that there are not many avatars of the Sarvodaya Janyas on its register, but there are many who are unregistered. I would that they should all take to this work and carry the smouldering message of this day and the meaning of this kind of reverent remembrance of Gandhiji to every citizen, irrespective of his political affiliations. It is reported that the adult population of the country is 12 crores. But even women have a right to join the sacrificial offering. This will give us an idea of the vastness of our field of work. Those present will make the offering with their own hands; those who are prevented from attending the melas on any account will send a through some one else. They may, if they so like, make it collectively on behalf of the village. This will help save time at the time of the melas. A card bearing the name and the address of the sponsor should accompany each bank.

Besides collective spinning open to all should be arranged on the melas day. It will be in the nature of a rally of Sarvodaya-sentiment, that is it may be regarded as the duty of every man to take part in it.

Naturally, prayers will also be held on that day, but along with vocal prayers, there must also be a two-minute silence. One often finds on occasions like these that while on the one side there goes on the prayer, on the other the crowds go on shrieking and shouting. The two-minute silence is likely to put some restriction on this unbecoming babble and create the necessary solemnity in the atmosphere.

WITNESSES

Transcribed from Sarvodaya, December 1935

SELECTED LETTERS—I

By Mahatma Gandhi

Chosen and Translated by V. O. Desai

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MEMORIES

Twenty-five years of memories stretch before me, beginning with the memory I looked out of the carriage window as the train bringing me from Bombay drove up to Ahmednagar station on November 7th, 1910. Mahadev was there and Swami Anand was there, but there was a third whose quiet commanding presence drew my attention. Life took possession of me. Turning to the others he said, "you see to the luggage," and without any further ado popped me in a car and conveyed me away to Saharanpur. Ahimsa. "I am Vallabhbhai Patel," he said. I looked at him, my mind plunged on the thought that he was taking me direct to the fulfilment of my utmost longing, Bapu's blessed presence. And, as happens at such moments of intense experience, his face became for me inseparably connected with the memory of that evening. Many a time in later years have we recalled together the incidents of those first hours.

Though the Sarda had reached the ripe age of 74, yet his face had changed but little. Yes—it had changed to this extent, that it had become still more powerful and more forcefully commanding to look upon. The mouth firm as the master-will behind it, and yet fascinatingly beside as it yielded to the irresistible humour of his mind. The eyes keenly and outwardly unconcerned, but carrying behind their dreamy spirit a latent power of penetration and insight. Invincible strength, ever-ready humour and with all such worth, tenderness of heart—such a man is not often produced by any nation.

When Bapu used to be periodically imprisoned in Yeravda Jail it was a matter of great comfort to us all whenever we heard that Vallabhbhai had been put with him. However worrying and oppressive the situation might be, we knew that the Sarda's side-splitting smiles would make Bapu laugh heartily many times a day. And what was more, his watchfulness for Bapu's smallest needs would be there.

One day, twenty-two years ago, at the time of the Bardoli Satyagraha, Bapu remarked, "These Englishmen don't know the man they are up against,"—and then after a pause Bapu added, "Vallabhbhai has the makings of a great administrator." I have always remembered those prophetic words.

Peshawar, 26-12-35

MIRA

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TWO ANNAS

FATE OF THE VANASPATI PROHIBITION BILL

The papers have announced that Shri Thakurdas Bhargava decided not to move his Anti-Vanaspati Bill in the present session of the Parliament upon the promise of the Prime Minister to appoint a committee to suggest suitable methods to stop the adulteration of ghee. The Prime Minister according to P.T.I. gave three assurances: (i) The Government recognised that "in case of ghee there had been much adulteration", (ii) "Government were anxious to put a stop to it", and (iii) "experiments carried out on hydrogenated oils had shown that these were not harmful."

It is needless of the Government that even at this late stage they admit that there does exist much adulteration in case of ghee, and moreover, through the burden of proving it on the public. It is doubtful if the people will be able to show as much grace as return by accepting of its face value the assurance that the Government are really anxious to stop it. The public have not known anything hitherto to indicate that the Government ever carried such anxiety in their minds. It is more than 18 months since the Working Committee of the Congress asked the Government to take steps to stop adulteration. But nothing whatever has been done. The least that they could have done was to appoint a committee now contemplated. One does not know why this was not done. Nor will the people feel satisfied with the results of the so-called experiments of scientists. It might seem undesirable to suggest, but I cannot help feeling, that if a Prime Minister like, say Dr P. C. Ghosh, with an opposite mind, were to vacated Shri Jawaharlal, the reports of experiments would very probably take a different shape. Possibly, the last assurance is not meant for the general public, but for those interested in the manufacture of vanaspati. They will certainly feel assured that the industry is safe in the hands of the Government.

The public are not likely to feel quite satisfied with Shri Bhargava's performance. Very likely, it is a preliminary to the total abandonment of the Bill later on. But the result need

not surprise the public. I had anticipated it. To all those friends and correspondents, who were working enthusiastically to elicit and collect public opinion in favour of the Bill, I tried to warn not to build too much hope on that piece of effort being able to influence the fate of the Bill. In February of 5th August 1942, I had said,

'In the modern setup of party Government, even the opinion of legislators becomes often a mere form. However capable a member might feel convinced of the merits of a Bill, he has not to vote in accordance to his own belief, but to that of his party's head, that is, in the whip of the party might direct. So, the present Bill will meet such fate as would be decided by the general ruling party in the Congress, that is, the Congress. Perhaps, the mind is already made up.'

This has come true. Supporters of the Bill inside and outside the Parliament agreed on points to secure support to the Bill. They wrote to, and personally interviewed several ministers and not a few hundred legislators in the Central and the several State Legislatures to find out their view on this subject. Various State Cabinets had expressed their opinion in its favour. Besides members of various State Assemblies, a good majority of the members of the Parliament (out of 148 members, 172 with about 20 more, whose formal signatures could not be obtained) had signed in favour of the Bill. But the Central Government (as a body) was of a different opinion, and that decided the matter. It considered the interests of the large-scale industry and the urban middle class and the financial income to the Government to be of prime importance. It is a glaring instance of a clear majority both at the Centre and in the States having been brushed aside by the Central Cabinet. Unless one is convinced that this is a case of one person being right and nine wrong, what a farce of Democracy it is!

We are told that the Government will now appoint a Ghose Committee. Doubtless, it will take some months to do its work. May be, its report will not be presented until after the next elections. In the meantime the trade of vanaspati-made ghee, curds, even milk (?) will go on as it has till now. From the way in which such committees usually do their work, the Ghose Committee might be expected to travel

throughout the length and breadth of the country, constant numerous witnesses, personally examine several times of various types of glass, study all the literature from Vedic times till now to show how glass has been utilised from very ancient times, and what measures were adopted in the times of Moha Buddha, the Mahabharata, Chanakya, Ashoka, down to the Mughals and the Marathas to control it. What was done by the British will also be recorded. It will also, perhaps, feel satisfied that amongst in the forefront of the scholars ever and, that it cannot be beyond any more than water. And they will recommend that the Penal and Crime Investigation machinery should be lightened in a particular manner and results awaited. No doubt, also, the enquiry will be made at public expense, which will come to a good many thousand rupees. Their labours will merit the thanks of the Government, and they will retire with the feeling that they had thoroughly performed their duty. So far as prevention of adulteration is concerned, it is a subject in which the several State Governments can take action on their own initiative. The appointment of the Glass Committee by the Centre will be a good reason for them not to do anything until the Committee reports.

The whole episode presents the picture of a pseudo-democratic form of Government. The so-called representatives do not necessarily represent the opinion and interests of even the majority of the people, except where separate lines and fractional parties, prejudices, emotions and passions are concerned. They represent only the class interest of the strongest section of the people. In a country full of depressed, suppressed and uneducated people like ours, this form of party-governed democracy might prove to be a tripartite factor for the all-round well-being and development of the masses.

Incidentally the episode also reveals that the present Government has ceased to represent even the principles of the Congress, in whose name it functions. It displays elements of ruling by exploiting the herd-worshipping quality of a nation of easy believers and superstitious worshippers. They rate highly the homage which they receive from the people wherever they go. It is taken as a due recognition of their merits and services. In India such homage is not an index of intrinsic value. They will pay the same homage to a great leader like Jyotibharaj Nehru, and to a supposed miracle-worker like the shepherd boy of Agra. A people suffering from poverty, disease, worries, troubles etc., unaccompanied with the knowledge, means and energy to fight them by their own efforts, will, in order to obtain even temporary and psychological relief, expectantly look to every one without discrimination.

The episode also shows how representatives become unaccountable to do their duty to the people, their true principal, when they become mere wheels of a party machine. Nothing can be made a matter of personal conscience or principle, except at the risk of being punished for it. It reminds one of the opinion which Gandhiji expressed about this type of Parliamentary Government, in ch. V of *Myrd Sarang* (reproduced in these columns below).

Shri Nehru would have India not join any bloc in the U.N.O. but maintain an independent attitude. This is a right attitude. But the same must prevail at home also. Our democracy also should be steadily hatched. The party system must not be so stiff as to operate as a gag on the conscience of its members. Representatives who are unable to be loyal to their own convictions cannot be loyal to the people, they claim to represent.

The people and the workers must not get distracted by this delay in stopping this evil. They must understand that these are the conditions in which they have to work out their destiny. An outburst, determined and self-acting action has to be constructed in the midst of this situation. The people have to be reassured that they do not wait till Governments condoned to hear their petitions. They should be a people who begin to act and Parliaments and Governments are obliged to ensure their decisions actually their acts already executed. And this has to be done in a deliberate, but truthful and non-violent manner. In fact that is the only way people will establish their own strength. But it is a long journey, and no quick results may be expected.

Wardha, 14-12-56

E. G. MANDIWALA

GANDHI ON PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM

Referring to the Parliamentary system of Government, as appearing in England Gandhiji has said as follows in *Myrd Sarang* ch. V.3

Let us examine it a little more closely. The best men are supposed to be elected by the people. The members serve without pay and therefore, it must be assumed, only for the public good. The electors are considered to be educated and therefore we should assume that they would not generally make mistakes in their choice. Such a Parliament should not need the spur of petitions or any other pressure. Its work should be so smooth that its effect would be more apparent day by day. But, as a matter of fact, it is generally acknowledged that the members are hypocritical and selfish. Each thinks of his own little interest. It is just that in the guiding matter. What is done today may be undone tomorrow. It is not possible to recall a single instance in which finally can be predicted for its work. When the greatest questions are debated, its members have been seen to stretch themselves and to close. Sometimes the members talk away until the listeners are disgusted.

Carlyle has called it the "talking shop of the world." Members vote for their party without a thought. Their so-called discipline blinds them to it. If any member, by way of exception, gives an independent vote, he is considered a renegade. If the money and the time wasted by Parliament were entrusted to a few good men, the English nation would be occupying today a much higher platform. Parliament is simply a costly toy of the nation. These views are by no means peculiar to me. Some great English thinkers have expressed them. One of the members of that Parliament recently said that a true Christian could not become a member of it. Another said that it was a help. And if it has remained a help after an existence of seven hundred years, when will it outgrow its helplessness?

ILLEGAL DRINKING

No doubt considerable illicit drinking is going on all over the area where prohibition has been introduced. There is reason to believe that a good deal of it goes on with, if not the active cooperation, at least the connivance of officers, both important and petty. This is put forth as an evidence of failure of prohibition and a ground for the reversal of the policy.

This is as much a mistake as to say that since so many child marriages take place in spite of the Sarda Act, that Act should be repealed so that illicit adultery and rape will always take place in human society. There should not be so-called punishable crimes, but just terrible penalties, yielding a good revenue to the Government.

There are social evils, and ultimately demand moral and moral regeneration. All laws against them, in whatever form promulgated, are in the nature of enabling legislation and not absolutely effective by themselves. They should be regarded as not making social work superfluous and dispensable, but as giving an impetus to that effort by the backing of the Government. However much illicit drinking might be going on it must be as extensive and heavy as when drink is provided under Government management with an eye to revenue and trade. A large part of the rising generation would be saved from falling victims to the habit, as also a considerable section of women drinkers.

Injurious social practices and habits must not be made sources of acquiring revenue. It is taxed misery. High taxation, instead of preventing their spreading, gives them greater respect and prestige and make them more coveted by people who like to imitate their superiors. Those who can afford them are regarded as privileged and high-class people. "Practices, which it is desirable to stop totally, must be prohibited absolutely, and not allowed on payment of a tax. It is serious taxation and not non-taxation, which makes Governments hesitate to prohibit them, when fought in the name of a religion."

Wardon, 25-15/30

K. O. RAMANATHA

"KEY TO HEALTH" by RAMANATHA

Shri P. Laxminarayana Rao writes:

"Referring to the title 'Key to Health' (Marathi 1933) by Shri Ganesh D. Khatri I would say that it was a judicious publication and I doubt if Ganeshji would have permitted it to be published had he been alive today. As the publisher himself says Ganeshji had completed this book on 19th December 1931, but the subject was so important that he at last indicated its release then."

"My belief is that by the year 1931 there was a radical change in his conception of Human Life. The medical matter would not have failed to notice that in this book Ganeshji like other Siddhanta-Maharashtris had abandoned God from his scientific system. But later on he said, 'My conception of Nature gave rise to all others, has undergone a progressive evolution.' Perhaps, I am right in saying that the picture of Ramanatha was brought before me in Unpublished. It was there that I asserted that the correct remedy for all our life was Ramanatha' (Marathi 1934-35). My point is that those who make a fetish of this one book Key to Health as is done by Shri K. P. Khatri, cannot but misrepresent the basic principles of Ganeshji's teaching on health. I am afraid that unconsciously the Marathi Press has done a positive disservice for publishing Key to Health without a necessary supplement from Ganeshji's own books kept."

"Ganeshji himself observed that an attempt of reading his writings would give people power to live his principles. People must first have a burning desire to this way of life and want they must produce conditions and environments where it is possible to practice his mode of life."

"Look at his words:

"There is no royal road (to this others) except through living the most in good and life, which must be a living moment. Expansion to one's own life progresses great study woman does perseverance and thorough cleansing of all impurities. But, why worry when I find several Siddhanta? For, this is the only permanent thing in life, the only thing that counts, and, whatever others you know upon it, it will stand." (Siddhanta March 14, 1933) 'The Progression of Truth can be done less by books than by actually living those principles. Life truly lived is more than books' (Marathi, May 12, 1933).

"Lastly Ganeshji believed that Ramanatha was the sovereign remedy for all life, and, therefore, superseded all other remedies."

As a matter of fact, Ganeshji himself had handed over the manuscript of Key to Health a few days before his death for publication. The views in this book are not inconsistent with those enshrined in Ramanatha, but they would be inadequate without the latter. The tiding of Ramanatha does not denigrate a person from a strict observance of the rules indicated in Key to Health. Ramanatha does not commit in merely frequent utterance of the name of God. It is being and living in Truth, and in accordance with Truth. And if the mode of living transgresses the rules of Nature, it is not being and living in Truth. It is not, hence, Ramanatha also, even if the name is constantly uttered.

It must also be remembered that Truth, too, grows from stage to stage. Man advances from animism to religion on the Ego, and thence to

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absolute surrender to God. Most of us are scientists, no matter how strongly we might deny it. We rely on money, power, medicines, favourable planets and gods and a thousand other supports.

A few increasingly incline towards self-reliance. Those who rely on God alone might be counted on one's fingers.

Let there be Faith, but in their own interest let not the so-called Faithful think low of those who seem to lack it. A low estimate of others is inconsistent with Faith, on account of its adoration with the gride of the self.

Wardha, 15-12-50 E. C. BHAKTINWALA

THE TRAGEDY OF THE MEOS

Shri Rajaram, who is working on my behalf for the last more than two years among the ill-treated Meos of Alwar and Bharatpur, writes:

"The Meos, Pindals' Last Commission which was appointed by the Hindu Rajputan Government to examine the problem of rehabilitation on the various lands of the Alwar and Bharatpur districts has submitted its report. It is probably now before the Government of India. It appears from the questions raised by the Commission that the Government want to determine how the rehabilitation work, now in hand and to be done hereafter, can be put on a satisfactory basis.

"In my opinion there is enough land in this region. Nevertheless it has to be proved that the land appears to be less than the demand for it. The reasons for this are:

(a) land was distributed equally to all displaced persons irrespective of their castings; for instance, even to people engaged in commerce and services; and

(b) the removal of the original Meos owners still pending in India was incomplete.

"The result was that:—

"(i) The holdings allotted to landless displaced persons were insufficient for their sustenance. This has led some people to register fictitious names as family members and get larger holdings. Moreover, while in Pakistan they worked good and irrigated lands, the land received in India is less fertile and more difficult to develop. It is necessary that they get large land adequately sufficient to yield the land left by them in Pakistan.

"(ii) A large number of non-agricultural displaced persons have disappeared from the area leaving their lands after pocketing the rental money in quest of other suitable employments. Those who are still there being ignorant of the art of agriculture, pass their days in idleness having consumed the rental money long ago. On the one side there are strong displaced persons or Meos people who do not produce any food and, on the other, considerable cultivable land remains fallow for want of proper cultivation.

"(iii) Land should also be given to displaced Hindu and Muslim landless agriculturists. They leave agriculture and would like to be in it. But I am afraid that they may not find place in the various land areas under the present rules. Perhaps a large number of such people may get absorbed in agriculture (perhaps legal aid) but the land law should be amended suitably to provide land to such as include agriculturists.

"(iv) During the communal disturbances Meos and other Muslims of Alwar and Bharatpur had taken refuge in U. P., Punjab, Rajasthan, etc. In

July 1947, a census was taken of only such of them as were found in the districts of Ganganagar and Bharatpur. Even that census was not accurate. But even in such Meos and other Muslims who were included in the census or furnished proofs of their own, their previous lands have not been recovered. There are several difficulties in accepting land belonging to others of like status as elsewhere; for instance, they lose their wells and houses. They want to get back their own old lands and this is a natural desire. They are sons of the soil and wish to concentrate near their own homes in the hope that their ancestral seed will some day come back to them. The Government will do well to respect their longing. In Ganganagar, these problems have been to a large extent, settled by a satisfactory decision by the Punjab Government. The same can be done in the neighbouring districts of Alwar and Bharatpur. May be the Government of Madhya Pradesh has also directed the active attention to the subject and it is hoped that the Government of India will advise them to take early steps to do what is right and needed. (Alwar 15-12-50)"

I endorse all the above grievances and suggestions so courteously made by Shri Rajaram. I have myself visited the villages of Meos three or four times, and have seen with my own eyes the conditions prevailing there. Although I have not been travelling for the last twelve months, I am in constant correspondence with Shri Rajaram. He also comes to see me frequently at Pinner and was with me for a week in November last. The above letter was sent by him from Alwar after the last visit.

Indeed, if the rehabilitation work had been conducted properly and with a definite plan, it should have been over long ago. The problem was not a difficult one. The straight course was to rehabilitate everybody on his own land and in his own home. This would have solved the problem justly as well as immediately. But to allow Meos to live among Hindus was regarded then as dangerous. Our leaders in office having lost living contact with the general public accepted as authoritative the advice given by intermediary authorities and decided at the outset to make arrangements in keeping with this fear. I had tried to express upon them that the disturbances had taken place on both sides from momentary provocation, and that the problem was capable of easy solution by returning to the Meos their own lands. They were after all peasants and knew nothing but agriculture and knew it well. This would have been the most fitting way to settle the Meos, if they were to be allowed to live in India. But hearing a few men like Jawaharlal, others in the Government were not inclined to accept this view. Attempts were, therefore, made in the beginning to rehabilitate a large number of Meos in a concentrated area. But neither the Meos would accept this plan nor were the conditions favourable for it. The result was that some people were rehabilitated in their homes, some at places away from their homes and some were left homeless. Even those who were rehabilitated in their own homes got only a part of their

previous holdings. The remaining went into the possession of others. Thus it was all a confusion. It is heartening to note that the Punjab Government have recognized the justice of re-habilitating the Meos of their area (i.e. in Gurgaon district) in their old houses and lands. But a majority of the Meos belong to the State of Rajasthan. There the State Ministry, the Rehabilitation Ministry and the Rajasthan Government, and the three-fold officers of these three authorities have somehow put 20,000 Meos somewhere or other, and the remaining, nearly 30,000, are still awaiting arrangements. It is something like the famous "brother-brothers' business" of the time of the Partition in Munich history. Finally, the Government have appointed an Investigation Commission referred to above in Shri Satnam's letter.

What is strange is that the land of the Meos was even allotted to those displaced persons from West Punjab who had never cultivated land and had no land of their own before. In consequence not only the Meos were deprived of their land but the land itself could not be properly cultivated. Besides some portions of Meos' land were given to local Hindus having no land of their own. Now the problem is how to provide land for the displaced Meos. The suggestions made by Shri Satnam in his letter are quite sound. If the gift of land had to be made to the local Hindus, whose number is large in India, it should not have been done at the expense of the Meos. The privilege of being donors should have been given, as in Kashmir to the Hindu landlords. Again, it is manifest that injustice has been done not only to the Meos by granting their lands to those who did not own any land in West Punjab but also to those land-owning refugees of West Punjab who could not be given sufficient land here. And above all, the land itself has been unjustly granted for it could not be well cultivated. Hence Shri Satnam's second suggestion that the land which has been unnecessarily given to displaced persons must be returned to the Meos is very proper. In East Punjab the holdings of Meos, temporarily given to Hindu refugees, have been returned to the Meos.

David has taught us that the shortest distance between two points is the straight line joining them. This maxim has a wider application as has been amply proved in the case of the Meos. Had the straight path of justice been followed, there would have been the least amount of trouble. I am clearly of opinion that even now, instead of making a thousand by-paths, if the just course of re-settling, as far as possible, everybody in his original home and land is adopted it will be most helpful in arriving at the right solution of the whole problem.

VINODA

(Continued from Sarvagya, December 1960)

CAUSE OF THE CHAOS

Often the means, irrespective of its laudable merit or comparative effect, is tried to be justified on the ground of its leading to the attainment of a high aim or a great object. A means which is worse than the end, is readily comprehended and straightaway condemned. But it does not appear to have been as easily grasped that the means has got to be, not only not worse than the end, but it is not enough even if it be as good as the end. Because in that case, too, there will be no net gain, and therefore, the effort becomes wasteful, which in the other case would have been harmful. Hence the urgency of the means being definitely or substantially better than the end—is pure or correct, humane or humanitarian—for the achievement of an end however good high.

Even granting, therefore, that the object of Communism is laudable, since its method of achieving the object is violent, it is a means or cause to society, rather than a blessing. And as such, it deserves to be resisted.

The reformer to Communism is made only as a current example. The principle enunciated applies to all kinds of laws, schemes or systems, supposed to have been designed for the amelioration of the human race, but sought to be enforced without much consideration about the means.

China's invasion of Tibet is stated to be a "domestic" affair of China. It is common knowledge that a petty quarrel between husband and wife or father and son, is ignored by the public and the local judiciary on the ground of its being a domestic affair. However, when one of the parties gets killed in such a "domestic" affair, it is difficult to understand why the murder also is not ignored on the same ground of domesticity. Since the murder is nothing but a logical consequence of an inhuman quarrel the stupidity of ignoring the original quarrel—which was the root of the subsequent trouble—on the ground of domesticity, is crystal clear.

The fact is that, any wrong, crime or quarrel—individual or collective, national or international—whether it be a simple murder or a serious brawl, a domestic aggression or a national massacre, is clearly bad and wrong, unjust and unjustifiable. Rightly lapsable to society at large, as it is to the parties involved, and as such it calls for interference and remedy.

If one can effectively interfere in any such stupid quarrel or heinous crime and settle or set it right, one would be perfectly justified in doing so—whether the quarrel or crime be domestic or public, individual or international. A person or a State may be unable to interfere—whether on account of the traditional notions of jurisdiction or for want of sufficient strength or moral courage—and, so, might keep aloof, but

In that case, to attribute—and justify—such paradoxical non-interference, in a clear case of crime or a dangerous quarrel, to high philosophy, insuperable inability, or prudent policy, is a clear case of self-deception—or if it be not a crude attempt at imposture.

Small wonder, therefore, if the curdled kind of dualism—and consequential half-baked solutions—of devastating moral problems, carried along the narrow lines of ignoring the root and clipping the leaf, or ignoring the spark and struggling to put out the flame—in other words, along the lines of old traditions, misinterpreted notions of philosophy, or self-interest called politics, only aggravate the problems and lead to an eternal disipation of the Hindu controversy—perpetuated by hostile wars and brotherly hatreds.

—T. K. SURESHCHANDRAN

TRANSPPOSED 'A'

The story of the establishment of the English rule in India is now well known. The adventures that came here for petty trade profits practised fraud, forgery, political chicanery, created splits, aided one party as against its rival, used violence to destroy their enemies and lured the Indians into giving life and sustenance to the people in general. Whatever the name of the policy and process employed by them, it was essentially based on *despise and devour*.

In the war desperation of God, Mahatmaji was sent to fight the terrible evil of foreign subjugation and rescue the country from its after-effects. In nature, there are *despicable* (aimed at) *oppressed* the best and cold, fire and water, pleasure and pain etc. and one develops its opposite. So Gandhi had to involve the aid of *despise and devour* to uproot the British rule.

A scientific study of the Indian Independence movement will disclose that Mahatmaji made only a slight change in the weapons used by the British. He removed the *A* from *despise* and propped it in *devour*, and the result was *despise and devour*. The alteration was slight, but the effect was tremendous.

After his deplorable departure, the propaganda has swung back to the left side. People seem to be tired of the new experiment and have re-transposed the *A* to its original position. With the *A* thus reverted to its old place, *despise and devour* have become *oppress* working as though with a vengeance. Wherever we turn, these twin companions, legacy of the past slavery, stare us in the face. This is also a small change, but the result is drastically retrogressive.

There is an amusing story in Telugu. A man was asked to write a letter in which the words *Mahabharata* (Great Epic) and *Adiparva* (the First Cantab) had to be mentioned. But due to his ignorance he wrote *Mahabharata* in great *harshness* and *Adiparva* (First Mountain). When the mistake was pointed out to him, he was not repentant, but justified it saying that it was there, in one place or the other. His letter did not

produce any bad consequences. It only cried for at his expense.

The change made by Mahatmaji was divine but that made by us is satanic. The people are seriously affected by it and the leaders are recking their houses to find some way out of the messes created by the new situation. Let us resolve to return the *A* to the proper place, and pray to God that our minds and instruments may be purified.

(Camp Madras,

22-11-50)

HYAMAM

APPROACH TO THE ABORIGINAL

In the first of the following sections is the plot of a novel or short story—perhaps having important lessons on the subject of work among the aboriginals. Having regard to their importance it was considered advisable to send it to a few of the organizers of the all-India All-India Service League for checking their views. In the second section certain well known observations, it gives the reply of that F. Raghaviah of Madras—K. C. M.]

1

Workers in the aboriginal tribes should try to collect as much information and data regarding them as possible, but they should never profess to 'civilize' these people. An important question arises: Should they be called 'depressed' and 'backward'?

They live at present on leaves and roots of trees and lead a healthier and simpler life. If workers in these tribes infect them with the so-called 'civilized' and modern habits, they will be disastrous to them. With a simpler life they are more sturdy and healthy than the so-called 'civilized' city dwellers subjected to daily *despise and devour*.

They now live under the trees in jungles. Should they be asked to settle in overcrowded cities where people stay in congested, dirty and unhygienic shacks? They are happier where they are at present. It is more prudent that energy and resources are directed towards re-settlement of refugees.

Open air sunbath and hard work have made them strong and well built. But the so-called civilization will make them hospital-minded. They will also require silk shirts and costly sweaters as we do. They are today habituated to hard work but our education will create in them a dislike for physical labour and turn them into clerks. At present they neither exploit others nor are exploited by others. But education will make them exploit others and be exploited by others.

I have seen the budgets of several institutions serving the aboriginal tribes. I have seen that major portions are spent on medicines, salaries and compensation. Teachers are there today to serve them. Tomorrow doctors will reach there as their wages with injections and vaccines. Ultimately the result will be that the aboriginals will lose their health and foreign chemicals will gain by the sale of their medicines and apparatus.

There is an Hindu-Muslim problem with them. But education will spread communalism and disrupt them.

I do not mean to say that reforms are not

unhappy. But I am afraid that on account of need for civilization, we might make their life still worse than what it is now.

MALAYINDEBARAN KUTUBAR

(Based on the original in 1880.)

THE SECRET OF HAPPINESS

[The following is taken from an article by Harban Spring in *Western Magazine* reproduced in the *Flagstaff Signal* of May, 1900. —V D D.]

Is not your intelligence is primarily produced by happiness, and if we are a less intelligent people it is because we are a less happy people.

This necessarily leads to an inquiry into the causes of happiness. The chief cause, I think, is the performance of creative work. When we speak of creative work we need to think of the writing of books, the painting of pictures, the composition of music, the building of machinery and so forth.

The point about all these things is that our mind associates them and does them. You look at the finished thing, and there is a supreme satisfaction, a deep happiness in the thought, and "Aha!" even if you have to say "A year doing that mine was."

The fact is that out of yourself something has come that would not have been there without you. To that extent you are a creator.

Though this feeling is primarily experienced by the artist, it is participated in by everybody who does a job through from beginning to end. The farmer and his harvest—the business, the physician, the shepherd, the hunter—all have a part to consider. So has every sort of craftsman, the wheelwright and the mason, the carpenter and the builder.

Even a giddy riding beneath a heliograph sending page is bound to the happiness of creation—and therefore in my view to happiness and intelligence—then the man who makes or repairs some mechanical bit of a mechanical machine whose nature and purpose he was more competent than he comprehends the description as an American scientist.

Watching a great cathedral rising to the sky, the man in creation which our "materialists" regard with pity as lacking a sense of social justice, understood what it was all about. It was fundamentally as simple as a B C—a manner of giving men as much of doing good to mind and feeling the joy of light stream in through glass openings. There was nothing mysterious in any of this, nothing that a man could not comprehend and feel happy about.

In the last statement made to the world about atomic bomb facilities, Dr. Truman used these eloquent words: "For what what they have been producing. They are great quantities of material going in, and they are nothing coming out."

These words. Draw a kind of light on mechanical man's frustration because he has no part in creating things and therefore on his increasing lack of intelligence.

You can go through all the educational apparatus that the state provides, but if you end up as nothing but a "divorced" man, then you have no happiness, and your intelligence suffers as certainly as a leaf without that does not find the sun.

We are faced by a dilemma. "Social justice" demands that education should be available to all, and few of us would quarrel that claim. It demands that all sorts of things should be done for all sorts of people, and yet we find ourselves hesitating for a people rather less gay and that than those who know none of these things.

I do not see on the one hand how we can go back, as the state I do not see how we can carry the conviction that the application of "social justice", as we now receive it has not necessarily any connecting link with human happiness and therefore with the circumstances in which human personality blooms into intelligence.

What shall we do then? Let us see how we have found the way by which men can play a creative part in life.

SELECTED LETTERS

Second Series

(By M. E. GARDNER)

XVIII

[Message sent to Earl Duncan Greenleaf, Head Master of the Theosophical High School, Washington, at the invitation of the Editors. Published in the *Signal* about March 3, 1900.]

Education is of no value which does not develop the character of boys and girls, and which does not enable us to turn a passion for service, for without that passion all talk of freedom is meaningless.

XIX

[The following two extracts are taken from letters addressed to Earl Duncan Greenleaf, and form part of a long record of language correspondence and interviews between him and Gardner which is at present unpublished. He reserves full copyright in them while permitting me to make use of them here. —V D D.]

For skin you should use sulphur ointment. Mix flowers of sulphur with vasoline, or put the ointment ready made. Wash well with boiling water, dry well and rub the ointment (February 15, 1900).

XX

If you are not in the habit of sleeping under the sky, you should cultivate the habit now, taking care that you are well covered from foot to neck. You may cover the head too if you feel cold on it. The object is to drink in the freshest air. This you do if you have the neck quite unprotected (February 22, 1900).

XXI

You should sleep right under the sky. The roof is an obstruction. The morning dew will not hurt you if your body is well covered.

Newcomers find the routine of the Sahar-mati Ashram a stiff business, but we are trying to live the life of the ballads of the earth. They are better all the day long. They have to do their thinking whilst their bodies are working. When the routine becomes natural, it becomes pleasant and does not interfere with hard thinking. All thinking is not useful. Clear thinking is the word. That can only come through continuous sacrifice, i.e. doing for the service of others (March 1, 1900).

XXII

Green vegetables, bread or chapati, milk and a little fruit is perfect food. When one gets milk powder is a harmful superfluity. One gets all the protein needed on milk (March 21, 1900).

XXIII

It [the diet] can do you no harm, whatever if it is properly taken. As much water as you can drink, hot or cold, should be taken. You know the best and cheapest method of keeping water cold. Wrap the vessel in which it is kept with wet cloth. You have to take a full warm daily, and if there is a feeling of nausea you will take a few drops of lemon with water and even honey if you have a sweet tooth (April 5, 1900).

HARIJAN

Jan. 8

1934

TAXATION AND HIGH PRICES

The main plea that is usually put forth for the policy of controls is that they help to check the price level and curb inflationary tendencies. The Government attempts to do so by fixing the selling prices and in some cases undertaking distribution. They have been in existence for more than five years now. It is high time Government should study the results of the system to ascertain how far they have been able to check the price level.

The facts reveal the opposite of what is pleaded as a ground for controls. At best it may be assumed that they make a small part of the total stock of the controlled commodity available at a price lower than that of the remaining and greater part which goes underground. This is almost an invariable experience and needs no discussion. The black market comes in the wake of controls. While changing the price level this black market cannot be ignored. The black-market prices are always higher than what they were before the control. For example, gum used to sell at Rs 1 or 1-2-0 per ear formerly, but after the control it is not to be seen in the open market, no black-market price possible, I hear, between Rs 2 and 2-8 (in Warids). Thus the control raises the price level, as far as the needy consumer is concerned. Besides, it deprives the Government of its Income-tax, Sales-tax etc.

What are the causes that lead to the rise in prices? Are they entirely due to the production going very low and/or the demand going very high? Does the seller raise the prices out of a wicked desire to exploit the situation to make as great a profit as possible? Not that these causes do not exist. It should also be remembered that these causes are created at not at the lower end of the trades, i.e. retail dealers, but at the highest level, i.e. the kings and princes of trade and speculative markets. In other cases, in the absence of an actual war creating exorbitant demands by belligerent nations, there would be a much lower level at which increases of prices would stop. In absence of these causes alone. After the end of the war, they should come down again considerably, unless there were other causes to keep them permanently high and make them always go on rising. Such causes are found to exist in the schemes of taxation and currency prevailing in our country.

Speaking of the first, in the course of a letter discussing these matters, Shri M. N. Narasimha, a prominent merchant of Bombay, writes (I give a free translation):

"I shall give you an instance showing the con-

tinuity of Government for high prices. Take paper (continued). It comes from Ceylon. The Ceylon Government charges on it a duty of Rs 200 per ton. To this are added India Government's duty of Rs 200, and Bombay's Sales tax of Rs 50 per ton. The duties alone thus amount to Rs 400 per ton. Before the war paper was priced at between Rs 150 and 200 per ton in Bombay. The present high price is Rs 12 which is three times as much as the previous one is due to exchange rates and taxes. Is it then the Government or the Indian who are responsible for its high price? The present price of cotton in Bombay was Rs 50 to 60 per thousand. This was after payment of all freight taxes etc. After the freight taxes amount to Rs 50 to 60 per thousand, the more than 50 times the former selling price paid in this India tax etc., and you know at once why the prices cannot come down.

The Ceylon Government imposed control on paper, but when it was brought in its notice that it was a mistake it immediately lifted the control and saved the people from the tax of duties of paper. I believe that Shri Amji the then representative of India in Ceylon, would be able to testify in my statement.

Similar stories can be related about various other articles. Let me give a few comparative tables.

	Pre-war price	Present price	Rate
Pepper	Rs. 10	5,500 per mt	55 times
Ginger	" 10	200 " mt.	20 "
Mustard	" 10	100 " mt.	10.0 "
Onions	" 40	200 " hundred	5 "

A very large part of this rise is due to heavy increases in freight and duties payable on imported from one province into another.

The above figures show that the rising tide of prices cannot be stopped by merely prohibiting selling prices any more than could King Canosa bid the tide of the sea to recede. The whole system of customs duties, freight, sales-tax, etc. must be examined to curb the evil.

In addition to this, the system of currency also plays a prominent part in raising the prices. I shall discuss it next week.

Warids, 12-12-33

M. C. BHAKTAVATSALA

CLASHES IN BOMBAY

[Special Wireless India completed London Press to follow Bharat's of Germany. It will be interesting to take occasion to read from Mahatma (Gandhi's) reply. The following conversation between Gandhi and Mahatma that about Gandhi's attitude of Bharat and India only also of President Kruger of South Africa. The conversation took place on the night of 24-25-33, and has been recorded under date 24-25-33.]

The talk turned on President Kruger and Caste. (Gandhi) referred to the lock, which he had received, as he tried to pass by Kruger's house. This led to a talk on Kruger. He held Kruger in very great esteem. I compared Bharat's features with Kruger's. He said at once, "How can Bharat compare with him?" Bharat was an image of unity and unity. He wanted to establish a World Empire. For Kruger wanted only to preserve his own, and struggled against for that. None can stand with him in his firmness of will and courage. You can see his firmness in his photos. But along with it, you will also see that there is gentleness along with firmness." This was followed by a comparison between Kruger and

Gladstone "You do not see that man will in Gladstone. And how simple Kreyger was! He lived in a wretched house, on a dusty street, but should it be, wretched?—and) road similar to the one we are walking upon. It had a story with a dilapidated parapet, an handsome house than the Orphanage (of Malindi) where we are lodged. Kreyger bore his whole life with great courage. Bismarck was a terror, while the smallest man took to go and talk to Kreyger. The only thing which I could not understand about him was his last act of his, namely, his visit to England to seek her aid."

(Continued from the *Capitalist*
Internationalist *Journal*, vol. IV.)

M. D.

A GREAT CAPTAIN OF OUR FORCES

[Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru's tribute to Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel when he announced the death of the Sardar in the Parliament on 19th Jan. on the 15th Dec., 1930.]

Mr Deputy Speaker, I have to convey to you, Sir, and to the House mournful news. A little over an hour ago, at 9-30 this morning, the Deputy Prime Minister, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, passed away in Bombay City. Three days ago many of us saw him at the Willington Hotel and we hoped that his stay in Bombay would enable him to get back his health which had been so grievously shattered by hard work and continuous worry. For a day or two he seemed to improve, but at last early this morning he had a relapse and the story of his great life ended.

It is a great story as all of us know, as the whole country knows, and history will record it in many pages and tell him the builder and consolidator of the New India and will say many things about him. But perhaps to many of us here he will be remembered as a great captain of our forces in the struggle for freedom and as one who gave us moral advice in times of confusion as well as in moments of victory, as a friend and colleague on whom one could invariably rely, as a tower of strength which revived wavering hearts when we were in trouble. We shall remember him as a friend and a colleague and a comrade above all, and I who have sat here on this bench side by side with him for these several years will feel rather forlorn and a certain emptiness will steal upon me when I look at this empty bench.

I can say little more on this occasion. My colleague Mr Rajagopalachari and I are going almost immediately, to pay our last tribute and homage to him in Bombay. I understand that the President has also decided to go to Bombay immediately, and the Speaker, Sir, went early this morning. I have no doubt that many of my colleagues and Hon. Members of this House would have liked to go to Bombay on this occasion to pay their last tribute, but I feel that he, magnificent worker that he was, would not have liked us to leave our work and just go in large

numbers to Bombay at this moment. So I have asked my colleagues to stay here, except for Mr Rajagopalachari who was perhaps amongst all of us here the oldest of Sardar Patel's colleagues and comrades. And it is right that he should go, and it is right that that other old colleague of his, the President, should also go. For the real life is up to us to carry on the work here and elsewhere, for the work of the country never stops, never should stop. And so, in spite of this grievous sorrow that has come over us we have to steel ourselves to carry on the work in which the great man, the great friend and colleague who has passed away, played such a magnificent part.

MR. VALLABHBHAI NOT DEAD

[Shri C. Rajagopalachari, in a formal session, just after the grave was laid out.]

It is my 'melancholic privilege' to say a few words on this occasion as Sardar Patel's oldest living friend.

Thirty-two years ago, when Gandhiji was with me at Madras, one morning, he asked me, "Have you seen Vallabhbhai Patel?" Do you know that I have found in him a most trustworthy man, staunch and brave? You should see him." I did see him some time after; and since then I have been seeing him almost without a break.

What was Vallabhbhai Patel who departed from us early this morning? We have only his body before us and it is soon to disappear into air, into water and into earth. That is where we all have come from and that is where we all must go back.

But what inspiration, courage, confidence, and force personality Vallabhbhai was! Let us not think that Sardar is dead. Let us imagine that the real Vallabhbhai has survived even after the Vallabhbhai we knew breathed his last this morning.

We have assembled here now to give vent to our grief and take courage and confidence from his robes. We will not see the like of him again. But let us not think he lived in vain. He has left huge fruits of work—honest, brave, persistent work which we can enjoy and share in, provided we have the character.

Let us be brave. Let us not shed tears. Let us not give way to fear and depression. I am an old man and I am given this privilege of addressing you first on this occasion because I am his oldest friend left behind.

I have seen many pass away, and this one is the most illustrious of them all. May his spirit bless us and our friends assembled here.

My brother (Jawaharlal Nehru) who is standing beside me will now guide the country all alone. It is difficult for me to say anything more in our grief. May God help us.

"LIVES FOR ALL TIME"

(Radio Rajendraprasad's speech at the Sardar's funeral.)

President Rajendraprasad in a voice quivering with emotion said: "Sardar's body is being consumed by fire, but no fire on earth can consume his fame."

Supporting himself on the shoulders of the sobbing Prince Mansim, Babu Rajendraprasad continued, "The earthly body of Sardar Patel has gone. But in the form of the services he has rendered to his country, he would live for all time. Those left behind would have to continue the work left by him undaunted."

"Today we, his associates, are weeping," the President said, "but it is not for Sardar's sake that we are weeping, we are weeping for ourselves. Let us not forget that Sardar Patel has left a large family—the entire nation is his family. Let us pledge ourselves today to avenge the cause of the nation as he has done. May his soul rest in peace."

RECONSECRATION

Fellow workers of the Truth—

I had never that privilege of knowing the Sardar. As many of you, I admired him from afar. Would that all of us had the discipline and the devotion to service that was his! His going has left a tremendous burden, fortunately to be shared by many of us. May we accept that burden with joy and renewed consecration.

The going of the Sardar has touched many of us very deeply, I am sure. It makes me want to cry out: "Let us get rid of our petty bickerings! Let us join hands, as never before, in the wonderful and challenging task of building the firm nature that would make Truth and Love its method and goal. Where we differ let us exhibit that difference in an incarnation of the Truth that may be possibly more. Let us bless those who have their own genius and understanding of the Truth that they may make their unique contribution. Let us stop this miserable quarrelling over the graves of the great." Rather let us see the strength agent in nation quarrelling in living the Truth as we see it. Someone has said recently, 'More than anything else, India needs to learn teamwork.' Whatever that may be, one of the great privileges and arts of great living is that of striking with the sincere powers of life on to greater heights of creative living. May we so consecrate ourselves in these moments of sorrow, when a great leader has left us—in these moments of thanksgiving for such a great life, in these days when we strive for the greater freedom of life."

RALPH SHEPARD KOTHELMAN

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SPINNING AS A HEALING INSTRUMENT

Shri A. N. Rajan was an inpatient of the Keshik (Mental) Hospital of Madhura in the year 1948. He was a regular spinner and did not give up his spinning even during his illness and convalescence period. From the benefit brought to him, it struck him that it can be helpful to other patients also. He, therefore, tried to introduce it amongst other patients at the hospital. The total number of those, who took to spinning, has been about 500 and the period of their stay in the hospital was from about a week to three months. A regular spinning club has been organised there, costing about Rs 500 a year. The hospital authorities have kindly allowed him to carry on his activities of the club.

The effect of spinning on the patients was closely watched and his soothing influence was clearly felt. Major Hopper, the District Medical Officer and Superintendent of the Hospital, remarked that it has been a great boon to the patients and has, by the mental and physical exercise involved, shortened their stay in the Hospital and speeded up their cure. Shri K. Purna Meena, M.B., F.R.C.S., another District Medical Officer and Superintendent of the Hospital, remarks: "To many patients who can, spinning is a very pleasant recreation, and can be and is availed of both by the illiterate and the literate. In fact it is popular among the illiterate and the young. The newspapers and books given as recreation are useful only to a handful of literates. In my experience there is nothing like the shikha club and spinning which all patients who can both illiterate and literate, take to, with equal enthusiasm." A retired civil surgeon remarked: "Spinning has helped in curing lunacy. Those who were in a quiescent stage took to spinning on the shikha straightaway. Their mental condition improved appreciably and proportionately with the gradual improvement in the quality of their handwork." The Honourable Minister Dr T. S. S. Rajan says: "It is indeed a revelation in therapeutics that spinning could be used as a curative agent in ailments that defy ordinary treatment. It has made hospitalisation bearable and pleasant."

The following are the figures of progress in spinning amongst the patients of the Keshik Hospital.

Year	No. of patients who took to spinning	No. of bands produced
1948-49	328	1,814
1949-50	373	2,388
1950-51	423	2,659
1951-52	535	3,495

The above experiment should make hospital authorities consider, if it would not be greatly beneficial and in the interest of the patients to introduce spinning in their respective hospitals.

RAJAN

"I AM ONLY A FARMER"

After a prison among men, the maker of post-war political India has departed from his terrestrial existence. This son of an humble farmer of Coimbatore was destined to play the role in Independent India, not only of a prince, but even of a king, but of the supreme arbiter of the desires of hundreds of 'Their Highnesses', in India. Thus beloved 'Bardar' of the people has been compared by many, with Prince Bismarck of Germany. There was of course a similarity between these two remarkable men, but there was a difference as well. Prince Bismarck brought about the merger of the German States, under the hegemony of Prussia, thus modifying the Empire of Germany under the suzerainty of William I. Kaiser of Germany. His ways smacked of both trickery and crookedness.

Bardar Patel, on the other hand, used the clean and democratic methods of argument and persuasion and only wielded the big bludgeon when the gentler methods failed, as in the case of Jangadh and Hyderabad. Jangadh was an eye-sore to the rest of the princely community, who thought that 'discretion was the better part of valour'. And a very important feature of even his coercion was that as much as they yielded to him, they found that he was really their true friend, philosopher and guide. That was the greatest contribution of the Bardar to the history of post-independence India, though he helped solve other equally knotty problems. But the making of the greatest Sovereign State of the Indian people—I mean the Indian Republic—extending from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal and from the Himalayas to Kavaratti Island was the glorious achievement of this prince of Indian farmers. He took pride in his lineage, saying "I am only a farmer" (मैं तो किसान हूँ) and the only 'culture' that he knew was agriculture. By the by, it shows the streak of humour underlying his rugged countenance, which gave him the soubriquet of the 'Iron Man' of India.

His father Shreekrishna was reputed to be a rebel against the British rule, having taken part in the War of Independence of 1857 on the popular side. This may or may not be true, for ought we know to the contrary, but if the adage 'the father like son', has any truth in it, this must be true. For, Shreekrishna gave to the nation not only one but two sons, who proved to be greater 'rebels' against the British Empire than himself. It may be a difficult question to answer as to who carries the pain—Vithalbhai Patel or Vallabhbhai Patel,—in 'give the (British) Government!'

After returning from England where he passed the barrister's examination standing first class first, he set up a lucrative legal practice at Ahmedabad. Then the 'pained talks' of

India came as a strange influence in his life. Bardar Patel came to work at Mahatma Gandhi, but remained to pray and become one of his greatest disciples. What John the Baptist was to Christ Jesus, that Patel was to Sardar to Gandhi.

The epic struggle, which the farmers of Bardoli waged relentlessly against the bureaucracy, has been immortalised by the late Shri Mahadevi Desai, in her *Story of Sardar*. "Sardardas the country" came to mean, organise the farmers. It was in Bardoli that the national struggle for independence found a new and clean vehicle for armed rebellion. This weapon was forged by Gandhiji in South Africa, but its greatest application in India was reserved for Sardar Patel. Organise the farmers for Satyagraha and Swaraj will follow as surely as day follows the night, was the lesson of Bardoli. It was in Bardoli that he won the title of 'Sardar', as before him, Tilak had become the 'Lokmanya' at Poona during his anti-fugue campaign. Both these titles were as spontaneously given by the people, as 'Le Petit Corporal' was the title affectionately given to Napoleon Bonaparte by his soldiers.

The Karachi Congress session found in the Sardar a worthy president and the Harijans Congress was a triumph of his powers of organisation. He came to be recognised as the steel frame of the Congress organisation and the 'steel frame' of the British empire had ultimately to subordinate itself to this new master of the House department in the Central Government.

As an after effect of the World War II, the 'diamond of Kachchh', Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, came to be entrusted, on the right hand man of Gandhiji, with the formation of the first cabinet under Swaraj, and he chose Sardar Patel as his second in command. Nehru won his laurels in the field of foreign relations and Patel was equally successful on the 'Home front'.

Although we do not have a second leader to completely fill up Sardar Patel's vacancy, democratic Government will have to go on and a substitute will have to be found for him. The task of his successor is certainly not going to be a bed of roses. But we shall wish him success in his arduous labours.

Let us, of the common people, follow the worthy example, set by the departed leader and do our duty to our motherland as her worthy sons and daughters. In the words of Tagore—*मैं तो किसान हूँ* (I am only a farmer). (Strength of sorrow now. Perhaps your tears according to your capacity.)

* A. T. BARTY

labour of it clear possible in the year for the year. It is not sufficient in any constructive or productive manner but wasted away in gossip and other harmful activities.

I close my report with a fervent prayer to the Almighty, to be merciful towards the peasants. I seek your kind blessings and advice.

Peddapuram, 7-11-50 F. RAMAKRISHNAIAH

RELIGION AND POLITICS

"Keep religion out of politics," said the Congress President recently, replying to an address of welcome by the Delhi State Congress Committee. "He who says religion has nothing to do with politics understands neither religion nor politics" said Gandhi years ago. But the conflict between these two categorical and contradictory statements is more apparent than real, as is seen from the full text of Shri Tandon's speech. For the two had two entirely different aspects of religion in mind when they used the time-worn word religion. When the Congress President spoke of religion he was referring to religious traditions and customs, centring round acts of worship and looking for sanction to inflexible books and unchangeable customs. This kind of religion has in all countries been the enemy of progress and the source of strife. Communalism finds its sanction in this type of rigid, narrow, fanatic faith. Rightly did Shri Tandon condemn this kind of religion. And so advice is easier than his that we should let our intellect play freely upon the traditions and practices of religion, however heavy and sacred they may be. "People should weigh every old religious custom and custom in the scales of intellect and find out whether it stood the test of reason or not. If it did not stand the test of reason, then such a custom or custom should be thrown aside and not blindly followed."

Strangely enough, this was exactly what such an exemplar of true religion as the Buddha said centuries ago. How strangely modern and scientific sound his words:

"Do not accept my teaching as true because it has been handed down from generation to generation, nor because it is in accordance with your past traditions, or because it seems profitable or logical or is in accordance with practical justice or because it seems very good, or because it strengthens your faith, or because I am a celebrated and respected sage. But accept my teaching only if it appears right to your discriminating intelligence."

When Gandhi advocated in theory and demonstrated in practice that religion should permeate politics he had a totally different view of religion from the one that Tandon rightly condemns. Religion, to Gandhi, was a disinterested quest of truth and an uncompromising application of truth in every aspect of life, whatever it might cost. Such a religion is the very breath of life to one who holds it, and there can be no question of cutting-out such a religion from the life of an individual or a nation. We were not less, but more of that kind of religion. That the secularism of the Indian State does not mean the cutting-out of this basic belief that the

universe rests on the bed-rock of truth and that righteousness alone exalts a nation is seen from the motto that Independent India has chosen for herself: *satyameva jayate*. Does not that express the nation's conviction that truth alone triumphs and its firm determination to hold on to the way of truth, whatever the consequences? Is this profound sense India is not a secular, but a truly religious State.

But it is necessary that people's minds should be exercised over this conflict within religion itself and their ideas made clear as to where they stand with regard to it. This conflict in religion is nothing new. Students of the history of religion know of it as the conflict between priest and prophet. At every stage in the path of progress in religion, the priest, the instrument of progress, has been opposed by the priest, the custodian of tradition. And every step in religious advance has been paid for by the blood and tears of the religious pioneer and prophet. The greatest enemy of true and progressive religion has ever been the fanaticism, the upholder of the status quo of the lower, the limited view fanaticism was condemned as a corrupter of youth and a disarmer of the faith. It was not the irrationalism among the Jews, but the rabidly orthodox, who were responsible for the death of Jesus. And Gandhi, the prophet and pioneer of true religion in politics was a victim of the false defenders of fanaticism, of those who would guard the faith even for all delivered to the saints of old been all condemnation by other cults and traditions.

On this point, too, the Congress President had some words of wise counsel to give. Referring to culture he said, "It was not a dead brick or a stagnant pond but a flowing stream." Rather he had said of religious fanaticism: "We cannot let ourselves remain in the rut of any sect or faith. We have to change with the times, which, of course, we can only do when we develop a sufficient consciousness of intellect to guide us." That again is in line with the judgment of one of the greatest minds of modern times, Prof. A. N. Whitehead who has said: "The worship of God is not a rule of safety — it is an adventure of the spirit — a flight after the unattainable. The death of religion comes with the suppression of the high hope of adventure."

Indian culture has been a flowing stream, enriched by various currents that have flown into it. The genius of India has been one of assimilation and synthesis. But assimilation and synthesis are poles apart from passive acquiescence and tolerant form of indifference. They are something positive and active demanding alert open-mindedness and unswerving of intellect to discern essentials from non-essentials. During centuries of destructive foreign religion has been triumphant, unable to make the effort for active assimilation of the robust faiths like Islam and Christianity that made her into

its presence. But even during these periods of decadence and political subservience Indian religion had given glimpses of the reformation it can effect among the conflicting needs within its borders. Now that the hand is free and the people are awake and alive there should be a genuine effort made to effect a real and satisfying synthesis of the faiths that have met on Indian soil. Not to face this problem, on the ideological as well as its practical side, is to allow reactionaries to exploit and abuse differences in religion. India has paid dearly for her failure to effect such a synthesis. The amputation of the limb-affected parts of the body politic has not removed the danger, the germs of the disease, in other parts. Religious differences are being fomented and exploited to trouble the peaceful waters of our independent existence. They need to be frankly faced and rightly resolved. Willing the Sarvodaya give a lead in this matter, along the track blazed by Gandhi, by his lifelong conviction, and his master's death.

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ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

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APPENDIX 1

Fourteenth, selected throughout the country last July, for which every Indian ought to be grateful to our Field Minister, compelled various State and Provincial Governments to examine the position about the forests in their respective areas. International standards require that every civilized country should possess a good reserve forest of not less than one-fourth of its total area. Without exception, it was found that throughout India nowhere was it more than 10 per cent of the area, which is less than half the international standard. Mysore State proved an exception. Recently at the Forest Officers' Conference, it is reported that the Chief Conservator of Forests deplored the alarming state of the forest portion which was becoming critical due to the indiscriminate felling of trees without compensating replanting. The Directorate intended to plant about 4,500 sq. miles of forest on a ten year plan, and bring the forest area to the international standard.

Fortunately, if properly done, there is a good scope for fuel efficiency in Mysore. Nearly half the area of the State comprising of the Malnad Districts of Chikmagalur, Hassan, Shimoga is extensively planted with coffee and tea. The popular shade tree in the plantations is the "silver oak", which is very well adapted to our soil and is quick growing and of late has acquired an additional timber and industrial value.

The two varieties best suited for fuel are *resacina* and *adver* oak. The remaining plantations are very common round about Bangalore in the dry parts and are very lucrative. Fuel plantations are not to be found in the Malnad area. This is a new line, useful for the people, hereafter, and is an urgent necessity. The coconut lands otherwise unsuited for coffee can be usefully planted with hard growing *adver* oak for fuel and timber purposes.

But a steel plantation needs a good initial outlay, and requires proper working for two years for the trees to be ready for cutting. Hence the general public is unwilling to venture out in a new line. It is here that the Government should come forward and encourage private individuals by liberal concessions to open up steel plantations. Once the steel plantations are established, the Government Department can usefully concentrate the attention on early timber plantations like teak, rosewood etc., which have a large internal and attractive export market.

A fully worked out scheme to open cotton-lands had plantation in Chittagong, Tang and Poonch, Mysore State, is given below:

The area to be planted is 25 acres. The trees being silver oak, preferably, and various others to be done on a five-year plan.

The non-recurring expenses for cost of land	Rs	1,500
The non-recurring laying out of cart roads etc	Rs	1,000
The non-recurring small forest lodge	Rs	300
	Rs	3,800
The recurring expenses for 8 years for planting 25 acres at Rs 250 per acre	Rs	2,750
The recurring expenses for 8 years for two watchmen at Rs 500 per year	Rs	3,000
Total Rs		10,000

The income expected—calculated on the basis of a reasonable yield of 150 tons of fuel per acre at Rs 10 per ton, for 25 acres is Rs 37,500.

The concessions to be granted by the Government are: liberal grant of the working expenses on a long-term loan on easy terms as regards interest and instalments, and free grant of vacant land for the purpose.

Lastly, the advantage: Fuel position is made secure. Private enterprise in a large extent avoids the unnecessary delay that is usual with the Government Department. Valuable measure like cordoning, indiscriminately harvest as fuel nowadays, will be available in a large measure for lands. Soil erosion will be checked. There will be a healthy change in the average mentality of the general public and particularly the farmers and fuel suppliers, who at present indifferently waste Government forest. No private individual will allow his plantation to be treated like the Government forest which, being Government property is "everybody's estate and nobody's concern".

—H. P. K. IYENGAR

Rectification

Referring to the article "Postscript" (Harijan 14th Oct., '50), the Deputy Controller of Salt, Madras, has taken exception to a passing reference to the effect that he "would not give an official copy for an Executive Order of the Salt Department", but after a great hesitation permitted Shri Ganesan (the Harijan week mentioned in the article) to copy the Executive Order. The Deputy Salt Controller writes that the statement is incorrect. No official copy was asked for, and he could not have refused the official copy of a document, which he permitted to be taken unofficially.

On enquiry I find that there were discussions which took place on the occasion Shri Ganesan informed that he could not get an official copy, and must be satisfied with one made by himself. As a matter of fact all that was meant to be conveyed was that an official copy could not be immediately supplied, and some formalities would have to be gone through, involving delay. As Shri Ganesan did not wish to lose time, he was permitted to take a private copy. No official copy was actually demanded and refused. I rectify this in fairness to the Deputy Controller.

Wardha, 25-12-50

H. P. K.

SPINNING WAGES

The Gram Seva Mandal, Wardha, passed a resolution to the following effect on 23-12-50.

"The Gram Seva Mandal has noted the contents of the letter about raising spinning wages received from Shri Vinaya, in which he has drawn the attention of the Mandal to his new 'Paragana of Money' published in the September issue of *Swadeshi* (Vol. 10, No. 4, p. 42). The substance of the letter is that the current rate of eight annas of spinning wages approved by the Charika Sangh is in the equivalent of only two annas of old. At that time it was decided that on the principle of the *Swadeshi*, it was incumbent, according to the prices then prevailing, to pay three annas of new. Hence, proportionately, the present rate ought to be twelve annas.

"The Mandal has given its fullest consideration to this matter from all points of view. The fact is that even with the current wage the sale of *khadi* is declining. Under these circumstances, the question of raising the wages is faced with serious practical considerations. Yet, inasmuch as, on principle of justice the logic of *Swadeshi* is inescapable, the Mandal resolves that the spinning wages be increased to four times the old Charika Sangh rate of seven annas. As there is no need to change the working rules, they will remain the same. The new rates will be put into effect at the end of the six working months, i.e. from 1st December, 1950.

I congratulate the Gram Seva Mandal on this resolution. As said therein, they have done nothing more than justice. But when the cause of justice has to grapple with actual practice, it becomes entangled in a complicated, though without much concern. The Gram Seva Mandal operates in the Wardha district. This resolution puts increased responsibility upon the *khadi* buyers of Wardha. For, *khadi* will now be more costly than hitherto, and they must willingly bear the increase. All India looks upon Wardha with a degree of concern. When the *Swadeshi* wage resolution was passed by the Charika Sangh I had written an article captioned, "Now Commence Justice". Be it *khadi* or something else, an activity can be considered as well carried on, only if it does so justly, otherwise it is as good as stopped. I hope that the Wardha people will keep this in view and give their active support to this resolution of the Gram Seva Mandal.

Compared to the Charika Sangh the Gram Seva Mandal has a small area to cover. The Sangh has a very large sphere of activity. The latter may, therefore, have to meet more difficulty. There is another reason also for it, which I was not aware of before. I took it that the Charika Sangh was paying the full wage of eight annas referred to in the above resolution. But now I gather that this is not the case. The spinning wage is eight annas only in some provinces, in others like Tamilnad, where *khadi* is produced on quite a large scale, the rate is only six annas. The Charika Sangh might, therefore, find it an uphill task to pay twelve annas.

Really, there is nothing like shaking up a hill in this. It is returning to the level from a pit into which one had slipped in the course of climbing.

Analogue apart, it cannot be denied that there are real difficulties. But intellect is superior to difficulties, and it must solve them. And we can solve them only when we contemplate the problem in its entirety. If we isolate village industries from the whole view of life which from village industries, and, again, in which we isolate spinning from carding and from weaving, carding from ginning, and ginning from cotton-growing and thus go on breaking every operation into pieces, verily the intellect will also be torn into pieces and we shall not be able to find a solution.

But the solution must needs be found, otherwise the very prestige of which is in jeopardy. (Translated from *Samadaya*, Nov. '46)

WITH ALL THY HEART

I saw in Bharata a Hindu never seen to the following effect:

The Communist Youth League in the Soviet-occupied Germany have declared that it was futile to prevent them to celebrate the birthday anniversary of Jesus. Indeed it would be in the honour of Hitler to celebrate that December the birthday of the present great man of the age, Marshal Stalin.

The Independent German Youth League also has supported the idea and decided to celebrate Hitler's birthday on a grand scale.

The sincerity underlying the statement attracts attention. Minds of young men are generally transparently naïve. They cannot tolerate hypocrisy, and are strongly impelled to discard old customs and institutions, when they find them tainted with hypocrisy. And hypocrisy has entered the observances of practices of all religions including Christianity, Hinduism, and Islam. Hence young men inspired with a new ideology detect such celebrations, condemn the religious responsible for starting them, and take their great leaders along with the dirty worshipped by them.

It reminds me of the story of the Serpa-Saba (Serpent-Goddess), whom Takshak, the prince of the serpents, took refuge with Indra. The camp of the serpents was prepared to sacrifice even Indra along with Takshak, but Indra being invulnerable Takshak also was saved with him. Hypocrisy is not eliminated by condemning the principles and the great founders of religions as God. It simply promotes the condemnations themselves.

It would have been a different matter if those young men, having refused to celebrate Christ's birthday, had freed themselves of the slavery to all such obligations. But when they evince such enthusiasm to pay devoted homage to an ordinary human leader, who is not free from the influences of passions, their reaction is pitiable. Such worship of man is the worst of all idol-worship.

But the educational system, that has prevailed till now in most countries is so designed that it does not allow the growth of independent thinking in students, which is at once suppressed if it is found to develop. In the name of national education only Government education is imparted in all the places. And this is the result.

In our country, we never celebrated on a national scale birthdays of any one, except those

of Rama Krishna and others clothed with divinity. Even great saints had their death-anniversaries celebrated. Hundreds of great men were born during the last five thousand years in our country, but it was unusual among us to celebrate their birthdays. We did celebrate birthdays of young children. But of late we have begun to deify grown up people and even very old ones. We have all as it were become babies.

Jesus and Stalin are at the ends of two poles. The well-known message of Jesus was, "Love thy enemy with all thy heart and soul." That of Stalin is just the opposite. In an order of the day, during the recent great war, he said to his soldiers, "You are fighting the Germans with all your weapons, but that is not sufficient. You must hate them with all your heart and soul."

That is why this difficulty is now to replace Christ who was Love incarnate.

"Love with all thy heart," and "Hate with all thy heart," are contrary messages. But even there, there is a common factor in them, viz, doing so "with all one's heart." I take this common factor and say, do whatever you like, but do it with all your heart, and experience will show you that it is impossible for a human being to hate with all his heart. He will then take to the path of Love. Maybe, Jesus might be forgotten, but if Love survives, Jesus will still feel immensely happy.

Purandhar, Poona, 15-12-'60

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APPEAL FOR BUDGET DEFICITARY FUNDS

The reader must have seen the appeal for "Sardar Vallabhbhai Memorial Fund" initiated by several leaders and prominent citizens and workers of Gujarat. (The appeal is reproduced in these columns). No discerning reader or friend of Gujarat will doubt the appropriateness of the appeal. After Gandhiji, the Sardar undoubtedly deserves the honour of a Memorial Fund by Indians throughout the country and abroad, and among them it is appropriate that the people and friends of Gujarat wherever residing should give the lead.

The signatories have declared three objects for the use of the Fund, namely, (1) the foundation of an association of 'Servants of Gujarat', (2) construction of buildings for schools in the villages of Gujarat, and (3), collection and construction of wells for drinking water in Gujarat villages. These were three of the favourite activities of Sardar Vallabhbhai. Having granted of course, and for relieving deserving individuals from immediate wants of an urgent nature, personally I hold the construction of wells as a most laudable and self-acting form of charitable investment. If I possessed money which I could devote, I would rather spend it straightway for sinking wells than found a charitable trust, which would carry on an industry providing a dividend of as high as even 40 per cent, and utilise only its proceeds for charity. If I possessed still more money I would spend it for maintenance of orphans and for providing assistance to deserving men in distress. Next after this, I would like to spend for providing *Mas Taluk* (industry-based) schools with buildings and equipment. Pico, food, lambs etc., causing large-scale distress, are unimportant calamities, and money given for them is certainly necessary and commendable charity, but it hardly deserves to be considered a donation. It is just an expenditure of fellow-feeling, which even paupers and animals too, are not wanting to. Want of response on such occasions hinders efficient development of normal creature instincts.

Thus the objects set forth are such as all, I believe, would approve.

Collections of Memorial Funds should be made without delay. Time works against them.

The strong emotions, which arise when a loss is fresh, subside with the passage of time, and both collectors and donors tend to forget even their greatest benefactor. I hope, the Committee will complete the work of collection within a few weeks, and people will contribute to the cause liberally.

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10. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 273:1221-1222, 1995

THE PRESIDENT AT TIAU

President Rajagopalachari was at Rajahmundry, Waridra, for two clear days to witness the end of 1949 and the opening of 1951. It was just a year after his last visit, for he had also seen the end of 1949 and the dawn of 1950 at Waridra, from the same room and in the same surroundings, though in a different capacity. Last year, he was President of the Constituent Assembly. Now he came as the President of the Indian Republic. In his personal appearance and manner of being, there was no change. He was the same simple Rajendra Babu as ever. But he was a greater and more guarded State prisoner now than the British Government had ever made him, with the weight that Rajagopalachari had been turned into a military camp for four days. I do think that a very large amount of these 'security measures' can be safely dispensed with. Apart from the hatred they create between the people and their great and esteemed leader, they must necessarily cost a good deal. There is a great scope for economy on the head. But that is by the by.

The President arrived rather late in the evening on 30th December. The day had been wet and cold, and the road had become slippery with mud. But happily, he had kept well in spite of a heavy programme and a long journey by motor.

Hayden felt prone to sleep early and rise in the early hours of the morning to dispose of his size. But he could not realize that nightfall about 11 p.m. Nevertheless, he got up early as usual the next day, and when I entered his room at about 6 a.m., I found him snoring and at the same time dictating notes to his stenographer. A spendie full of pain was lying by, while another full on the clockwork was also more than half full. I enquired if he had spent all that since the morning. "No," he said, "the

other one was spun yesterday, but I could not get time to wind it into a ball." "Is this your usual spinning time?" I asked. "Yes, this is the only time in the Government House when I am generally free from public engagements. So, I generally finish my spinning in the morning," was his reply. As I noticed that he was not only spinning but was also busy with his needles, I withdrew from the room so as not to disturb him in his work.

At 9 o'clock he had to lay the foundation stone of the Gandhi Jyoti Mandir. The one chosen for this institution is just in front of Rajagrad, on the opposite side of the road. The main building when constructed will stand opposite to the small bungalow in which Shri Jyotsna Dasj used to live during his lifetime.

There was a good gathering at the time of the function, which was presided over by Shri Bhikshabhai Dasj. A fuller account of this function is published elsewhere in these columns, and need not be told here.

After finishing that programme, he was to go to Sevagram and examine the institutions there and address their students and workers. He could get a few minutes between the end of the Jyoti Mandir function and the time for departure to Sevagram. This short interval allowed me to have a brief talk with Shri Mangaldas Patil, the Governor of Madhya Pradesh, who was also to accompany the President to Sevagram. In the course of our conversation I learnt that Shri Patil was had spun and got woven 37 yards of fine khadi during the year. He hoped, he said, that he would not be occupying more khadi than that for his personal apparel during the year, and was eligible for being regarded a non-accumulative self-dependent in cloth. But apart from that, he added, spinning gave him great mental peace and time for introspection. He spun in front of a portrait of Gandhi, and it inspired him. An age advancement, he said, while other organs of action lose their power to act, the tongue seemed to get lower and prone to talk more freely. Raja's over silent picture reminded him of his emphasis on the virtue of silence.

After returning from Sevagram at 4-30 p.m., Shri Rajendra Maity had to address a public meeting from the balcony of the Commerce College. Nearly a year ago along with Jawaharlal Nehru and several delegates of the World Pacific Meeting, he had addressed a similar meeting from the same place and at about the same time.

The meeting over, Shri Rajendra Dasj returned to Rajagrad to attend the evening program. He had had busy hours throughout the day, and was rather fatigued towards the evening.

He had desired to have no public engagements on the New Year's Day, and so he passed

that day in the company of a few friends of the Wardha institutions. Towards the evening he paid a visit to Rajagrad. After return, he attended the evening prayers, took his food and retired.

His departure was scheduled at 8 a.m. on the 2nd. As usual he got up in the early hours of the morning, read his files, took his bath and breakfast, and motored to Nagpur. On the way he halted to see the Leprosy Institution at Dattapur, and the Gandhi Chat at Pannar for a few minutes each.

It was a quiet and busy time, coupled with heart-searching and hard thinking.

Wardha, 4-1-51

R. C. KATHIRAVALLA

APPROACH TO THE ABORIGINAL

II

Shri T. Rajagopal's Reply

1. Background of Work

Of late thanks to the efforts of various persons like the present President Raja and the deeply interested citizens by the President of the Indian Republic, the problems concerning the aborigines have been receiving more amount of public attention despite certain inherent handicaps that failed to arouse for them that extent of publicity which may politically speak favour would in the present set of things have usually secured. It is unfortunately the habit of busy civilisationalists to look at the aborigines first and then in an other context that one comes with an attitude as a life of aggressiveness. The leaders that shoulder the burden of the aborigines have rightly and clearly the path of avoiding direct and explicit as it would otherwise encourage the eyes of the aborigines themselves. It seems however to appear that the manner of this policy, though not the vision, would be in a large measure conditioned by the success achieved by other leaders in developing the claims of their followers and the speed with which they could do so. In making these observations it is not my intention to belittle the political, yet strategic importance of the aboriginal problem. If one looks at the map of India in State the Nagas, the Mizos, and the Acheans inhabiting the borders of three independent countries like Burma, Nepal and Sikkim and the Khasi, Jaintia and Jaintia residing in the State of India and the Jaintia, Garo and Khasi hills of India spread over entire Rajasthan along with several other minor tribes like the Santhals, Khasis and the Mizos who are still wild and warlike. How can it be said that the aborigines have not been protected by the existing political system that have been gaining added momentum since the advent of freedom and the formation of our young Republic, although are also not working on the part of a few advanced tribal leaders to propagate civilisation, resulting in the desired area for separate States for these people.

With this background in view I propose to answer a few points raised by a friend on tribal matters.

2. About Formation of Aboriginal Villages

The existing system, which some writers impose upon Government, and which by their evidence that justifiable apprehensions about their policies and programmes and in certain cases even about their intentions, results of a repeatedly coupled which has got to be carefully avoided in dealing with tribal people. Apart from the fact that in the event of proceeding that all that belongs to the aborigines is necessarily primitive and uncivilised. This approach very often leads to hasty conclusions, without the attitude and rapidly advancing them. Undoubtedly there is much in tribal civilisation and culture that deserve attention even by non-tribes.

HARIJAN

Jan. 18

1951

CURRENCY AND REDUCTION OF PRICES

The problem of prices is closely related with that of our currency. Hence the currency policy must also be carefully investigated. If the issue of new notes is more rapid and lavish than what is necessary for exchange purposes in a frugal manner, and there is no machinery to secure a return of surplus notes, the system cannot but result in a continuous rise of the prices. If the only way by which the holder of a cotton-stick pays his services or purchases his goods is an extravagant issue of promissory notes, in course of time he would have to issue a note of Rs 1,000 for services worth Rs 100 or promise to pay an interest of as much as 3,000 per cent per annum. The same rule applies to a government perhaps more disadvantageously than to the heir, since the Government currency notes are not redeemable and cannot be refused by the payee. The payee would therefore cheat the Government in more ways than those who deal with the spendthrift heir. He might not only try to get more notes than the value of his services, but might also receive some of the valuable possessions and property of the Government. There is reason to believe that this is actually happening and the Government is being cheated and misled by its own officers, foreign agents, and contractors, advisers, party-men and others.

Secondly, the desire to bring down the prices is governed by the common-sense that they should not come down too heavily but it might ruin industrial and commercial concerns. The apprehension might be based on good reasons and the advice emanating from it honest and well intentioned. But the result cannot be avoided that if prices come down, until their basic costs are tackled. The promulgation of controlled prices cannot work miracles by itself.

In order to reduce the prices, my feelings are as follows:

(i) The amount of currency must be severely reduced, as the root of the world suggests, a currency must be always current. If a rupee is to mean that name; if too much of it remains as unused balance, it is not currency. A good deal must be recalled;

(ii) The heavy impost of taxes, freight, etc. under whatever name must be drastically cut down, and the deficit should be met temporarily or as a permanent feature by means other than payment in cash— even performance of free labour and payment of taxes in kind may not be ruled out;

(iii) The present policy and system of controls should be fundamentally changed;

(iv) people must be saved against temptations to spend their cash on luxuries and vices and get rich through easy channels. Like gambling, eating, moon-word parties and similar latters etc by banning them, and not merely taxing them, however, heavily;

(v) people must be set to work immediately even if the out-turn per head is trivial and out of proportion to their apparent maintenance charges. On the principle, "first things first", setting people to work is more important than calculating the amount of work done. Our calculating instinct will not allow us to feel discontent for long with small out-turn or inefficient work and so improvements in technique are bound to follow in course of time;

(vi) prosperity does not come to a nation by allowing a large margin of profit to the producers, or by liberally providing too many ready-made articles to the consumers at seemingly cheap rates. But by liberally providing the people the means of production and setting them to manufacture as many articles as they can with their own hands.

(vii) administrative expenses must be effected primarily by lowering the lavish standard of comforts and pomp of buildings, demonstrations, public functions, expenses of tours, scale of security measures for high officers, etc.

These measures should I feel, result in a move towards reduction of prices in a natural manner. If prices are reduced, salaries can be reduced and it would be possible to employ more men on work. Economical measures need not always take the form of retrenchment of staff, for ultimate cheapness and rapid circulation of money should result in the increase of useful healthy and manual employment and not in its reduction. Our economic wisdom must be regarded as having failed us if every pair of hands does not find sufficient work to do to deserve its plate of food. He who wants work must be able to get it, and he who works must be able to get his food, provided he has worked to the best of his capacity. Since the amount of work done depends upon the instruments of production at his disposal it cannot be the sole determining factor of the value of his work.

Wardha 13-12-50

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SARDAR VALLABHBAI MEMORIAL FUND

An Appeal

In the latter half of the first quarter of the present century Gandhi returned to India from Africa and began his tireless task for the emancipation of the country. Among those who joined him soon after his arrival, with full faith and devotion in his undertaking, from Gujarat, Sardar Vallabhbhai was the eldest. It was Sardar Patel who made a practical, effective and fruitful application of the non-violent technique of Satyagraha prescribed by Gandhi for the liberation of India.

Gandhi united the people of India for his fight for independence. Sardar Patel united the people of Gujarat while making a practical application of the Gandhian technique for the attainment of Swara. He spent his whole life under Gandhi's leadership and guidance in training the people of Gujarat to that technique. Consequently he could not only enable Gujarat to contribute her proper and effective share in the fight for Indian freedom, but was instrumental in the making and moulding of modern Gujarat in the process.

While carrying on this work of training Sardar Patel did not neglect a single facet of Gujarat life, nor any part of its region. The wealthy well-to-do of Ahmedabad, the laborers—both men and women—from the different parts of the province, working in the same mills, the landlords and peasants, the salt-taxi (Kharivandi), especially the backward classes inhabiting the Kutch, Panchmahals and Porbandar districts, the whole commercial community, the people and the prison of Saurashtra and other States in Cutch and Kathiawar and all the other component parts of the population of Gujarat—all these he served, and ran to their aid wherever they were in trouble. Very recently he had performed the foundation-laying ceremony of the Gujarat University buildings and blessed that activity also, and while doing so he had expressed his hope that the regions of Gujarat, Saurashtra and Cutch, all speaking the same language, will co-operate and unite at least in the field of education.

In the political field he conducted the affairs of the Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee for a full quarter of a century and gave lessons in politics to the province. He served the cause of labour by doggedly helping and guiding the Textile Labour Association which was founded with the object of helping the labourers working in the mills and factories at Ahmedabad. He served the cause of the Harijans in Gujarat as the patron of the Gujarat Harijan Sewak Sangh. He served the city of Ahmedabad through the Ahmedabad Municipality, and showed by personal example the proper way of serving the people through municipalities. He took a keen interest in the working of the institutions of national education in Gujarat, taking an active

part in the making and conducting the affairs of the Navjeevan Publishing House and the Gujarat Vidyalaya, and there founded a new tradition in the field of education in Gujarat. During the last years of his life he took an active interest in the foundation of the Vallabhbhai Vidyalaya, the Vallabhbhai Kanya Vidyalaya and other educational institutions. And above all, he paid throughout his life attention to the work of raising, developing and consolidating all the various constructive activities and institutions founded by Gandhi with a view to infuse new life into the villages and make them self-reliant and self-respected. By his unconcern with self-determination, strong character, dignified speech, his tireless industry in the multifarious activities of service to the people the Sardar made of Gujarat a happy people, enabled it to make a noteworthy contribution to the fight for Indian freedom, won for Gujarat (including Cutch and Saurashtra) its proper place on the political map of India. And by integrating the small Saurashtra States into a unit and solving the complicated problem of the States he secured and established the unity of the Indian Union.

Thus by constantly cherishing and thinking of the welfare of all the people of Gujarat in diverse ways, in diverse fields through diverse institutions and associations and diverse critical situations the Sardar rendered signal service to the people of Gujarat for a full quarter of a century, and began to be considered by them their Sardar or Captain. By his death all the Gujarati-speaking people in the country experienced a grief as at the death of their father. The obligation of the Sardar to Gujarat was boundless, and hence the desire on the part of the people of Gujarat to create some kind of memorial to this maker and father of modern Gujarat even as a token of his desire to repay the debt is but natural.

The fitting memorial to such a man would be to keep the activities undertaken by him going, that is, to continue and nourish the numerous activities started by Gandhi years ago and conducted and named by the Sardar throughout his life on the basis of Swadeshi, and give all possible help to institutions of public service that are at present working or may be formed hereafter would be his true memorial. An outline of these activities and the methods and policies of doing them have been fully set forth by Gandhi in his writing on the constructive programme.

It was always the desire of Gandhi and the Sardar that the tradition of public service created by them should be kept up and an association like a Gujarat Sewak Samaj (Servants of the Gujarat Society) be founded to do the work. To help with an association for doing the above mentioned activities if it comes into existence, would also be a legitimate function for this memorial.

The Sardar had a keen interest in education. In many villages in Gujarat there are no

buildings to house the schools. If this Fund can make up this deficiency even partially the Bardar's goal will be satisfied. The scarcity of and consequent difficulties experienced in the matter of drinking water in many villages was a constant source of pain to him; and after the recent famine he was always anxious as to how the difficulty could be removed. The removal of the difficulty by sinking wells in such villages would also be a proper work for this memorial fund.

Hence in order to help and support activities dear to the Bardar's heart, going on in Gujarat or outside, it is decided to collect a Bardar Memorial Fund and a Committee of the following office-bearers and members with the power of co-opting of additional members is hereby appointed to collect the fund. The Committee will have the authority and power to make all the necessary arrangements for such collection, to appoint sub-committees necessary for the purpose, to incur the necessary expenditure for the collection, to form a trust and appoint trustees to administer it, to keep and make necessary arrangements for keeping the annals and records of the Fund till it is handed over to the trustees, to do all these and other necessary arrangements for all auxiliary purposes.

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Fifteen members will form the quorum for a committee meeting. The committee will have the authority to appoint an executive committee with power to co-opt additional members.

Office

Gaganat Pratik Samiti,
Congress House, Bhadra,
Ahmedabad

30-12-52

HIMALAYAN LESSONS

I

(Dramatic Presentation)

1. Swami Tapaswada
2. Krishnakant
3. Bhawanilal
4. Bhaktnagar Ramswami Dutt
5. Helen
6. Self

The Why and Wherefore

Ever since the establishment of Pashukh I had been contemplating the idea of connecting it with some of the neighbouring mountain areas and even of starting a branch Ashram somewhere in the lower Himalayas.

So long as the work remained in the form of a Government scheme this would not have been easy to achieve, as I waited for the formation of the Pashukh Swami Mandal, after which I planned to spend 2 or 3 months in the mountains to study the area, and get a little change for my indifferent health. I was most anxious to get away by the middle of May, so as to have at least one dry month for lying around, but such were the difficulties and delays in the formation of the Mandal that May, and even June went by, and I was still held up. The rains had now begun, and I felt I must be satisfied with the nearest possible place, which was Nilkanth, lying just over the other side of the mountain ridge opposite to Pashukh.

On account of the bad weather we decided not to attempt the journey in one day but to sleep at Sravangashram (Kishikeshi) on the first night, so as to be able, the next morning, to catch the first light interval for making the ascent of 5 miles, which is sufficiently steep and rocky, followed by a minute slushy descent on the other side.

ON to Nilkanth

By about 5 p.m., on the evening of July the 4th I set out on Mana and reached Sravangashram via Lakshmanpura, just before dark. The rest of the party with the baggage had gone ahead in the Pick-up-Truck.

There is something gracious and friendly about having a place on horse-back, which is wholly lacking in the rude rush of departure in a motor car. As I rode along I could say good-bye to the trees and birds and beasts, and could exchange a friendly word or two with those who met me on the road. All was harmonious and natural.

As good fortune had it, the weather was fine. When I reached Sravangashram the party was already busy with cooking preparations, and we soon got our evening meal. Mana had no food of grain, and was thus tied to the edge of the verandah.

Frankincense Hopes

It so happened that two or three mile-high peaks were gleaming loose in the Ashram compound that night, and before long they began neighing and snoring round to try and get at Mana, Swamp and the two boys.

therefore, put their beds outside making a kind of fence. But big clouds were gathering and before long it began to pour with rain. There was nothing for it but for every one, including Mama, to come up on to the veranda. Nevertheless these mischievous horses kept poking around, and every now and then Mama, who was tied alongside my bed, would suddenly express his opinion with a scolding snuff. This was hardly comforting to sleep, and what with the horses, the mosquitoes and the pouring rain, I remained wide awake nearly all night.

Nature's Wilder Moods

When daylight came it was still raining. We had breakfast, packed up our things, and sat down to wait for a fair interval. At last the rain stopped, though the clouds still threatened. We set off. Hardly had we gone half a mile when the rain began again. As we proceeded up we got into thicker and thicker clouds growing and rambling all around, and nothing was visible but the great forest trees hanging over the path.

On a wet day a person always waits, if possible, for a few intervals, because of the monotony of wet clothes and the like, but actually it is a grand and exhilarating experience to be out in storm and rain, and, as I rode up through the thundering clouds, I remembered the days in my youth, when, putting on raincoat and umbrella, I would go right out into the raging gales on the rugged South-West coast of England, and rejoice in the sting of the rain on my face, and the swirl of the salt spray from the Atlantic rollers as they hurled themselves with unceasing roar on the rocks below. A "shut-at-home" never knows the grand inspiration of Nature's wilder moods.

Postscript

WISA

(to be continued)

GANDHI JEAN MANDIR, WARIMA

On 10th December, 1959, President Rajagopalachari laid the foundation stone of the Gandhi Jean Mandir in the open land granted for that purpose in front of Rajaj road, on the opposite side of the road. The function was presided over by Shri Sakthidevadasa Iyer.

Shri Srinivasanarasayya Agarwal, Secretary of the Gandhi Jean Mandir Trust, traced briefly the history of the institution. The idea was originally started by the late Sri Jambhaji Raju and Mahadevadasa Desai and it was their ardent desire to establish a library devoted to Gandhian literature in Warima. But the 1948 movement and the subsequent political developments prevented the materialisation of the scheme. The idea got revived recently, with the conviction of its true value given by Shri Jayaprakash Narayan of Calcutta in memory of his father the late Shri Mahadevadasa Desai and a group of seven men espoused by the Madhya Pradesh Government. In course of time it was intended to develop the Mandir into a University where students and lovers of Gandhian thought might assemble, carry on research and supply the fruits of their studies in different languages of the world. Promote of various social-welfare work in Warima afforded enough opportunity for such development. It was also intended to establish an International House under the Mandir where scholars from different countries could live together and study Gandhian thought.

In the course of his speech to Dr Rajagopalachari to perform the function, Shri Rajaj observed: "As long as Mahatma Gandhi was alive it was difficult to make an appraisal of his contributions in the sphere of political opinions and conflicting views. Now that he no longer plays a personal part the time has come for pondering over his thoughts with detachment and calmness. These thoughts has not written any books or treatise, it is all the more necessary to preserve and convey his message in every way. Gandhi's last message light on almost all the aspects of human life. But his contemporaries who came late close touch with him have not given sufficiently due. The new generation has to succeed the old one. Hence the need of passing on the Gandhian ideas in the most graceful way."

On returning to the date after performing the ceremony, Shri Rajagopalachari addressing the audience to Hindi said, "I regard it as a great privilege to be asked to perform this ceremony. As the Chairman had said, the Jean Mandir will not only be an institution for the study of Gandhian ideas, but also for putting them into practice."

"If we look to all that is happening within the country today we begin to feel depressed. Others told me that despite that they would stay this winter before the work over a smaller looking crops than our harvest about Gandhiji. It appears that we wish to stick to the followers of Gandhi are strengthening his path one by one. We begin to doubt whether we will adopt his ideas in our houses! Whenever the followers of Christ did in his lifetime, later on Christianity was strong. And today I have every hope that whatever we may do at present Gandhiji's ideas will spread throughout the world. They have such inherent force of truth in them that they will not depend on what we do or do not do. They will survive all changes and give life to the different world for all time to come."

In a presidential mood, Dr Rajagopalachari narrated an incident of 1891. A meeting of the Congress Working Committee was held in the National Museum and after prolonged discussion it was decided to meet the late Rajagopalachari from friends but that Gandhiji might be put behind the bars by the Government at any moment, and thus it would be difficult to get his advice and convey it to the masses. They thought that if Gandhiji could give a local message in his own voice it would be conveyed to the people through pamphlets, records after the implementation. A resolution, headed by Rajagopalachari, passed this request before Gandhiji. Immediately came a reply from him. "If there is truth in what I say, it will automatically reach every home without any propaganda. Anything devoid of truth will not have any effect even if it is published through a thousand records of my voice. I do not want to give anything for propaganda. Truth will propagate itself. Dr Rajagopalachari remarked that what Gandhiji stated then, proved to be absolutely true. Today we are fortunate over Gandhiji's death. It appeared as if we were on the verge of losing after the death even for some time. At this stage the President was deeply moved and came walked down from his chair. Resuming his speech after a few seconds, Dr Rajagopalachari said that Gandhiji's ideas in fact, do not depend on our actions for their survival. They have a force of self-propagation in them. The world will ultimately have to accept and follow them. If the world has to survive it must follow the path shown by Mahatma Gandhi. If it fails to do so, I do not know what is going to happen to humanity. As a matter of fact we should work not all these ideas not so much for preserving them, but more for preserving our very existence."

Speaking about the nature of activities to be undertaken by the Gandhi Jean Mandir Dr Rajagopalachari said: "I am glad the Mandir will contain literature on Gandhiji's thoughts and corresponding activities and will also provide facilities for various study and research. But we should not forget that Gandhiji's thoughts are not

merely to be studied for mental gymnastics. They should permeate our daily life. The reason needs not an illustration of this type has many deriving inspiration and guidance from the central institutions located in Wardha where a number of institutions are devoted to the constructive programme propounded by Gandhi. The Wardha institutions, I am confident, will keep the candle burning and radiate light throughout the country. They are they are some darkness around us but I have no doubt that as long as even one lamp of light burns it will light up many and fill the world with light. Wardha has been chosen for the location of this booklet and because Gandhiji and Jawaharlal resided here, but because a number of institutions are working here which can demonstrate to the world the shape which Gandhiji wanted to give to the working social and economic order. I am confident this institution will make rapid progress year after year. As Gandhiji said in exp. with work never suffers for want of funds. Money will flow in naturally with the progress and expansion of this institution. Another book we must also reflect readers who are prepared to mould their lives according to Gandhian ideals. I hope next time when I visit, I will see the institution actually functioning."

A. S. M.

"COMMON AILMENTS OF THE VILLAGE"

This booklet of less than 40 pages (price eight annas) published by the Manager, Kasturba Hospital, Sevagram, Wardha is written by Shri Vasantabehn (Miss Barbara Harland, now Miss Bruce), who was for several years on the staff of the Hindustani Taluk Sangh and the Matron of the Kasturba Hospital, Sevagram.

One will easily come across an hard-working and affectionate 'a' Sister of the Poor and the like' in this young English graduate. Her spirit of service and charity knew no distinction of colour, caste, or culture. After valiantly serving India for several years, she returned to England last year to build her own home there.

In this booklet she has given hints for the treatment of the most common ailments of the people in our villages, along with details of treatment and nursing and a list of equipment for a school dispensary. As Shri S. Pandit, Adeshwari, Ministry and Child Welfare, Government of India, who has written the preface to the book, says,

"With common sense and the use of the medicines contained in this little book, any intelligent person, especially a school teacher, with minimum education and without specialised training can do much to improve the health of the village, particularly that of the school children."

I wish the book had been published in Hindi also. It should be translated into Indian languages.

Wardha, 1-1-51 E. S. MANDREWALA

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THE SARDAR'S ASSETS:

[The following is the report of interview given by Shri Jivraj Desai, Managing Trustee of the Navajivan Trust in the representative of the United Front of India who specially sought the interview to know whether there was any truth that the Sardar had hoarded assets in his vaults.]

Ahmedabad, 29-12-50

Cashiers, printers, addressers, photos and letters received and sent by Sardar Patel, have reached the Navajivan Headquarters for preservation, thus forming a small museum by themselves.

All this is the treasure of the "Iron Man of India" who prior to his death and during his illness at Delhi gave his consent to the suggestion made by Shri Jivraj Desai, Managing Trustee of the Navajivan Trust, that all these should be preserved in Gujarat for the nation.

Two large rooms in the spacious Navajivan Building have been set apart for preserving articles and manuscripts of letters and documents in the Sardar's handwriting.

The Sardar's speeches, letters etc., whose verbatim records have been maintained by his daughter, Miss Maniben, will be published by the Navajivan Publishing House after they have been competently edited. Two more volumes of his biography, for which more materials have been received, will also be published shortly.

"There is no truth that the Sardar had any hoarded assets in his vaults," Shri Jivraj Desai said referring to certain reports that the Sardar had a large sum in his name and that he had bequeathed the same to the Navajivan Trust.

Further that he had assigned some assets there and then, Shri Jivraj added, for some public purposes.

For example, the sum of Rs. 16 lakhs presented to the Sardar at Ahmedabad on his 75th birthday was handed over to the Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee for Congress work in Gujarat.

A meeting of the trustees of the Navajivan Trust will be held shortly to elect its chairman in place of the Sardar. Other members of the Trust are Shri Morarji Desai, Shri Mahatmalal Desai, and Shri Jivraj Desai.

"Whatever the Sardar had, he has bequeathed to us, the Navajivan Trust," Shri Jivraj said, "and hoarded assets he had none." "I hope to scrutinise all these and arrange them before the next meeting of the A.I.C.C. here," he added.

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HARIJAN

FOUNDED BY MURTHIJI SASTRI
Editor, K. G. HANDEWALA



VOL. XIV, No. 57 AHMEDABAD.—SATURDAY, JANUARY 20, 1951

TWO ANNAS

THE NEXT ISSUE

The next issue of the Harijan papers will be published on Friday, the 25th January, instead of the 22th. It will be mainly devoted to articles on Independence, Casteism and Sardar Patel. It will also be a double number, that is, comprise issues 48 and 49, and consist of 24 pages. This double number will be priced two annas only.

Readers and agents will please note that there will be no issue on 3rd February.
JYOTIJI SASTRI

SCIENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE

[Important address from the main speech made at the close of the function by Shri Jyotirajil Sastri at the Indian Science Congress, Bangalore, on 2nd January 1951.]

Want of Humanitarian Consideration

I have the greatest admiration for pure research which is essential and out of which may come out many practical applications ultimately.

Inevitably, a person like me who is concerned with day-to-day problems of great importance has always to think a little less of pure research and more of the application of research to the problems of human society. More particularly today, it is in the present context of things that I need (want) to think exactly where we are heading to in the world and what science has to offer in regard to it. Science certainly has done much to make conditions more difficult, that is to say, make the possibility of war far more terrible than at any time previously. Now the scientist as a scientist I suppose is not entirely a human being. That is to say he pursues truth regardless of where he might reach, regardless of even humanitarian considerations. And that is right because it is no good trying to become sentimental at the cost of truth. But the fact remains that if human society is to survive, we have to look at it as a human society and not as an abstraction.

Paradox of Universal Outlook and Narrow Heart

It is a strange thing. Here we meet excellent scientists coming from different parts of the world and for the moment you forget your national boundaries and you come together as colleagues and co-workers in the cause of truth

in the course of human progress and you achieve certain results and yet somehow or other, national barriers come in, national hatreds and animosities and enmities, and then they not only come in the way of your work but destroy much that you do.

Now how are we to meet the situation? I am a politician and have to deal with these problems from day to day. I have to deal with human beings as their race as well as individual human persons, and it strikes me how utterly irrational human beings are both as individuals and in the mass! We call ourselves scientists or living in a scientific age. All the world today shows what science can do. Nevertheless, it is unbelievable how far from what might be called scientific temper or scientific outlook we are all of us, wherever we might be, although we might speak big like Jyotirajil Sastri or myself.

Now that means that there is a kind of a race between the good effects of science which are obvious and the evil effects of scientific development—not of science but of its application. One does not quite know which will win in the end. It is also becoming to have no purpose in life.

Political Exploitation of Scientists a Primary Problem

How are you then going to deal with the situation? You do serve your various States in various capacities, and sometimes your abilities are taken advantage of by the State for purposes which probably you do not approve of or admire. In other words, you are exploited for wrong ends by the State and yet it is very difficult for you, of course, to do much about it because the machine of the State becomes bigger and bigger. You may call it democracy or you may call it by some other name, but it is a huge machine with slow momentum which carries everybody with it. Now I am not offering any kind of solution to you of this problem but I do feel that every thinking human being and more specially every scientist should consider this as a primary problem.

It is this, the present-day temper all over the world, which is, I regret to say, encouraging

both by politicians and by the Press in many countries. It is a deliberate attempt not to win over people but to add to hostilities. Obviously that is not the way to solve a problem.

Solution by Force

It is the way of solution by force. Force, I do not rule out. It is not from the point of view of pacifism that I am talking, but rather from the point of view of trying to understand present-day problems.

I am utterly convinced that there is no solution by mere war. Now, being convinced of that, one should try to find some way other than that, because that is no way.

I am compelled in self-defence to use my arms, of course. I use every method I can. That is a different matter, because submission or surrender to what is definitely evil is always bad.

Gandhian Approach

Now in this connection I may remind you of the basic things that Mahatma Gandhi stood for. The basic things that Mahatma Gandhi stood for was that one must not submit to evil. One must resist it. One should resist it despite any consequences. At the same time, one must resist it in a particular way. One must try to win over his opponent, fight him also in a particular way. Now, it was difficult to combine these two processes because when one was once in a mood to combat, that mood led to greater hostility of mind. That resulted in going further and further away from the solution of the problem except by absolute submission of the other party. That might be a possible solution, although the past two generations had shown that there was no solution except in a very small way when a very big party was dealing with a small party. Even then it was doubtful whether it would solve the problem. But when the parties were evenly matched then it was no solution. It was only very large-scale destruction and wrong for all concerned.

"Open Diplomacy" ?

What surprises me is the manner in which statesmen of high degree talk to each other. It is said that we have come to the days of open diplomacy. But one is inclined to think that anything is better than the open diplomacy of today which consists often enough in open abuse of each other. So I am led to think that apart from our objectives—and we all talk of noble objectives of peace—it is at least as important for all of us in our individual lives, as in the larger national or international life, to pay attention to the manner of doing things as much as to the thing we aim at. To put it in a different way—I come back to Mahatma Gandhi again—the means are always as important as the ends. That was the basic lesson of his life.

Opposition about Peace

How can you get peace if you are aiming at war, talking of war and thinking of war and exploiting the word peace for that purpose? We have peace conferences where the most violent discussions are made. I cannot understand how you can reach peace if you travel that way.

Lesson for Scientists

So it comes to this. It becomes important that we should understand a little more the mind of the human being, of the individual and the mass, and try in some slight degree to control the minds of the politicians and statesmen, because it may happen that all our work and all you may do may suffer irretrievable damage because of things going wrong.

I do not know whether the development of social sciences and the like is going to help. No doubt they ought to help. But I myself know examples of eminent botanists knowing all about flowers except having an appreciation of them. So scientists and social scientists know all about human beings and treat them as very interesting subjects for study, but are not personally moved by the human aspect of the problem. I do not know if scientists are in a position really to help in dealing with social sciences directing them in a particular way.

Highly educated people somehow miss something that might be called the concept of good life, the concept of an integrated joined life. They are very clever, they can do many rather ordinary things; but they do not know how to lead their life as a joined and integrated whole. That applies to the individual as to the group and nation. Now, how are we to find that join and integration in life in a nation and as between nations? Because, if we do not, we do not remain where we are.

Necessity for Human Approach in Science

The choice becomes one of really recovering some balance in national and international relations, or cracking up completely.

A measure of human approach to human problems is not only desirable but essential today for scientists as for others. What others do has some importance in the mass but what the scientist does has importance individually and in small groups. Because they do count in the modern world and they can make a difference. They can give a turn or twist to happenings.

We utter pious platitudes—we politicians in our public addresses and elsewhere—and we get headlines in the Press, but it has very little meaning. The real problems remain and are neither solved by a slogan nor by a platitude and the real problems demand, if not instant solution, at least instant attention in the right way and, therefore, I have ventured to place some ideas before you.

APPROACH TO THE ABORIGINAL II

(Contd.)

2. Treatment of Diseases

Aboriginals as a rule show weakly抵抗力. Every man and woman among the South Indian aboriginals has a thorough knowledge of the use of a limited number of herbal medicines which they administer to themselves in treating all minor ailments.

In inflicting various diseases they find no better efficacy by any system of medicine and regard themselves entirely in the Will of God. They sometimes spend days and nights in prayers and penance. Their eyes glaze in the burning sunlight of a few fire of dry twigs which is kept alive until the prayers are heard either in the shape of a divine promise conveyed to them over the wings of a dove or by actual symptoms of improvement in the condition of the patient. It cannot be denied that their faith is often strengthened by the cures which come off by their traditional method of treatment. This observation of mine should not be mistaken as an approval of their spiritual method of treatment. The Government had very kindly, after increasing child mortality the spread of pox, malaria and several other diseases which are on the increase in tribal areas owing to total absence of hospitals, child welfare centres and the lack of supply of anti-malarial operations taken on by the State Government. Most districts find that the aboriginals have been neglected in the matter of even medical relief. There can be no difference of opinion, however, in stating that whatever measures are more essential and urgent than actual treatment is given to the aboriginal tribes. While admitting that too much dragging is always lost whether it be in the full name or plainness, it cannot be assumed that better shows will come all medicines.

3. First results of vaccination

No doubt there are no communal problems worrying the aboriginals. The education will remove such evils in a short time but they are to be remembered. It is no doubt true that certain aboriginals were "dumb" and "stupid".

Early into groups and families but that cannot be help to do this in democracy and democratic mind. The present system prevailing among aboriginals, particularly those of Assam, is still a far better in directing their social life.

It is wrong to think that education will cure the aboriginals from superstitions. The right type of education is, on the other hand, bound to help them against superstitions. It is a well-known fact how the Muslims are today being checked by greedy mullahs and cunning businessmen at the rural society have rather stagnate where the aboriginals with his unique knowledge of forest produce and purchase (oil, gum, etc.) and other commodities of life in considerable disservice to himself.

4. Exploitation

Exploitation by politicians in making the blood of the unorganised and ignorant aboriginal. We heard the other day, meeting in the Indian Agency that some Gujarati and Marathi merchants were purchasing a forest material from the Khasi at Rs 12 and exporting it to Bombay at the 100 per cent. Similar exploitation was noticeable in Gujarat though hardly the network of forest co-operative societies started by the Wild Area Council of India has helped this measure in the subcontinent for now.

5. A few recommendations

It may not be correct to say that several institutions serving the aboriginal tribes are under portions of their collection in medicine, labour and commerce. To quote a few well-known officials tribal organizations of the Khariar Aditya Singh Singh the Indian Forests and Singh has provided even a job for this kind of activity and the indigenous animal has been greatly directed for providing food and help for tribal children. The Wild Area Council of India has got to its credit a network of forest and other co-operative organi-

zations catering to the needs of India in Gujarat and liberating them from the grip of monopolies.

The Aditya Singh Council of India is reconstructing on forest, labour and co-operative grain lands. The social service department of the Government of India and State has distributed nearly 1 lakh of acres of land for cultivation and has distributed several lakh worth of plough, tools to the State of Assam, Bihar, Khasi, Jaintia and Kumaon States of Manipal District and the Chittagong of the Mahabharata District. It has also opened several co-operative societies and hundreds of elementary schools for the tribes. The Government of Madras P. S. Singh (United Provinces) has started a scheme supported by the tribal welfare under the guidance of an able Secretary (Director) and has been drawing most of its funds for providing tribal education. The organization in Assam has its roots taken by the state-owned and agency work among the tribal societies near forests and other medical relief work in Assam for the funds spent on medical relief are very small compared with the enormous spent on education.

6. SUMMARY

Gandhi's Photographs

The following information is published for the general information of organizers of Gandhi Mela during the coming fortnight—30th January to 12th February—seeking to exhibit Gandhi's photographs at such functions.

Photographs meant for exhibition and return can be had on hire at rates depending upon the size of the photographs. We have also prepared for hiring out about a hundred magic lantern slides of Gandhi's pictures at various posts and groups. For quotations of hire etc. please correspond with the undersigned.

A 10" x 12" photograph in three colours showing Gandhi plying the shawl is also available for sale. It is the same as is generally exhibited on the publications of the All-India Spinners' Association (Charkha Sangh).

SAVY KANTON

Harwar (Gandhi Chitavara,
Ranchi State, Rajkot
(Bharatnagar)

(Note: Readers are requested that all enquiries and communications pertaining to notices of the above nature must be addressed directly to the institution concerned and not to Harijan papers, or Manojvan Karyalaya or to me.)

(S. G. M.)

By Mahatma Gandhi

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ELIMINATION OF THE BLACK MARKET

Attention has been constantly drawn, with telling evidence to the evils of the present system of controls and the consequent creation of the black market. While I often lay before the public evidence of this type I have been constantly seeking a solution, which would secure to the needy public the advantages which controls claim to give to the people without at the same time creating a black market, with its moral degradations. It seems to me that this can be brought about in the following manner.

As it is, the Government does not take or even claim to take possession of all such goods as which control regulations are imposed. Items when it takes possession of any of them it does so of only a small part of them. A large part is left unhindered. It is this small part that is distributed either through ration shops or licensed dealers at controlled rates and in controlled quantities. The measure is always less than the consumer requirement of the card-holder. This compels him to purchase from private dealers at prices dictated by them. These transactions are designated 'black-marketing', and declared an offence. It is this feature that has become the basis of the control system.

Let the distribution of necessities through ration shops or licensed dealers at controlled rates and in controlled measures be undertaken as might be necessary for the convenience of the needy. It need not — should not — be extended to the well-to-do. Government should have the power to purchase for this purpose their requirements at fair bottom prices. Let us call them 'procurement prices'. If the price does not give complete satisfaction to the producer, let him regard it as a kind of tax. The procurement price should be reserved as reserve only for the purpose of distribution through the official agency, and for the sake of serving only the needy to the extent of preventing starvation and other great hardships. There should be no attempt to make for such distribution the claim that it supplied the full need of the consumer. It should be clearly understood that the consumer was expected to purchase his balance of requirements from the usual market or resort to substitutes.

With regard to the prices of such commodities in the usual market, Government should declare not what are called ceiling and bottom prices but what I would call 'justifiable prices'. They would be higher than the prices of the ration shops, and sufficient not to leave ground

for any just complaint that they leave no room to carry on honest trade to earn a living. These prices might be settled for a season or so, or, if necessary, from time to time, even from day to day or week to week, and might vary in different districts. The effect of the 'justifiable price' of a thing is that in case a dispute arises between a seller and a buyer in respect of a transaction relating to a commodity, whatever may have been the price agreed to between the parties, a court of justice would not decree more price for it than its justifiable price on the date of the transaction. It does not legalize sale or purchase at a different rate, and so there is no reason for making vendors at prices other than those agreed to. When a transaction is completed by payment and delivery it does not enable one to reopen the case. But if it is a transaction on credit, and a party has to resort to a court of justice for any part of the unpaid price or unrecovered article, the court would adjudicate the claim at the justifiable price. It would also enable the Government to regulate a commodity at that price for public purposes.

The star and the practice of the black market would thereby go. The needy could be served to the extent they are done at present. The honest citizen would find no open way of selling and purchasing goods. If the justifiable price is fair, both the seller and the purchaser would keep within it generally. At least it would be possible to carry on honest trade and therefore to avoid in the seller a price of social responsibility. Small and temporary variations in demand and supply would not affect the prices to a very great extent.

I present this scheme for the consideration of the authorities and the public.

Wardha, 2-1-51

K. D. MATHURWALA

"Then Spoke Mahatma"

Requests are often made by citizens of Gandhi memorials for suitable pithy sentences on various subjects from Gandhi's writings. There are a few publications which give collections of Gandhi's views on various matters, e.g. Prof Nirmalchandra Bose's *Selections from Gandhi* (1944) published by the Navagrah Publishing House, P. B. 185 Ahmedabad and *Light of India* (1944-45) by Shri M. S. Dadasaheb, Shri Ganapati Sanshodhan, Pune, Sangli. They are certainly useful for making selections from, but they are large books, and often contain long paragraphs. A small collection in *Then Spoke Mahatma* published by Vishwa Sahitya Ltd., Bangalore City. It is a small pocket-book of about 120 pages, priced at Rs. 1-1-3 and gives quotations arranged under 38 heads. It may prove useful both for selecting appropriate sayings, as also for self-study and meditation.

Wardha, 18-12-50

K. G. M.

HOW LONG TERM DECLARATION?

The effect of the ceiling order on the jag-gery market has been disastrous. From November 1941 for about 20 days I had been in several places and found that jaggery was not available in the markets of big cities like Madras and Bencoolen and small towns like Annakaple and Vijayawada. The black-market price of jaggery varies from Rs 1-2-8 per cwt at Bencoolen and Rs 1-4-8 per cwt in Chenchappala village to Rs 3 in Ellore town. In places like Madras and Vijayawada it is not available for any price whatsoever. The daily *Andhra Prabha* reports that there was no jaggery available in Karimol town and what was being used from the ration shop there, was condemned as unfit for human consumption by the District Health Officer. If this scarcity and black-market prices continue, what is to be the fate of those who cannot do without it? This is one experience.

A few days ago Shri V. Bhaskaran Iyengar, retired High Court Judge and now Honorary Director of Marjan Welfare in the Madras State, and I visited a few Marjan hostels of Kakinada. In one of them there were 34 cots, measuring 18 feet or about 40 lb of rice per day, for their three daily meals. Kakinada being inland milking area, counting at 8 annas per head per day three 34 persons get below 20 lb and the rest must have come from elsewhere. These poor fellows would have become skeletons by this time but for this extra rice, as under the stipends paid by the Government they could not get other necessities as milk, oil or ghee. Similar is the state of things in other towns there, and also at Madras. This is another experience.

A third experience. In one place in Benapole, 2 samples of rice were shown to us, one of them contained about 10 per cent unhusked paddy grains, and about 2 per cent chaff of earth, in the second sample the rice was altogether spoiled and it appeared to us unfit for use by man, beast, bird or worm. At my suggestion, samples were taken by Shri Bhaskaran Iyengar for analysis in the Coonoor research laboratory.

It is true that the controlled articles supplied by the Government are sold at comparatively cheap rates, but being defective in quality and quantity, they are being supplemented by purchases elsewhere, at double or triple the rates prevailing in the ration shops. The consumers themselves are spending more money than they would have spent if there were not these two official and non-official markets but only one general market. This is an inevitable conclusion which must be accepted by all. In case some people restrict themselves to the rationed things they are compelled to resort to restaurants where they lavishly spend on costly tiffin two or three times a day. It was reported to me that this is happening in the case of the boarders in the hostel attached to the Coonoor College. The parents and guardians of these students are thus compelled to incur heavy expenses. Those

who have no means of supplementing their needs openly or clandestinely have to suffer from partial starvation and malnutrition. Their number is large.

Therefore, conformity or non-conformity with the control and ration rules leads to a heavy drain on the people's power and health.

When the Chief Minister of Madras was recently touring in the West Godavari District, complaints were made to him about the quality of rice supplied in the ration shops. He is reported to have replied that the ryots, and not the Government, were responsible for growing such rice. If he is correctly reported, he seems to have overlooked an important fact. Thanks to weather earth and kind nature, the ryots are still able to grow good paddy in their ordinary fields but in the special fields — rice mills and distillery shops — licensed and supervised by Government officers and their agents, the rice conditioned against was produced. That the ryots' paddy is good is proved by the fact that even now new rice is available in the non-official market.

These control rules and regulations are not like the fundamental laws of morality, whose breach comes with it physical and moral sanctions and popular disapproval. They are on the other hand artificial rules made for a temporary purpose and for a limited period, and from the way they are worked in practice they have lost any moral claim to morality which they might otherwise have had.

When the working of controls already in existence has exposed the ineptitude and inefficiency of most of the concerned officers, why should the Government bring in more articles within that grid? The greater the number of controlled articles the greater is the difficulty in their enforcement.

On bonded issues I request the officers High and low, to report the present state of affairs to the Ministers, Central and Provincial. Let there be no ground for self-complacency or self-deception. Those in authority should not delude themselves that all is well down below. The people are not convinced by their high-sounding speeches and control them with the violence experienced by themselves and conclude that an attempt is being made to hoodwink them. Such an impression will not conduce to happy relations between the rulers and the ruled.

I am reminded of our jail experiences. The convict warden used to cry "All is well." We used to reply "All is hell."

The officers may report "All is well", probably with some if not with all of them, but the cry is "All is hell", surely with the people. These controls are creating a bondage worse than the foreign slavery. The atmosphere is charged with untruth, highly phylanthropic gentlemen are obliged to evade these rules to survive at their breach. It is high time that this

might and basket is lifted from off the backs and heads of the suffering countrymen of ours
 Vinayakram, 22-23-50
 BOMBAY

(Note: It is possible that the case for de-control is overblown in the sense that wider than justifiable generalizations have been made from a few instances taken from the class of people of particular strata only. It is necessary that a few workers should survey typical wards of a town and a few villages to ascertain what people of each type actually feel about the various controls and the rationing system. The surveyed areas must comprise very poor, lower middle, middle, and upper middle classes. Besides taking their opinions, they should also examine for themselves the effects of the control and rationing system upon them, and collect dependable data. An estimate should also be made of the proportion of each class in the total population of the State concerned. It would be possible, then, to ascertain the exact economic merits and demerits of the control system. At present, the greatest demand has in its morally degrading effect on character. It is a highly important factor but it would be better to find also its economic value both as an immediate relief-measure and in the long run.)

An objection has been raised to the inclusion of more and more articles under the control system. It is stated on the other side that this becomes inevitable once you accept the control system for a single article of general importance. A detailed examination is therefore necessary to ascertain what controls can be lifted without any adverse effect on the production and distribution of an article requiring to be unambiguously controlled and rationed. I suggest to constructive workers to undertake both these investigations.

— K. G. M. I

THE COLOMBO PLAN

India's Finance Minister presented to the Parliament the other day a report, comparing a six-year plan for the economic development of India costing £1,200 millions (Rs 1,200 crores), and the Colombo Plan costing £1,000 millions (Rs 2,740 crores) for the economic development of South and South-East Asia (covering India, Pakistan, Ceylon, the Federation of Malaya, Singapore, North Borneo and Sarawak).

For some years past we are having so many plans one after another for the uplift of our millions that we have become quite sceptical about them. The importance of the latest plan must, however, be ascribed to the vital concern which England and Australia have in its make-up and fortunes. And since they are intimately linked with America, she too is greatly interested in it. This is also the reason why this plan attracts its predecessors in placing as a wholesale plan for the western ideas about national economy and welfare on the Indian Republic. No wonder the Chancellor of the British

Exchequer has called the plan "great and imaginative."

The six-year period of the plan will commence from July 1951. If successfully implemented, the Report says increased production of crops of foodgrains, cotton, jute and oilseeds would follow resulting in the availability of 18 yards of cloth per individual as against 10 yards at present and 8 chotels of food-rations in urban areas as against 4 chotels at present. It is clear that the emphasis of the plan is on agriculture, power and transport in order that more ambitious plans of large industrial expansion may be taken up thereafter.

As the Indian Finance Minister and British Chancellor have both pointed out, the main hurdles in the successful execution of the plan are two—shortage of trained men and capital. Ultimately they reduce into one of capital alone. Of about Rs 1,200 crores required, the Government of India expect to raise a sum of a little over Rs 1,000 crores (about 85 per cent) during the ensuing six years from internal resources such as economies in Government expenditure, taxation and savings. For the remaining 15 per cent they depend partly on their own assets in London, but more on the aid from some international institution or from foreign private investors or Governments. "It seems certain," says the report, "that a substantial element of Government finance will be required, particularly in the early stages of the development programme." Needless to add that the Commonwealth countries desire and expect America to share the burden and help in the mobilization of no less than 500 million human beings in whose welfare she has evinced a warm and growing interest.

The task of raising the aforesaid finance is really what matters. Taking internal resources first, the capacity of the Government to launch a drive enabling it to raise Rs 1,000 crores may well be doubted. In the recent past its efforts in this direction have not met with any substantial success. All endeavours to effect economy in Government expenditure have almost been fruitless. Nor have the savings of the people increased to any appreciable extent. As regards taxation the whole case ultimately fails, as ever on the impoverished poor. So the net result will be making the poor still poorer. How far it will lead to the betterment and re-construction of that class is at least a doubtful feature.

External aid is an item of even more doubtful value. Our sterling balances in England now stand only at £ 60 million. If India goes on drawing upon them as in the past 2½ years its effects on her economy are bound to be dreadful, especially on the currency. From the International Bank she has already borrowed more than £ 60 million for the purposes of land reclamation, railways and power development. Nor much reliance can be placed on private

investment; because, first, development of agriculture and power and transport is hardly likely to attract foreign capital; secondly, the foreigner now steps in cautiously, for during the last three years India obtained only about £ 4 million private British capital and hardly any American capital. Hence the emphasis in the report on foreign aid at Government level—namely the U S A. In fact the latter plan seems to be an attempt on the part of the 'mother-country' England and her own child Australia to establish an Asian empire of Marshall Aid before the latter expires in Europe (if not extended). Thus impelled by their self-interest to earn their own dollars, Britain and Australia expect to contribute to the welfare of the millions in South and South-East Asia. Incidentally it also serves the object of meeting the advancing communist menace which was, at the bottom, responsible for the very conception of the plan. Besides, it cannot be over-stated that American aid will reach India's shores irrespective of her political attitude. It is not the way in which capital flows. Manifestly enough it lacks no satisfaction unless sustainedly supported in every sphere by all and sundry under its dumping influence.

Assuming, however, that all expectations, internal as well as external will be realised, the question poses itself: what is the plan heading for? The political implications of such a plan are much too obvious. But they can well be ignored (for the time being) when an urgent objective, ethnic and territorial, of a people, is likely to be accomplished. If all-roundness are fulfilled, i.e., if everything passes smoothly and only bright clouds keep hanging over the blue sky for half a dozen years at a stretch, the plan can be expected to yield considerable results. But in practice, it would simply amount to the setting up of a few projects, realisation of some big plans, backing of some trade and temporary employment to a few thousands. It will hardly touch a fringe of the problem of want, which India's teeming population is suffering from.

The authors of the plan, lost in formulating ambitious proposals, seem quite to forget what constitutes the real wealth of India. It appears as if they had no use of her main capital resources, namely, (i) billions of man-spent hours of millions of her unemployed (partly or wholly), (ii) the traditional manual aptitude and skill of the people. It is very regretful as also striking that India's well-wishers, scientists and economists, concentrate all their attention on the utilisation of coal and electric and atomic power resources, but not a jot on her human and solar resources. Of all the laboratories so enthusiastically started not one feels concerned about the harnessing of these limitless resources at India's disposal. Nor is any sociological or other institution interested in the organisation of her human material. What is a source of pride and power

to the Indian villagerman is of trivial value to the official or the expert. A hundred laboratories and a thousand plans can no more succeed in achieving the proclaimed objective than the waters of the Pacific can be soaked by throwing balls of blotting paper into it.

Further, the plan proposes, almost characteristically, to raise the living standard by inflicting all sorts of scientific stuff upon the people. To take one instance, it is intended to increase the supply of fertilisers in order to raise the crop-yields. Never was such a false more unfortunate. These fertilisers or artificial manures have served but one purpose of soil erosion or rigging the earth. They have verily brought disease and disaster. To quote Sir Albert Howard, the immortal author of *An Agricultural Testament*, "In the years to come chemical manures will be remembered as one of the greatest failures of the industrial epoch. The teaching of the agricultural sciences of this period will be dismissed as superficial."

What they in the West condemn and discard, the convicted ones of India shamelessly adopt and refuse to learn from experience.

Like chemical manures, the plan imposes the arbitrary use of machinery imported from abroad. The aim seems to be to destroy what little is left of the village system, to tear away the people from their cherished homes and deprive them of the little pleasures which they sometimes enjoy.

Again, by implication, the plan claims unquestioned loyalty to that irresponsible and insatiable monster called money which too, alas, shall not be solely our own. Presumably India is to be relentlessly pined at seasons in the banks of London and New York. May her own people, but the buffets of the fortune and the aberrations of the brains of the people of the far-West shall choose the course of her destiny.

As mentioned above, the Colombo plan is an alien product whose bonanzas can well be questioned. Its proceeds will amount to hiring a good number of dollars to England and Australia and some lucrative jobs for some experts in India and for the masses nothing more than a vain longing for would-be better days. The triangles of the machine, as contemplated in the plan, will not provide any stimulus to the people who will fail to respond. This shall happen when, and only when, the millions suffering from grinding poverty get what they from their heart desired, i.e., an industry "which will," to quote Gandhi, "enable the nation not only to live but to live as a nation, to live as a nation producing wealth which is real and equitably distributed, not wealth which in Ruskin's picturesque language 'may in variety be only the gilded index of far-reaching ruin, a wrecker's handful of coin gleamed from the beach to which he has beggared an argosy'".^{1, 2}

Varidha, 6-12-59

STUBBIE RAMANATH

HOORAGE TO THE SARDAR

The following resolutions paying homage to Sardar Vallabhbhai were passed at the meetings of the Navajvan Trust and the Mahadev Desai Memorial Trust on 2-1-53. The Sardar was President of both these Trusts.

Navajvan Trust Resolutions

"The Navajvan Trust has lost in the Sardar its never-failing well-wisher and guardian and feels a deep sense of grief and loss at his demise. Gandhi founded the institution and the Sardar was the first president of its trust and remained so till the end of his life. He took a keen interest in its working and with his advice and guidance enabled it to attain the position that it occupies today. The obligations of the Sardar on the Institution are great, and it can repay them only by carrying on its activities along the path shown by him. The Trust believes that this alone would gratify the soul of the deceased and prays to God that He may give to all the necessary strength to tread along the path shown by him."

The Mahadev Desai Trust Resolutions

"This meeting of the Mahadev Desai Trust records its deep grief and sorrow at the demise of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. After the formation of the Trust the Sardar agreed to become its president, gave his advice and guidance in formulating its policy and activities and actively helped in promoting them. By his death the Trust has sustained an irreparable loss, and feels that its responsibility has consequently increased and that special measures should be adopted to keep alive the tradition of service founded by the Sardar in Gujarat. This alone will give true peace to the soul of the deceased."

After these resolutions were passed, Shri Morari Desai was elected President of both the trusts and a few new members were appointed on the trusts, Shri Kanaypal Daga being elected Vice-President of the Mahadev Desai Trust.

The personnel of the trusts thus reconstituted are now as follows:

The Navajvan Trust

President: Shri Morari Kanchhodji Desai

Members: Shri Maganlal Pushkardas Desai, Shri Jivanji Dalchand Desai, Shri Kanaypal Nanabhai Desai, Shri Haribhai Vallabhbhai Patel and Shri Theodoraji Marichdas Desai, the last three being newly added.

The Mahadev Desai Trust

President: Shri Morari Kanchhodji Desai

Vice-President: Shri Kanaypal Nanabhai Desai

Members: Shri Indumathibhai Chitambari Sheth, Shri Maruti Chaturbhaj Sheth, Shri Gopaldas Desai, Shri Maribhai Vallabhbhai Patel, Shri Kharabhai Karmari Desai, Shri Narharibhai Shivshankar

Vyas, Shri Maganlal Pushkardas Desai, Shri Jivanji Dalchand Desai, the last two being newly added.

(JYANTI DESAI)

SARDAR VALLABHBHAI MEMORIAL FUND

A meeting of the Sardar Memorial Fund Committee was held at the Congress House, Ahmedabad, at 3-30 p.m. on Tuesday, 18 January, 1953. It was attended by 50 members including two members of Bombay State, viz. Shri Morari Desai and Dr Jivanji Mehta. An Executive Committee of the following 21 members was appointed:

President: Shri Kanaypal M. Desai.
Vice-President: Shri Kanchhodji Lalbhai and Shri Nanji Kachha.
Treasurers: Shri Bhogilal Lala, Shri Anandilal Hargovardas and Shri Bhogilal Surana.

Secretaries: Shri Jivanji Desai, Shri Kanchhi Chhaya, Shri Rastlal Nathulal and Shri Chhotulal Patel.

Members: Shri Morari Desai, Shri Ganesh V. Mavliker, Shri Kharabhai Desai, Shri Surajbhai Patel, Shri Maganlal Desai, Shri Maganlal S. Patel, Shri Ushaharji Desai, Shri Manabhai Shah, Shri Bhagwanji Kharaji, Shri Tulashji Kharabhai and Shri Kanchhi Patel.

The President was authorised to appoint convenors for Regional Sub-committees and it was decided to open accounts in the banks in the names of the treasurer.

It was also decided to begin the work of collection.

The Regional Sub-Committees above referred to have now been formed.

(JYANTI DESAI)

Correction

In the article "Taxation and High Prices" 15th January 1953, the price of 'pepper' given is the price of a khundi (i.e. 30 Bengali maswadi) and not maswadi as printed.

The word *batika* mentioned in the list refers to coconut fibre and not to the colouring powder used with bright leaves, also known by the same name.

Wardha, 12-1-53	E. G. M.
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HARTIAN

24 Pages

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Editor: K. G. MANSURWALA

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AHMEDABAD—FRIDAY, JANUARY 24, 1931

TWO ANNAS

THIS ISSUE

Many a close associate of Gandhiji and Sardar has contributed for this issue, and there are several whom I can recall now as those whom I ought to have requested to write, but omitted through inadvertence. I thank all those who have kindly acceded to my request and beg to be pardoned by those whom I have omitted to do so.

Though we have given 24 pages in this issue, it has not been possible to include all the contributions received for want of space. We shall try to give them in subsequent issues.

The article on "Rama-Raj of Bapa's Dream" by me has been included in this number by the courtesy of the Press Trust of India.

Wardha, 17-1-31

K. G. MANSURWALA

OF THE SARDAR THAKKAR BAPA

I have to perform the very unpleasant duty of adding one more successful note to the list mainly dedicated to the memory of revered leaders. The Radio has announced that Shri Thakkar Bapa passed away yesterday (Friday, the 16th inst.) at Bhavnagar. Gujarat had the proud privilege of having presented to the country three of the great servants of man in modern times—Gandhiji, Thakkar Bapa and Sardar. She has also the misfortune of being deprived of them after rapid succession. Great and good men are not quite rare in the world, but it is rarely that two men, both good and great, work together shoulder to shoulder for the good of mankind. It would seem that their very selfishness makes them individualistic and non-cooperative. To Gandhiji, Thakkar Bapa and Sardar belongs the credit of setting a new precedent for good men to follow. They worked together more unitedly than even blood-brothers do, and for no selfish ends.

Owing to limitations of space, I am unable to speak more about Thakkar Bapa this week, and have to content myself with offering my prayerful salutations to him, who guided, inspired and encouraged me for more than a third of a century, and treated my wife and me as his pet children.

Wardha, 20-1-31

K. G. MANSURWALA

STRONG, GREAT AND BELOVED

It is difficult to write about one to whom I was so intimately and closely attached and with whom I had been my privilege for more than thirty years to work in the closest association. My acquaintance with Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel commenced at the time of the Kheda Satyagraha when I visited some villages in Kheda with Mahatma who was touring the district. It was on this occasion that I paid a visit to Narchand, the birthplace of Sardar. When the non-co-operation movement started, naturally our association became closer and as days passed we became intimate. By the time Mahatma Gandhiji was imprisoned in 1922 and the great controversy about Congress entry started, we had become close friends, and the Ping Satyagraha at Nagpur furnished me an opportunity of working in very close co-operation with the Sardar. It is a mutual pride and privilege to me that I have had the privilege of enjoying the love of a younger brother, and ever during the long course of more than thirty years had I had one sensation of feeling that he treated me as anything but a younger brother. Even where I have differed from him, he has listened to me.

The Sardar had great qualities of leadership. He had a mind which could grasp complicated situations almost instantaneously. He could see things straight and after he had once considered and made up his mind on any matter, it was most difficult, if not impossible, to dissuade him. It does not mean that whenever one differed from him one had to yield. If he held a different view on any particular point and he was pressed hard by his colleagues to take action in a contrary direction, he would not give up his own opinion but carry out the wishes of his colleagues. It was for this reason that he was known as the strong man of the Congress. Once he undertook a job, he would see to it that it was done. Where differences were so acute that he could not himself do the thing, he would simply keep quiet and let others carry on. But no one can say that he ever obstructed any one else in giving a trial to his own ideas, although he would not leave one in doubt about his own opinion. It was this straight way of looking at things and doing things which gave him strength. He was utterly fearless and would not hesitate to call

a spoke a spoke if the occasion demanded it. With all the differences with him, those who did not agree with him and might be called in a show opponents, liked him because they knew exactly what he thought and felt. Behind a forbidding exterior, he had a very soft heart. Those who had the good fortune of coming in close contact with him knew what an outburst of such of human kindness was flowing through his veins. Like Mahatma Gandhi, he would look into the details of every problem that came up before him and he would not be satisfied unless he had probed the thing to its depth. He was not the man who took what might be called a bird's-eye view of a question neglecting small details. He had also a fund of confidence in himself and in the people whom he led and he would not hesitate to take risks because he really felt that there was no risk involved as things would, according to his calculations, set themselves right.

He was the one man in the Congress who had the credit of successfully launching and leading in victory a number of Satyagraha campaigns, the most important and outstanding among them being the Bardoli Satyagraha. His success was due to his power of organisation, attention to and providing for details in working—which are often neglected—confidence in the people whom he inspired and led and their undiminished confidence in him, his utter selflessness and frankness and above all, his courage and determination which never wavered even in the most adverse and difficult circumstances.

He was not great, however, only in a fight. I wonder if any one can claim as much constructive work as he accomplished. He was one of the earliest among the Congress leaders to interest himself in organising unions. His interest in it began even before the non-cooperation movement was started and he had always been one of the pillars of strength of the Ahmedabad Labour Union which is even now the best organised and most successful Union in the country. Early in the days of non-cooperation, he was, if I mistake not, the Chairman of the B. I. & C. I. Railway Workers' Union. It is well known that it was under his inspiration and guidance and with his active support that what has now developed into a countrywide organisation of labour, the Indian National Trade Union Congress, was started and fostered.

There has been no better organisation of the people, and particularly of the peasants, than that of Gujarat, who have more than once been tested and have come out with flying colours after immense suffering and sacrifice through several Satyagraha campaigns. The Congress organisation of Gujarat has been a model organisation and continues to be so today without any of those party differences and bickering that weaken it in many another part of the country.

In the Government he held two important portfolios the Home portfolio and the portfolio of States which was created shortly before the attainment of independence in 1947. Apart from the ordinary activities for maintaining law and order which every Home Minister has to deal with he had to face three very extraordinary and critical situations which he tackled not only with firmness but also with thought and understanding. The first crisis came just in the wake of the attainment of independence and manifested itself in widespread disturbances in retaliation for what was happening in Pakistan. The second crisis came on the occasion of the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi when people in some parts of the country went mad and started disturbances against a particular community. The third crisis came last year when something similar to what had happened in 1947 seemed to be repeating in Bengal. On all these occasions it was his understanding of the situation combined with firmness in dealing with disorders, which saved the situation.

The credit for converting what threatened to be a complete disruption of India with numerous independent or semi-independent States within its boundaries into a perfect consolidation of it is an achievement never equalled in the long and chequered history of this country. That this consolidation was achieved so speedily and as it were almost unnoted and without the use of force speaks highly not only of the high spirit and patriotism of the Hindus and Muslims who voluntarily gave up power and privileges long enjoyed, but also of the great powers of organisation and persuasion of the Sardar who was able not only to gain their confidence but also to retain it.

Like Mahatma Gandhi he was able to win and enjoy the confidence and trust even of those who suffered loss on account of his action. Work among industrial labourers, peasants and States people has very often been looked upon with suspicion by the factory owners, landlords and Rulers of States whose interests seemed to be directly affected by his success. It is a marvel that Sardar Vallabhbhai's success in all these three spheres of work among the masses, far from diminishing, enhanced not only his prestige among them, but also won their respect and confidence.

His earlier remains have been consumed by fire and even the ashes have been immersed in the holy waters of the Jamuna and the Ganga to be washed down to the limitless oceans. But his work and his example remain to inspire those left behind and generations yet unborn.

New Delhi, 10-1-61.

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G. G. C. OF THE NON-VIOLENT ARMY

(Panoramy of Shri Sardar's career at the proper-
mending in the Ashram at Gandhinagar, on 15-12-52) The
news of Sardar Vallabhbhai's death had spread in the
village, and so there was naturally a large gathering of
men, women and children, of all ages and classes.

"The diamond, that can withstand the blow
of the world's hammer, is valued most. The
softest one will get powdered."

—Pundit.

In the above poem, Sardar Tukaram has
described the qualities of the hero. He like
diamond is like the diamond, which does not break
when struck by the sledge hammer. Such a dia-
mond is given the full value. A false or arti-
ficial diamond will break into pieces, although
apparently its lustre might be deceptive. The
test of a diamond is in its capacity to bear the
hammer.

The great man, who has passed away today
from amongst us, received the designation of
Sardar, because he was like the diamond of
Tukaram's description. He was the bravest
fighter of Sardar's struggle, his disciple and
his G. G. C. He knew no retreat.

Small things do not last long in history
history which even to an ignorant today may
not remain worthy of record after a century or
two. But even then, there are two achievements
of the Sardar which will take a permanent place
in history. They are—his Satyagraha in Baroda
and the unification of India brought about by
him.

He moved the whole agrarian class. He
described them as it were. The Sardar was a
born leader. Although he was a farmer and
not an able politician, he organised all the con-
flict of the village. He spoke through the village
as though he were an uneducated man.
As that his words often touched to the quick the
poor to whom they were addressed. But he
was kind at heart, and soft to the point. That
softness came to the rescue of the peasantry.

Much has been said and written about the
science of violent warfare, the science of non-
violent resistance is yet to be written. The Saty-
agraha of Sardar will be recorded then as a
successful application of the non-violent tech-
nique.

The second item of experience is the crea-
tion of the State of United India by the merger
of several hundred small States. This too will
be recorded in the history of the nation as an
unprecedented one.

I have mentioned only these two achieve-
ments of the Sardar. But that does not give full
justice to the qualities of that great man. It was
due to his presence in the Government that the
people of India could keep courage and feel
secure, just as in the time of Shivaji the people
remained brave and undaunted due only to his
personality.

I saw him first at the Sabarmati Ashram.
He used to visit the Ashram now and then. He
frequently visited also the Gajral Vidyaghat,
where we used to work. He often came to
Wardha, and once he paid a visit to the Ashram.
It was on the eve of 17th October, 1933, the day
on which I was to offer Individual Satyagraha
against the Second World War. We talked for

about an hour. I then met him at Delhi now and
then. All the times, we were not quite intimate-
ly acquainted with each other. I knew, however,
that he was a pillar of strength—to our great
Ashram brotherhood. It is natural therefore that
I experience the loss of a member of the family
by his passing away.

Within a week, we have lost two personali-
ties of very high eminence. Both of them were
great soldiers of the country. Both rendered
valiant service to the nation. Shri Aravinda was
at first known to the people as a revolutionary
leader. But that great man retired into solitude
and spent forty years in meditation. He has
written important books, which even scholars
will require a deep study to understand. But
they are books which will stand long as the river
of time. The Polar star does not leave its place.
It will meet your eye only if you look at it. Shri
Aravinda was like the Polar star. They alone
may know him, who want to find their path.
The Sardar's position was quite the reverse. He
was a servant of the people, who claimed his
service as if it was their birthright. He did not
write a single book. Speak, he did on occasion,
but he was not fond of speaking often. But like
the poster families of a tribe, the Sardar carried
in his mind, the anxiety for his people's good.

After Gandhiji's death he used to say, "I
had been decided between us that we should go
together." But his anxiety for the country made
him live so long, and he served the country till
his last. He reminds one of Janaka, who, though
he lived in a palace and ruled over his people,
was personally free from attachment to office
and his honours.

The Sardar was very close to Gandhiji.
Gandhiji's last interview, the one immediately
before his death, was with the Sardar. After that
the Sardar left for his home and Gandhiji left
for Heaven. Indeed, the Sardar had hardly
reached his residence, when he had to return.
Though they were so intimate, the Sardar did
not shed tears at Gandhiji's death. Such was he,
a great mountain of courage. Fear, he knew not.
His margin was a true understanding man; re-
veal itself in one's conduct. This was one of his
outstanding qualities. In many respects he was
comparable with Lokmanya Tilak. He was not
a scholar like the Lokmanya, but in various
other qualities, particularly in fearlessness, they
were alike. So also in plain speaking, irrespec-
tive of what others might feel. Both would strike
from the front, and bear the opponent's blows
unflinchingly without showing the back. We
should learn from him the quality of fearles-
ness. All other qualities fade away if there is
fearfulness. Even a virtuous coward commits a
sin at the moment of trial, some one does it to
save his own life, another to save a relation, a
third to save his reputation. But whoever tries
to save himself out of fear loses his manhood
and becomes heart-hearted. All other virtues are
like dust. Let us, therefore, imitate that quality
of fearlessness from the Sardar's life. There may
well be those among you, my young boys, men
like Sardar Vallabhbhai.

Paramhansa,

Patan, 15-12-52

(Continued from Number)

VIJAYA

A RUBY IN IRON-FOLDS

I consider it a great privilege to be asked to contribute to the special Harijan Day number of the Harijan an article on Sardar. Having been so close to Sardar and his times I first hesitated to comply, but on second thought I felt the occasion was too great and sacred to be missed. It would, however, be presumptuous on my part to run up a great and historic personality and an illustrious and epoch-making career in the allotted space, I would, therefore, content myself with giving a few glimpses into that breathtaking wilderness.

Ever since his death, pages have been written of him and about him in newspapers and periodicals, full of feeling have been the outpourings from many a platform. Few have, however, stressed that uncanny gift he possessed of grasping the essentials of a case not so much through files or books as through discussions and observation. The outstanding examples of this have been the skilful and arduous negotiations he conducted with Mr Arthur Henderson, then Under Secretary of State for India, about the transfer of the Secretary of State's Services to Indian control and the vigorous and astute but firm handling of India's case in the Partition Council. In one he exhibited all the attributes of a clever advocate and reproduced his old form after thirty years since he abandoned the profession of advocacy, in the other, he showed an amazing capacity to grasp in one flash every such diverse subjects as the intricacies of finance, the technicalities of Defence requirements, the complexities of Banking and pensions, and the tangled skein of many other paralytic problems. In my humble judgment the services which he rendered to the country in these two roles will alone enable him to an everlasting place in its annals. By his tenacity and brilliant presentation of the case regarding the liquidation of the Services he not only stressed the most important bastion of the Foreign Power but also paved for his country millions of rupees which would have gone towards compensation and the granting of loans to pay large sums by way of compensation to its own nationals for having served another government. Similarly, by a firm refusal to yield any ground where India's interests were undeniably involved and by displaying a vigilant regard for its future work, he laid, on the secure basis of his Partition axioms, the foundation of its security and economic potentialities.

These are by no means the only instances in which he displayed such marked capacity to master unfamiliar subjects. His practical eye quite often aided with baffling accuracy on the key points of a comprehensive subject. I recall his visit to the Unadicut Test match with the Commonwealth Eleven at Delhi in November 1940. Both the teams were presented to him and he saw the match for about 45 minutes when the India team was leading. After the visit was

over, I asked him what had impressed him most during his visit. Out came a reply for which I was least prepared. He said something to this effect: "I compared the physique of the two teams observed the difference in the standards of feeding and noted the absence of a few towers—and found India at a disadvantage on all these." I knew that many a modest expert of long experience would not be able to improve upon this statement of India's weaknesses in that game. It is this rare gift of picking out the kernel of an intricate problem in the shortest time possible which made it such a pleasure and Royal education to work with him and which enabled him to turn out a quantity of work which would have done credit to three men younger in years and in better health.

Little do people realise that all the mental and physical strain which he underwent during the last 4 years and the important tasks which he accomplished were done at great sacrifice of his own health and life. The first signs of a weak heart were detected 10-years ago when he was asked to cut down his physical exertions drastically. The doctors gave him the usual catalogue of diet and diets. His internal trouble was incurable, neither medicines nor drugs could have brought about a lasting cure and they merely served as palliatives. To add to it, the emotional anxiety put a strain on his heart which a sound ill afford to bear. He made light of all this and did not disturb his routine until the attack of coronary thrombosis in March 1941 compelled him to take his doctors more seriously. Even then the sense of urgency and the short time which he knew was at his disposal gave him no real rest and peace of mind. He doggedly left the weakness and handicap of age, still he persisted in his endeavour to make a new career of yesterday, that every Indian was, within the after-effects of the centuries of slavery. Seeing the questions around him he sometimes expressed doubts if all that he had accomplished would be reversed. His speeches and statements contained these doubts and fears, but he went on with the great task of unity and consolidation undeterred. Fasting time impelled him into writer action but brought him nearer and nearer his end.

He always felt accused at institutions that he allowed himself to be guided by others or that he placed implicit confidence in such a politician or such a chief servant. Once a deputation came to see him and indirectly accused him of listening to the administration in preference to tried Congress workers. Sharp came the reply "Perhaps, I know them better after having worked with them for a short time." The irony of the reply and the absurdity of the situation both left no room for a counter-thrust even if they could muster up the courage to say anything. The truth of the matter was that nobody in the wrong could hope to sway him, everybody in the right could persuade him, and when he himself felt he was in the right, none could change

him. He selected his men for strength and having selected them and found them deserving of confidence he would withhold none. But it was a great achievement to pass through his test and a moral privilege to earn his confidence.

Bardaji had the reputation of being an iron man. He was often called a dictator. If both these signify an inflexible will, an unbending determination, an unflinching resolve, and an unshakable faith in his mission, purpose, and vision, the appellations are appropriate. But if they mean that he was intolerant of opposition, hostile to another point of view, ruthless in crushing opponents and brutal to all dissenters, they are as separated from the reality as the two poles. He always turned the day by making the right appeal, laying the correct emphasis, instinctively seeing the most suitable opportunity and astutely meeting the dominant feeling. He always spoke from the depth of his heart and conviction. His listeners knew that he meant what he said and said what he meant. I have heard him address many audiences and men have dealt with many individuals. He never consciously rode roughshod over opposition; he almost invariably succeeded in winning it. He would never do anything which primarily concerned **himself** **alone** without consulting the **other**. He struck hard at enemies or political opponents but was always generous in victory. He believed in making friendships and keeping them. He would not make enemies for the love of the conflict; he would not mind them if **his** **enemies** and **enemies** **enemies** left no other way out. It was these traits that inspired respect and devotion for him even in his opponents and made him command the trust and confidence of the minorities. Never was this more publicly demonstrated than in May 1945 when he came down to Delhi from Dehra Dun to hot answer to leave the resolution in the Constituent Assembly regarding minorities and the ovation which he got at the conclusion of his final speech will always remain fresh in my memory.

In a sense he died a worried man. I had the privilege of a more than an hour's talk with him on the 15th December—the last serious discussion I had with him on matters of diverse interests. In that talk he unmistakably displayed his anxiety about the future and talked of the dangers that lay ahead: our weaknesses and the forces that threatened the unity and consolidation which the country had achieved. Throughout his illness he was thinking of the manifold problems the struggle at which he held in his own hand. **Minority Rajasthan Hyderabad the Food problem the Hyderabad Nepal Tibet relations with America the Punjab, China—** all these and many more would crop up during discussion. None of these would trouble him even in his dreams; some names and problems he mentioned even in his sleep. Almost the last problem which came to his mind was the retrenchment in the armed forces. This

occupied a few minutes of his discussion with me on the evening of the 15th December. But never once did he display any anxiety about those near and dear to him. That was typical of the man. The heartiness of everything—even his personal relationship—was the country's good. The country claimed his thoughts right up to the end. Nothing and none else mattered, even the regret at his last illness was not that he was suffering physical pain but that it was preventing him from attending to the many tasks and problems on which he had set his heart. Always impatient of delay in achieving practical results, he would not easily submit even to his illness standing in the way.

Such was the great leader, patriot, statesman, the nation-builder and in the words of Sir E. the Governor of Madras, the "wonderful master" whom it was my proud privilege to serve. I have here stated only some aspects of his life and personality which were either contributory to his glorious achievements and success or which in my judgment, deserved notice even after such elaborate opportunities which have appeared in the Press. A false picture of his achievements and appreciations of the problems which he handled and the personalities who figured in the difficult and strenuous times through which we have passed during the last four years must await greater leisure and freedom from contemporary restrictions. In the meantime I shall content myself with citing, with apologies to a Poet who observed, them in the present tense at a public meeting, the following lines:

And shall he not be now as,

And shall he not be now as,

(In the lion-holds a ruby lay concealed; It was a rough ruby but an excellent one.)

V. SHANKAR

AN INSPIRING CHIEF

It was I think in July 1946 or thereabout soon after the departure of the Cabinet Delegation from India, that I first met Sardar Patel. He had expressed a desire to see me through a common friend and I met him in Sir's House, New Delhi. Though I had informal contacts with him even before I met him in July 1945, it was for the first time on that occasion that I came face to face with that great leader. His easy manners and affable disposition made a deep impression on me, and at the very first meeting there developed between us a kind of mutual understanding and affection. This marked the beginning of a personal association the memory of which would ever remain the most treasured of my possessions. From that day right up to his death, there were very few days when we did not have occasion to meet.

The subject matter of our talk, when I met him was the transfer of power. I was at that time Secretary to the Governor-General in charge of this subject. I acquainted him with

the background of the British Government's attitude in the matter and discussed with him in detail how the problem could be best tackled. His last words to me before I took leave of him on that date, which are still fresh in my memory, were:

"Menon, you and I are working for a common purpose. Let there be no mistake about our determination to achieve independence. If the British are under the impression that they can hang on because of the difference of opinion between the Congress and the League, they are mistaken. We will not consider any sacrifice too great to achieve our objective."

From that day onwards, I was, with the full approval of Lord Mountbatten, in close contact with Sardar and had his complete support.

When the States Department was created in July 1947, the Sardar took charge of this portfolio and I was appointed its Secretary. The first task to which we had to address ourselves was to deal with the difficult situation arising out of the impending lapse of Paramountcy and to avert the threatened disintegration of India. The position as it stood at the time was that the Political Department had arranged to call a Conference of the Rulers in order to get their approval to what was known as a "Standstill Agreement". I was quite clear in my mind that this kind of Agreement would not provide any answer to the problem of States. I fully and frankly shared my doubts with the Sardar who himself was fully cognisant of the dangers that such a loose and slender association would have for India. We, therefore, evolved a different approach to it, which was that the accretion of States on the three subjects of Defence, External Affairs and Communications should be our immediate objective. The Prime Minister also approved of it. A series of conferences had to be held with the Rulers and their advisers to finalise the draft of the Instrument of Accession. While I had kept the Sardar fully informed of all developments and sought his approval to the main lines of the draft, I did not trouble him with the changes which the draft underwent from time to time without affecting its main features. One morning the draft of the Instrument appeared in the *Hindustan Times*, and when I went to see the Sardar, he asked me whether now that the draft had been published in the *Hindustan Times*, it would be possible for me to show it to him. He made this observation in such a serious manner that I did not first catch the joke. Then we had a hearty laugh. He was immensely pleased when I showed him the first batch of signatures on the Instrument of Accession. From that time onwards he gave me a free hand in the negotiation of the pakhans, which were decided upon after mutual discussions and which brought about the integration of States. We were passing then through a dynamic phase of our history which called for quick adjust-

ments and prompt decisions. Detailed notes and protracted negotiations of the kind inaugurated and conducted by Lord Linlithgow between 1936 and 1939 were a luxury which we could not afford. Most of the matters were, therefore, settled at a personal level. At a time when the maximum of action and decision had to be compressed into the minimum of time and words Sardar was undoubtedly the ideal chief. Nevertheless, he always kept himself in touch with the progress of detailed negotiations. We all had to render our accounts about daily and justify the confidence which he placed in us.

One of the principal characteristics of the man of action that Sardar was, was that once he was moved on an important issue, his mind was not at rest till the objective he had set before himself had been achieved. The eagerness with which he awaited the outcome of important negotiations and talks was symbolic of the singleness of purpose with which he devoted himself to the task which the Nation entrusted to him. There were times when he would not have the patience to wait my arrival at his house to meet me. For instance, when I returned with the Instrument of Accession signed by the Maharaja of Kashmir, he was anxiously waiting for me at the airport. It was only after I had shown him the letter and the Instrument of Accession that his anxiety abated. He then switched on to the next question of giving military assistance to the Kashmir State.

Sardar was predominantly a realist. He never underplayed the gravity of the problems which confronted him, but what struck me most was the quality of fearless courage with which he faced them. Indeed, I would be true to say that he was at his best when things looked dark and gloomy and the prospect was depressing. I used to get slightly depressed on such occasions when his calm behaviour would come into play and revive me. His approach to all problems which he handled was essentially practical. When a problem was presented to him, he was quick to seize upon its main features and to assess at once what the solution was, even if he did not always labour to find a reasoned answer in support of his conclusions.

He was known as the "Iron Man", but I must say, from the first day to the last in my relations with him, I saw very little of "Iron". In the "Iron Man" Once one had penetrated the exterior mask of fortitude, one was immediately struck by the evidence of strong affection, in the latter days especially, this affection was of an overwhelming quality. In my official life, two persons got the most out of me—one was the Sardar and the other was Lord Mountbatten. Both of them had an insatiable way of putting you at your ease and getting the best out of you. By nature, Sardar was not effusive in his appreciation, but by

a wood-burn, a lock door¹ and a posture now and then, one could feel how happy he was at what one had done.

By the death of the Bardai, the recovery has lost a great statesman and a master nation-builder. My own abiding feeling is one of desolation at losing an affectionate friend and an inspiring chief.

V. P. MENON

THE SARDAR'S LAST ILLNESS

(Adapted from two letters written to Shri Nandani Parikh.)

Whenever the doctors advised special precautions to be taken or forbade visiting, attending public functions or making speeches I used to tell them in the very presence of Bapu (Bharat Vallabhbhai) that they would be watching helplessly and when the time came he would pass away. And so it went about. For a full month some doctor or other was always present by his side. At the time of the last heart-attack Drs Nathubhai and Gilder attended. They, poor fellows, were trying their utmost for months and at last what they had apprehended happened. There was a strong heart-attack and all remedies were of no avail. Bapu had grown so weak that he had no strength left to withstand such a severe attack. At the time of the first attack he had sufficient strength in him. But during the last year his body got weaker and weaker, day by day, week by week, and for the last three or four weeks he experienced more pain. He who would not let go a sign from his lips was writhing with pain whenever it became unbearable during the last ten or twelve days. When Bapu used to say, "Doctor fine is as painful as death. This is unbearable," the doctors (Nathubhai and Gilder) used to tell him, "Bapu, you had got yourself operated upon without any anaesthetic in England, just have a little patience, keep courage. It will be all right." At this Bapu would answer, "I was young then."

The recent illness was very severe; his physical strength had definitely gone down during the year. I did not entertain any great hopes of his recovery. His restlessness and pain during the last fortnight frequently reminded me of the last illness and restlessness of Dr. in the Agri-house Palace as described by Sadashri Nayar in her *Agarwal Karam Karam*. And I told Dr Gilder accordingly several times. Sardar twice assured me that he would be all right. One day seeing me very gloomy, Dr. Dhanda said to me, "You need not despair. His condition is no doubt serious, but he will be all right." But my mind would not be persuaded to believe. I was all the while thinking that they were giving me false hopes and assurances. Bapu's utterances like, "This is as painful as death itself," his singing on occasional dry lines of lyrics like "When the fountain of life gets parched", "Open the sacred

portal of the temple" and his breaking out amidst this to the doctors, "I have sung enough lyrics, heard enough of them"—all this seemed to me to be a premonition of the coming calamity. Sometimes his look (as well) indicated that he would not get out of this illness. Once he said to the doctor, "I thought that this is heart-trouble and I shall suddenly fall away, but this is causing intense pain." During the last three weeks he suffered intense torment. On the last days, of his own accord, asked the doctors to arrange for a nurse, adding that I would tell him for want of sleep. Separate night and day nurses began to attend, but I could not feel at ease. If he happened to sit up or cough during the night, I would instantly sit up and run up to him and he would stare at me and say, "Go to sleep my child, or you will fall ill." Only during the last two days did he not utter these words. When doctors asked him to sleep he would point at me and say, "Sleep is necessary for her." Night and day I was a witness to his pain and latterly began to feather within myself and pray to God either to cure him or relieve him of the body. If I could not suffer to see the man he was experiencing, how much more unbearable it must have been to him who was doing it. It was serious when he ceased to be aware of his clothes being soiled,—he who would instantly ask for a change if he saw a single spot on them. He would say to the doctor, "It means my limbs are leaving me by one."

When that he had no strength left for anything, I was apprehensive lest he would be unable to say a word. During his last days even narcotics ceased to have any effect. His speech, half in stuper, his mind was full of thoughts and words would come out of his mouth—words referring to some work or other. To the last he was thinking of the nation. Only on the last night did he not say anything particularly, had a heart attack at 3 a.m. A cocaine injection was given. Instead of the oxygen tent a rubber catheter was held before the nose. All gave up hope. Sardar began to phone to Delhi and other places advising that he was dying. Ramdaswari asked two Brahmins to recite the Gita. Gopi, her daughter-in-law, sat by me, on my cot, and began to recite it. She finished one meeting by half past seven and Bapu's pulse re-appeared. The eyes also began to show lustre. In a short time he was awake and asked for water. When I gave him some in a feeding cup with honey mixed with it he said that it tasted sweet. He must have taken about 2 oz. in small doses. He was having great difficulty in breathing and now and again would stretch out his arm to sit up, but on my asking him to keep lying down he would let it go down again. But once or twice when he experienced much trouble he did sit up. At 8-15 he asked for the bed-pan. Then his life began to leave him. The nurse had

whenever such deaths take place. She instantly called the doctor (Dr. Nathabhai, who was talking outside with somebody) came in and tried to feel the pulse but could not. The pulse in the eyes had disappeared. He placed his ear on the chest and saw that breathing was going down. At 3-45 he quoted the body. My heart began to beat very fast. I was desirous of serving to the street his body that was passing away. Dr. Nathabhai called Dr. Gidder also. But who could avail when the fixed time for departure came? The pulse that had ceased to beat again reappeared which led Nathabhai to think that he might pull us till the evening, as it was Friday, the day on which Bapu (Mahatma Gandhi) passed away. Nobody entertained any hope that he would hold on longer. When the pulse disappeared Shastar began to inform people that life was coming back. But that was a passing, deceptive phase. Then all had to be informed of his expiry. Dattatraya, Bharanasi and Bala were already there near three o'clock when they were phoned. Haranaythas and Shri Kher had come at 4 in the morning. All other relatives and friends were duly informed.

In a short time the Shri House was full. With difficulty could people be made to go out so that his body could be given a bath. Up till Wednesday he was asking the doctors to allow him to take a tub-bath, but they could not allow. Now the doctors, the nurse and Dattatraya entered his body in the tub. In the meanwhile I prepared a bed with a clean bedsheet and cover and made a bank of my yarn. After bath he was dressed in a short woven coat of my yarn and a shirt, and covered with a sheet of black woven from the yarn spun by Bapu in 1940. I had taken this piece to Bombay to get a short made of it for him but God willed it otherwise. When after dressing him in black and short his body was laid on a cot, I covered him with this sheet, made the saffron mark on his forehead and garlanded him with my bank of yarn. The doors were then thrown open. As Shri Chhatrasayandas Shri, Shastar's wife and two daughters and nephews were due to arrive at half past twelve in a plane, his body was allowed to remain at the very place where he breathed his last. After half an hour after their arrival, it was taken out and placed in the vesantara, where he used to sit on the sofa in the evening, so a lot so that people might have a devotion of him.

The details of what happened afterwards have already appeared in the papers. A little discussion took place in connection with cremating him on the Chowpat. I negatived the proposal and said that for ever was the proper place. Many did not like this. But I still feel that the decision for forever was the right one.

New Delhi, 25-12-49

MADHUBHAI PATIL

(Continued from September)

A HARE PERSONALITY

The death of Sardar Vallabhbhai has cast a gloom all over the country. There is admiration for our Prime Minister. But there was admiration for the Deputy Prime Minister, also! who is no more. He was a tower of strength to the newly born Indian Republic. Although he was a non-communalist to the core, staunch followers of every religion in India felt that the legitimate interests of every religious community, in so far as they are not opposed to public policy, were secure and safe in his hands. He inspired this confidence among all kinds of people who felt nervous at the declaration of the purely secular nature of the Indian Republic. These people were reconciled to this ideal of secular basis as they realized that it was not incompatible with true religiosity of the staunch followers of every faith.

The interest he took in the reconstruction of the temple of Lord Sannath in Saranath, in the restoration of mosques to the Muslims in Delhi, in his sympathetic treatment of problems of quasi-religious nature, has revealed strong elements of regard, that was in him, for the Indian religion of the people. His death has removed a person who was looked upon by all religious-minded people as protector of their faith. Though a staunch and pronounced Hindu, a devout follower of the sanctified cult of the Bhagavadgita, he was like his master Mahatma Gandhi, a friend of all other religions. His presence kept them all in mutually helpful spirit. It will take time before another such personality is seen to figure prominently on the stage of active politics.

His public life discloses three important stages. We first find him as a faithful follower of Mahatma Gandhi not talking much but always busy in doing organisational work and carrying out the constructive programme.

In the second stage, we see him as a general commanding an army of non-violent protesters of Gujarat to fight the British Government.

In the last stage we see him as a statesman and administrator handling with great wisdom and ability most complicated problems of high State policy. The success he achieved in bringing under one National Flag of the Indian Union all the six hundred States is unprecedented. That is enough to secure for him a place among the immortal heroes of Hind.

श्री रंग शक्ति स्मरणाय नमः ।

Sardar's physical body has disappeared. But the body of his fame, the inner body formed of the golden deeds in his life, lives and will live for ever.

May his soul rest in peace, in communion with the Eternal Soul.

Pune, 14-1-50

M. S. JAFFE

"A GIANT AMONG MEN"

[When Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel was born on 10/10/1875]

I am addressing you after a long interval and much has happened since I spoke to you last on the radio. Many calamities have fallen on us bringing darkness to our people. But the greatest of these calamities and horrors has been the passing away from amongst us of a giant among men. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel was a dear and valued comrade in the bygone days of our struggle for freedom, a rock full of wisdom and determination, a store of patient strength to whom instinctively all of us went for guidance. Later, when we occupied the seats of Government, inevitably some of the heaviest burdens fell on him and history will record how he discharged that duty.

His name will always be remembered not only as that of a great leader in the fight for freedom but as a great builder, unifier and consolidator of New India. That is a proud title to fame which he well deserved. For him it is well, for his life's duty was well performed and is done. But for us it is not well, for we miss his strength and wisdom and we can no longer go to him for counsel and advice. That burden which his broad shoulders carried so lightly, has now to be shared by all of us.

HOW TO DESERVE HIS HERITAGE

How to deserve the better heritage that the Sardar has left us is the great question before us. The way to do so has already been shown to us by the Sardar himself. That the Sardar easily surpassed most of us in his devotion, loyalty and love for Gandhiji, we can deny. Those who did not know him even called him a blind follower of Gandhiji. But the Sardar used to say that he had seen enough of the world and was not a man to run after a naked fakir like Gandhiji. He had clearly seen that the emancipation of our country was possible through Gandhiji's method only and not through any other, and hence it was that he stuck to it. He stuck to him (Gandhiji) by constant brooding and thought he had thoroughly assimilated Gandhiji's principles and method of work and never let on a single occasion for its practical application on his own initiative. During the two years from 1932 to 1934, when Gandhiji was a prisoner in the jail and there was a split in the Congress, the Sardar, though not yet a first-rank leader, maintained the solidarity of Gujarat and kept up the morale of the country by successfully conducting the Satyagraha campaigns of Nagpur and Baroda. This clearly shows his loyalty to Gandhiji as well as his skill and nobleness. When in 1937, at the time of the great flood in Gujarat, Gandhiji, who was confining at Bangalore, wired to the Sardar asking him to go to him he should return to Gujarat, the Sardar

replied, "You have been treating us for the last ten years. You may stay on there and see how we have understood that training and put it into practice. He had already told Gandhiji at the time of the Bardoli struggle, that he might remain at Sataram and see how he (the Sardar) and his colleagues conducted the fight, and if and when they thought his presence necessary, they would invite him to visit Bardoli.

It was on account of this self-reliance and, more particularly, his courage to differ from Gandhiji and take a different course that appeared to him the proper one on occasions, that he proved himself a worthy disciple of Gandhiji. In 1940, when the Second World War was on, the Congress offered to co-operate in the war effort if Swami was granted. Gandhiji was not agreeable to this, and consequently the Congress leaders had to part company with him. Explaining his position before a meeting of the Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee, the Sardar then had said:

"I frankly told Gandhiji, 'If you give the command, I have faith enough in you to run after you with eyes blindfolded.' But Gandhiji does not want us to follow him simply because he says so, but only if we are convinced that the path shown by him is the proper one. If I could go with him I would be more happy than any of you, but how can I run that blindfolded the way when actually I cannot? Neither I nor any horse among you should be taken to him."

The last sentence expresses the Sardar's loyalty to Gandhiji.

A somewhat similar incident occurred when we agreed to the partition and attained freedom. To Gandhiji, partitioning the country was a sin, but almost all Congressmen did not see any alternative course to agreeing to the partition. If partition were not accepted, they thought the whole country would be plunged into a chaotic state similar to the one that prevailed in Bengal, Bihar and the Punjab. They, therefore, agreed to the partition to save the country from chaos and bloodshed. Gandhiji on his part gave up his opposition and appreciated the honesty and integrity of his colleagues.

On all these occasions the Sardar showed the qualities of a true and loyal colleague. Let us understand this properly and try to inculcate in our hearts his burning passion for public service. Thus alone shall we be worthy of his noblest heritage.

—SARABHAI PHULE

(Translated from Gujarati)

THREE REMEMBRANCE

Time and tide wait for no man and before we know where we are, 'Independence Day' comes round again.

It seems as one sees only the other day that we obtained our cherished goal of political independence, and although its entry was greatly marked by the grooves of partition we nevertheless entered in the new era with high hopes. Bapu was there and somehow or other we had no frills while he was with us. With unerring instinct he pointed out the right way. The word *defeat* was not in his vocabulary. Difficulties were there, as he always said, to be overcome and the more intricate the problems the more did it put him on his mettle. The thorniest personal trouble of the humblest and most insignificant person claimed his meticulous attention just as did the biggest problems of the country or of those in high places. Therein lay his amazing love for humanity whereby, as a magnet, he drew all unto himself. And I am sure that I am voicing the feelings of thousands and certainly of those who had the inestimable opportunity of close contact with Bapu that one never came away from his presence without feeling the lighter and happier. When when he looked one far away committed it did not hurt, for there was the realization within that what he had tried to show one was the truth, and while Truth may be harsh it is inextricably bound up with his counterpart, Love. "Truth is God and Truth and Ahimsa are the two sides of a coin." How often have many of us heard him say so whether in English, Gujarati or Hindi? And so it is only natural that on January 26th, the day on which all those years ago we pledged ourselves to achieve our political independence and having achieved it have chosen the same date for proclaiming India as a Republic, we should remember him who was God's great gift to us during the critical years of our history and through us to the world.

It is good that we choose certain dates in our calendar year for special remembrance. Man needs to be reminded now and again of the things that really matter and which he is apt by the very frailties of his nature to forget, particularly in the strain and stress of life which is his lot in the sad and troubled world of today. Another year has just dawned and that dawn has been ushered in not by the warm glow of the season of goodwill which immediately preceded it, for men seem to have forgotten the message, old yet ever new, that heralded the birth of the gentle Jesus. It has been ushered in by the noise and tumult of fighting in one corner of the globe and by the spectre of fear haunting the minds of men of all nations lest that unholy spark should become a flame consuming the entire world. It is indeed a tragedy that even after two global wars within 30 years of each other we stand in

danger of being plunged into another holocaust at any moment. When will we learn the lesson that war begets war and violence can and will continue to generate greater violence? There is something gravely wrong somewhere and it is to wit right that something wrong that all men and women of goodwill must cure.

While it seems only the other day that we gained our freedom, — for what are three and a half years in the life of a nation? — India has been through much travail. The aftermath of partition will haunt many of us to the end of our days. Indeed none of us can ever forget the impenetrable darkness which enveloped us four days after we had celebrated January 26th for the first time after our independence. The gloom of that tragedy, caused by our own folly, has not yet lifted. Who knows but that we are paying for that sin by the disaster after disaster that had dogged our footsteps since we lost the beloved being who sought unceasingly to light our pathway?

But the light of Truth and Ahimsa, — and what is Ahimsa but infinite Love? — which torch he bore aloft with such faith and courage throughout his mission on earth can never be dimmed, for Truth and Ahimsa are God. With Bapu all celebration meant prayer and fasting. January 26th, April 6th, April 13th, Krishna Jayanti were all celebrated by him in the same way. As a rule celebrations convey fasting, merrymaking and distractions to the average mind. But if we ponder deeply enough and believe that it is the things of the spirit that really count, then we shall realize that remembrance of any national day or great world event must make each one of us humble, must stir our innermost being to the depths so that our rejoicing and returning thanks to the Great Giver may mean the replacing in spirit which means communion with Him, and Christians may mean the rekindling within each one of us of the flame of utter dedication to the service of our country and to the cause of world peace.

May the remembrance of January 26th, 1961, be a source of upliftment and blessing to us all and with pure hearts and clean hands may we be enabled to go forward in faith and courage with the enormous task of building a good India. She can only be great if she is good.

New Delhi, 24-24

AMRITHAN

LOVE AND DEATH

Life, death, — death, life! the words have led for ages

Our thought and consciousness and firmly seemed

Two opposites, but now long-hidden pages

Are opened, liberating truths undreamed.

Life only is, or death is life disguised, —

Life a short death until by life we are surprised

Open G.I.L.S.—Canada

RENE ARTHUR

BANDAR'S CONTRIBUTION TO NON-VIOLENCE

There is scarcely any aspect of the character and life of Sardar Vallabhbhai which has escaped receiving its meed of homage in the numerous tributes that have been paid to him during the last three weeks. And yet, almost every one feels that he would be failing in his duty if he did not give public expression to the thoughts and emotions that rise in him at the passing away of one of the most powerful, and yet one of the most loving, personalities of modern India. Last the personal aspect be overshadowed, I would like to hazard the view that the Sardar became strong and powerful because, as he grew in stature, he developed a humanitarian outlook. Not even nearly a quarter of a century back when I had, for the first time, the privilege of seeing him, my impression was that of a considerate and affectionate personality. It is only such a personality, I would humbly suggest, that can evoke the unique, and almost unparalleled, devotion and love that he got from his daughter. It is true that the Sardar gave short shafts to the laggard, the drunk, the intruder, that, however, was no weakness of character. The greatest amongst the leaders of the world have had ever to discriminate between the chaff and the wheat; and the Sardar was no exception.

Among the characteristics of a great and good leader of men is, undoubtedly, courage. Coupled with it should, however, go a temperament that is both sensitive and considerate. All the three qualities the Sardar possessed in abundance. A sensitive nature is apt to become self-centred, and considerateness may be at the cost of principles. It is only a person who combines the three traits in due proportion that achieves greatness. It is because of this happy combination in his make-up that the Sardar was able, all throughout his long public career, to handle effectively individuals from among such diverse groups as ruling princes, commercial magnates, and civil servants. All these, as they came in contact with him, knew that the self-respect of the individual—their individuality—would be duly measured, though not at the sacrifice of basic principles, the chief among these being the promotion of the common weal. It is the sense of security that the Sardar inspired that induced numbers among these sections of society to bow to his wishes and that bowed several, among them by ties of personal affection.

When the Sardar's achievement in unifying India and effecting a smooth transformation of the civil administration is assessed and compared with similar processes in Germany and other parts of the world, the fact is often overlooked that the process of unification elsewhere was accompanied by the use of force and by resort to methods of persecution. Sere in Hyderabad, where it was not integration alone that had to be aimed at—and where conditions prevailed

which had extra-national complications—there was no need for the Sardar to resort to force in bringing about the unification of the entire country. In other countries, again, where there is transference of power, the employment of groups within the administrative personnel, civil and military, is not unknown. These elements help in forming public opinion, forestalling disorder and preventing revolts. It is not through the pursuit of any ruthless methods that the emergence of such forces has been prevented in India. It is because along with his colleague the Prime Minister the Sardar won over, in the first place, the affectionate regard of those responsible for law and order and, secondly, because by his private and public conduct he succeeded in retaining and enhancing the respect and esteem they bore towards him. There could hardly have been a more convincing demonstration of non-violence in action, in the sphere of public administration.

In fact the successful application of non-violence in various spheres of public life was the Sardar's greatest contribution to the progress of our nation. This started with his participation in the agrarian dispute in Kheda in the better-known Bardoli struggle and in the organisation of industrial labour in Gujarat. Behind each one of these achievements lay a close and careful search for facts, because adherence to truth alone could lead to the enunciation of principles on which organisation could be based and evil forces resisted and conquered. The idealist in the Sardar was always subordinated to the realist; the emotional to the rational. What really has great as a practical administrator while he remained a leader of men and a statesman, was his shade of details. His knowledge of facts combined with a deep insight, width of outlook and long-range vision. It is rarely that one comes across an individual possessed of all these qualities that make for greatness—courage, knowledge of what is right, honesty in action.

In 1928 the world was poorer also because of the loss of two other politically and socially great personalities—General Smuts and George Bernard Shaw. The former who was among the earliest to appreciate the greatness in Gandhi, was a statesman, soldier and administrator who helped to make his country in the estimation of the world and who contributed towards building up a world order. So did Bernard Shaw through his writings and addresses and through his share in the evolution of the new democracy in Great Britain. We are too near the times when these eminent world figures lived and served humanity to assess the value of their contribution towards peace, prosperity and progress. But when the history of these times comes to be written, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel's name will it is certain appear embossed there as that of a man cast in a heroic mould who by his unique service to his own people served nobly the whole of mankind.

YASHWANTH L. MEHTA

SOMETHING TO BE PROUD OF

What shall we say we have achieved when we reach another January 26th in 1951? Less and less initiative at the periphery more and more dependence on the centre with more and more financial stringency there, and therefore greater disappointment and a mood of bitterness all over. This is a confusion of sorrow. But is this the whole of it? Certainly not. We are in difficult times, but we shall be out of the wood one day. If we had freedom twenty years earlier the story would have been different. Sir-Isis kindled power to us just when, and perhaps just because, the world had become most difficult. We should not, however, complain. Let us inspire initiative in the villages, in the towns and in the provinces and let us turn to work. *Ye work alone produce wealth and happiness not laws or orders or plans or permits.* May we be blessed with the urge to work and the stamina to overcome difficulties!

I said we have not achieved anything. But a voice tells me, *Yes, India has helped keeping off war has helped the world to keep out of disaster. Is that not something to be proud of?* And does this not indicate some power as we? Yes and it is a thing to be thankful for. May our power be ever of this gentle and holy kind. With growing moral greatness we must keep growing poor. Perhaps India was the saddest of all of poverty and, perhaps again, the tale of destruction that horrors civilization may be stemmed through her efforts.

C. RAJAGOPALAKRISHNAN

WALK ALONE

(A song of Rishabhdeva Tapa's Farewell to Samsara)

If they answer not to thy call, walk alone,

If they are slow and slower, trudge facing the wall,

O thou of evil luck,

Open thy mind and speak out alone

If they turn away, and desert you when entering the wilderness,

O thou of evil luck,

Trample the thorns under thy tread

And along the blood-lined track travel alone

If they do not hold up the light,

When the night is troubled with storm

O thou of evil luck,

With the slender-flame of pain ignite thine own heart

And let it burn alone

(From 4-2-18—Gurukul)

"RAMA-RAJ OF RUPA'S DREAMS"

(Why We Haven't Realized
Samsara's Group of Five Sams)

Again and again critics point out that or that defect in the Government administration, and the consequent hardships to the workers or the public, and end with the rebuke: "Is this the Rama-Raj of our Rupa's dreams?"

Thus is an erroneous and unhealthy attitude of mind. If we want Rama-Raj, or Samsara-Raj or Welfare State, or any good government whatever, it cannot be established so long as this attitude of mind persists. It shows that the critic has not yet realized the full significance of the political freedom he has obtained, and the value of his contemporary interest in it. He still retains the attitude of the Hindu youth who, though he has obtained mastery and even been allowed to still labour under a subordination complex, hesitates to begin to work out his own destiny and wants to be managed by others, and thus recognizes that his affairs are not as satisfactory as he would wish.

It should be remembered that neither 26th August 1947 nor 26th January 1950 established Rama-Raj, whether of "Rupa's dreams" or of anybody else's. It was not to be expected, and could not have been done. What was accomplished on 26th January, 1950 was not the realization of our dreams of Rama-Raj but of our less cherished desire to be free from British Raj and Prince's Raj. We had believed that so long as these ghastlinesses persisted, it was not possible for India to exercise a subtle or unobtrusive, with her own people. We wanted freedom to spend our destiny as we pleased. Whether that freedom will enable us to build Rama-Raj or Prince's Raj or any other, depend upon our efforts, conduct and character.

To establish the latter (Prince's Raj) does not require too long a time though it too requires an iron will, nerve and progress. Half-heartedness and timidity cannot create even an interim Raj. The creation of even a half-hearted plebeian, money consciousness for dashing good ways of exhibiting cruelty and wickedness and absolute suppression of tender emotions of the mind.

We did exhibit a capacity for this during the years 1944-47. That exhibition did not accord with "our Rupa's dreams of Rama-Raj", who being alive then, resisted it single-handed and succeeded in subduing it to such an extent as to be proclaimed a miracle. It so happened those who prided in their capacity of spreading fire and sword that they destroyed his body. With his departure, his dreams have necessarily suffered a severe set back. Since they were not the dreams of only Rupa's mind, but were shared more or less, by others also, they are not destroyed by Rupa's physical destruction. But since it is to his dreams that critics refer, it should be realized that no longer can Rupa's

dreams of Rama-Ray be exactly fulfilled. Whatever is achieved in the way of good government and progress and progressive India, will be the dreams of you and me and the people and our most effective leaders. It is for you and me and the people to think clearly what are our dreams of Rama-Ray and how we shall currently and zealously combine together for working them out.

We all desire a happy, prosperous and free India. But our dreams of that condition are not of the same pattern. This is not to be wondered at. In a country of 350 million, uniform dreaming cannot be expected.

Let each one of us translate his dreams of Rama-Ray and compare it with that of Rama, when we angrily complain that his dreams has not been realised. How many of us really wish to see the Rama-Ray of his dreams established? What are the implications of Rama's Rama-Ray, and how much of them are we prepared to carry out in our life? To what extent shall we welcome the changes that will necessarily take place in our present mode of life if these are energetically carried out?

The dreams of Rama's Rama-Ray are in India, in which

1. There is a strong sense of common nationality among all the inhabitants of all-India whether the country is subdivided into perfectly autonomous (Sovereign) or partially autonomous (Provincial) States, or other smaller political and administrative units.

2. There is perfect peace and mutual trust among Hindus, Muslims and others, and no community tries to dominate one or cast another or show favour for one or antipathy for another in the various spheres of life. There is no talk of establishing Hindu Raj, Muslim-Raj, Sikh Raj etc. or of a dominating Hindu, Muslim or other sectional culture. It is the Raj of every one irrespective of class, creed, caste etc.

3. Security of the State is not based on the principle of "peace through armaments", but on the development of non-violent techniques of resistance to injustice and aggression whether from external powers or internal elements. This depends upon the strength of the moral fibre of the people, the evolution of a non-exploiting and non-imperialistic foreign policy and internal political, social and economic order, and a spirit of friendship with other Governments and their nationals.

4. There is no jealousy or sense of alienation among people speaking various languages, hence there is no rivalry among Indians speaking different languages for getting a particular leader area included in one or another division.

5. Decentralisation, linguistic division, and greatest amount of autonomy to units is emphasised for enabling the ordinary people to manage their ordinary daily affairs of life without too much dependence, central and distant from

above. The purpose is to enable the ordinary people to enjoy freedom of action as much as possible, so that their noble and ordinary aspirations of life might be satisfied with their own initiative and efforts and there might be the least amount of delay and lagging and official annoyance—drawbacks inseparable from too much centralisation. Such decentralisation should make each citizen feel that he has directly and personally a share in some sphere or another of the day-to-day administration of the country, and that he is not a mere voter irresponsibly casting his vote once in four or five years, and thereafter becoming a passive subject to be managed by a mechanical system. But decentralisation does not mean parochial and suspicious tendencies, and weakening of and lack of interest in the strength and affairs of higher or parallel units and the Centre.

6. In Rama's Rama-Ray, the society cannot be one which is divided into high and low castes, touchables and untouchables, ruling sections and ruled sections, masters and bondsmen, people who are very rich and people who are very poor and other glaring and irrelevant distinctions. It is to be a society in which all types of labour and occupations, which are honest and serve a useful function in society are regarded as equally honourable and not unworthy of any one however educated, well placed and highly connected.

7. In technical and industrial advance, utmost value is attached to the preservation of health, morals and higher values of life, peace and to the development of their intellect, personality and social instincts, and to the exhibition of war and violence; human and other life and property are held in great reverence, not to be destroyed wantonly, unlimited increase of wants, pleasures and luxuries and enormous expenditure of trade resources like papers etc. are not regarded as the determining factors of a high culture and civilisation; the technical and industrial advance is so regulated as to solve the problem of unemployment. It is not aimed at creating a show of monetary cheapness by reducing the number of workers in the manufacture of an article or by so dividing the process of manufacture into small bits, as to make the worker a mere automaton working at top-speed, with all his senses dulled and fatigued at the end of the day and seeking refuge in passion-exciting pursuits.

8. Rama's Rama-Ray might involve breaking up of several modern cities like Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi etc. into several hundred small towns. In his dreams, there is not much scope for overcrowded buildings and buildings. His dreams do not raise the vision of a life of great luxury and rolling in cash and comforts; rather, you see therein a picture of folk and small decent buildings in which men, women and children work hard for seven or eight hours a day and enjoy their work. From the

high-louwer and the child at school to the President of the Republic, every one is slavery and hardy.

9. Kapp's *Rama-Raj* does not make the picture of a network of dispensaries, hospitals, drugstore shops, poor-houses and homes for the aged and the cripple spread all over the land — for there is not much sickness, hunger and unemployment, the aged and the cripple are taken care of by the village people, generally domestically; widespread hygiene, cleanliness, sanitation, healthy food and pure water, a system of a simple treatment of minor disorders and accidents, and a general knowledge of nature-cure methods and simple local drugs fill the eyes instead.

10. There is education everywhere; but the schools are of a very different type from those now prevailing. The main building is the work-house. The most important one is the kitchen and the dining room, serving also as the meeting-hall. Overleather come the library, study-rooms and read-together sessions.

Workers are also taken round the latrines, the urinals and bathing places, the class-rooms are scattered all over, classes being held in a part of the work-house, the kitchen, the library, the store-rooms, the lavatories, the manure-pits in the open fields and under the trees also, you might see a class being held even on a river, a tank or a well. There is work and there is play, there is also democracy and socialism, but there is no room there for life and nice-looking wealthy-dressed scholarship to stay and be regarded superior to others.

There are some of the features of the *Rama-Raj* of Kapp's dreams, as I can think of them. How far do they accord with those of the reader? If they do not let him not yearn for Rama's *Ramraj*! If however, they do to a sufficient extent let him work for it.

K. N. MATHURWALA

HIS DREAMS AND EXPECTATIONS

Men has more in him than he externally knows or feels. Bhabhani knew this truth and he also knew the art of bringing it out. The nation lay weak, meek and inert thirty-five years ago. Here and there a spiritual soul buried defiance of the mighty power which ruled over the nation. But the effort from the nation itself which the leaders of the thirties could inspire was meagre and ineffective.

The year 1918 found Bhabhani on the Indian stage. Profoundly depressed had converted him into a psychological magnet. He drew out the best from each one he met or addressed. Those who had been born in plenty and nurtured in an atmosphere of wealth and comfort responded to his inspiration and were thrown in a programme of sacrifice and suffering. Those whose daily thoughts was for their personal careers cast away all planning for self-advancement and plunged into the surging waves of a mighty movement unswayed of what

would happen to them. Softly brought-up women of India rediscovered within themselves the Ashviniya spirit with its ancient and unending tradition handed down by the great Devapadi. Little timid boys transformed themselves into young soldiers of freedom and bore the cruel whipping in prison without a cry. Boys their clenched teeth. Age-long addicts of drink developed the strength to become temptations for life in a moment. Slaves of foreign clerics — men and women — changed over into proud veterans of rough handspun cloth. Orthodox Brahmins, for whom the touch or sight of a Harijan was unendurable, did not mind being next to him. Listening to soul-stirring utterances of the great teacher in crowded gatherings. Many another wonder was wrought by those who came within the orbit of his influence.

He gave us nothing. He drew all this out of ourselves. The seed was there. It needed the skilled hand of a gardener to make it sprout blossom and flower. He made us win our freedom and left for us his will and testament to complete the task and give to his people the fruits of that freedom. On each one of us lies the duty to execute that will and testament. He taught us how to work, how to persist and how to achieve. The nation will lose its way, if we do not re-learn that lesson and once again draw out from within ourselves the best that is in us and use it every minute of our lives so as to make all our surrounding happier and more contented. He helped us to win freedom, that is freedom to act rightly and in the interest of the people. We cannot act so unless our mind is vigorously searching for the right course of action as the situation around us changes from day to day and also unless every centre of our energy is devoted to acting in the direction thus discovered to be right. We must re-cultivate the growth of such qualities for service as are embedded within us. We must once again become the instruments of an inspiring mission — instruments of a high quality and standard. Thereless in our labours, sympathetic in our approach to the people's problems, unswayed by seemingly stupendous difficulties, tolerant of differing opinions, accurate in thinking and execution, such must we be if we are to be the humble servants of Bhabhani's life movement. Each day should see us developing gradually these qualities of true service of the people. We ponder the best things of the world if we can have them. The better the quality of what we want, the more we are drawn to it and appreciate it and, where we can, try to possess it. We like others to give us the best things. We must not similarly in our relations with society and give all our best to the people of our country. We must again rise to a high pitch of endeavour and evolve from within ourselves the latent good and the latent power that lie again dormant within us and let his ever-given missionary function as the impetus of this work enduever and this new achievement.

JAYRAMAN GOELATRAM

TO SARDAR—in AFFECTION

January 26th, 1952, is the first Independence Day that will dawn for us without our beloved Sardar Vallabhbhai (Pate) The wound caused by his passing is still fresh and it is hard to reconcile oneself to the loss, personal to his many friends and to the Government and country which he served so loyally and unswervingly over a long and fruitful period.

The Sardar was no ordinary person. He had rare gifts and with his death has died an epoch, as it were, in which he played a redoubtable part. Cabinet meetings seem strange without him. It is difficult to pass by 1 Aungmye Road, New Delhi and feel that that kindly smile and warm welcome which one always received from him are no longer there. There is a sense of absence of a special support and tower of strength which he had become. One by one the warriors of India's freedom struggle are passing on to their rest, their labours in this world finished, "to where beyond these vaucis there is peace." Hansjan as we are, we miss them. Life has never been the same since Bapu left us. Now the Sardar too has been taken and we miss him and will continue to miss him, for our need for strength and wisdom and faith and courage is great in the critical days ahead. But we have to bow in humble resignation to His divine will Who does all things well and not for our momentary may we give way to despair. The example of the great sons of India is there for us all to try to emulate and the Sardar will undoubtedly one of our great sons.

Literary will record his services in letters of gold. Much has already been written about him as a fighter, an organizer, an administrator, a diplomatist, a statesman. But perhaps enough has not been said about the human qualities of this great man. He was not easy to know, he was a man of few words, in fact the exterior might even have been deemed as forbidding to those who could not see beneath. But it would be difficult to conceive a more generous or hospitable nature. I had the pleasure and privilege of living under his roof for over a year and never once did I feel as if I were anywhere but in my own home. It was an experience which I shall always treasure. Nothing was too much trouble or expense for his guests for this perfect host. The Sardar's humour never deserted him and never can I forget how his wry smiles used to make Bapu roar with laughter. With children he was a veritable child and how the little ones loved him for the romps he had with them! Tears welled up into his eyes when he heard of suffering and distress which showed that beneath that stern exterior there was a wealth of tenderness. He demanded loyalty and gave it in abundance. Justice and appreciation of good service were innate in him. A good friend and a good father has passed away. Those who know him realize his absence as a personal loss, those who know him not feel a pillar of strength has been re-

moved. But the daughter who served him so devotedly has lost her all and in her our hearts must go out in deepest sympathy. Such perfect understanding and devotion between father and daughter is rare and therefore a thing of beauty.

May the great Sardar's soul rest in peace and may we be enabled even in some small measure to serve our country and people as he did.

New Delhi, 2-1-52

ANURAGH

A BORN SOLDIER

With the passing away of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel one of the main links of the younger generation with Gandhiji has been severed. Within three years it is said to realize that the associations of the physical presence of Gandhiji are quickly fading away. Sardar's speeches often revived and reflected the glow of the all-consuming love that emanated from Gandhiji.

The passionate patriotism of the Sardar was contagious to the old and the young alike. His strong will and selfless devotion to duty was ever an inspiration to those around him. It is impossible for those of us, who had had the rare privilege of being associated with this giant among India's many heroes, to think of our country without him. He was a faithful friend and was counselor, but a relentless foe as even British Imperialism learnt to its cost.

Although he loyally carried out Gandhiji's behests he hardly ever discarded a heart-bellied in the principles expounded by the apostle of non-violence. Yet it is remarkable with what devotion and meticulous care he carried out every detail of the constructive work entrusted to him by Gandhiji. He attended to such duties as though they were his own work to such an extent that many felt it hard to believe that his devotion to such constructive work was born of personal affection and loyalty and not of conviction. This is a rare quality hard to meet with in public leaders. It is an example of the soldierly qualities Sardar was richly endowed with in such matters.

"He was not to reason why.
He was but to do and die."

How many will emulate this model of this born warrior?

Coupled with his loyalty was his faithfulness to his colleagues. The trust he imposed on them encouraged them to further effort. In my early days in the Gandhi Camp, he greatly inspired me in my study of rural life especially in the Kheda District. It was he who was instrumental in thrusting on me the editorial charge of *Young India* when Gandhiji was in jail. On many an occasion he had entrusted to me responsibilities against my wishes. His confidence and friendship took us a long way in rendering what service we could to our Motherland.

The passing away of the Sardar, though it is a personal loss, cannot be a national loss, as such men are unusual to the nation.

"Lives of great men all remind us,
We can make our lives sublime"

J. C. NIMARAPPA

HOMAGE TO THE BARDER

[The following are three addresses given by first Masterji Dadas, then K. L. Wadhewani and third Jyotsna Dadas respectively from the All India Radio, Bombay on 1912-46.]

I.

In the present situation of the world, especially in the situation prevailing in India, the passing away of the Barder is a very great calamity. His need for us was the greatest in the present circumstances, for some years at least. For we will hardly be able to get a captain like him, able to lead the nation through the difficult situation that we are in today. His presence in these days by the side of Pandit Jyotsnadas was very necessary. But God willed it otherwise and the Barder has taken on us all and it is our duty to take it up. To establish unity in the country and to raise India to a higher plane—that is the task before us. The Barder during his lifetime showed us the way and led us in the Satyagraha fight for Indian independence, but now we shall have all to find our way together. And the Barder has been victorious with his tact and magnanimity towards Gandhiji, our struggle for freedom would not have, I think, gained that tempo which it did afterwards. He gave us courage. If we tread the right path we can be successful and maintain our freedom later. He achieved a great task even after the attainment of freedom. With his tact and shrewdness he tied with the hand of unity the up leaders and old States with the Indian Union, and has left a glorious example before the world. It is after independence that India has become one. To maintain and consolidate that unity is our task. We should forget our differences and unitedly strive to march forward. We should always bear in mind his burning patriotism and do our work. And this I believe, is the duty we owe to his memory.

(Translated from Hindi)

II.

It is very difficult for me to say anything about the Barder. Even otherwise, I am unable to make a formal speech, especially when my relations with the Barder are like those between members of one family. I have worked under him in the Executive Committee of the Gandhi Seva Sangh for some years. And even after that our relations continued as before, and grew very intimate.

After the death of my eldest brother the Barder used to take interest in all of us including my nation, just like the head of the family. How can I speak of him only as a political leader? People might expect that I would describe his career and political traits as a great political leader, but I shall leave that to others.

The Barder united Gujarat and maintained its unity. Let us not forget that we have to keep that unity intact and breathe accordingly in the future, also.

Nobody could cause a split in Gujarat to join to the Barder was there in truth and blood. In Gujarat has always prevailed one opinion, one command. If anybody ever tried to create a rift in the Barder's order his efforts were never crowned with success. Let us therefore abide by the same order all while in the spirit of co-operation and learn to live in accordance with the principles of truth and non-violence taught to us by Gandhiji—for this alone will redound

to our credit. It will lead to the glory of Gujarat and our strength too will grow with it.

(Translated from Gujarati)

III.

It has not yet been possible for me to get out of the shock due to the Barder's death. I had not the slightest idea when I saw him at Delhi a month ago that it was my last visit to him.

The Barder's last visit to Ahmedabad was when he performed the opening ceremony of the Navajivan buildings on 31st October, 1930. He took a keen interest in my work and personal life and by his passing away I have been deprived of my eyes and guardian. The loss to the country on account of his demise, no doubt, is far greater than mine. The Barder was the foremost among those few leaders of the country and colleagues of Gandhiji who were always mindful of the fundamentals and trying to reconstruct New India on those foundations. Gandhiji developed the concept of Satyagraha, shaped out of it a weapon for fighting and made a practical application of it in our country. The Barder gave his loyal and hearty co-operation to Gandhiji in his undertaking. Such devotion and loyalty have hardly a parallel in the history of the world.

Various kinds of beliefs and opinions got darwazay in the case of great men, due to his hardihood and firm determination the Barder was the epitome of the firmness. His unending nature became hard-headedness with the ordinary people. I can say from my own experience that the Barder was very tender-hearted and loving. I have been in his contact long since 1928. It is difficult to measure his capacity for work. Brought up in a village in his early years, he later went to England and was called to the bar. Both these experiences added to making in him the capacity for management and practical wisdom, his qualities that have contributed much to the making of our nation.

The Barder was connected with my work in the Navajivan House for quite a long time. The guidance that he gave me during all this period has been very helpful in the making of the institution. Gandhiji carried on the work of educating the people of Gujarat and India through this institution. That work is still going on and the Barder took good care to see that it went on unhindered.

It would not be out of place if I mention the name of the late Mahadev Dadas in this context. He was one of the makers of Navajivan. I have considered it my duty to place before the country the life and work of these two worthy leaders along with that of Gandhiji. As a step in this direction the Navajivan Press has, only a few days ago, published the first volume of the Barder's biography. Of course, the first tribute that can be given to the Barder is to tread along the path shown by him—the path of sacrifice for the country.

It is my humble request to the people of Gujarat and of India that they should take a lesson from the Barder's life and give their contributions to the great task of the uplift of our country. Let us express our sympathy to her bereavement and grief towards his daughter Shrinath Manbhai, who served him with a single-minded devotion and pray to God to give peace to his soul.

(Translated from Gujarati)

THE TWO FAKIRS

On this our Independence Day when else are we to remember it not Gandhi? Only those who have seen the conduct of our public life before the advent of Gandhi and the one that prevailed afterwards can have an adequate idea of the enormous change wrought by Gandhi. He brought hope to a people that had been oppressed, oppressed, fallen into despair, had lost all energy and idealism, he gave it an ideal and purpose and taught it to stand erect, and infused heartiness into it, so much so that it was able to oppose a mighty empire and throw away the foreign yoke. And all that he accomplished without any violence or disorder. There is no other example like this in the world's history.

But if this is all our estimate of Gandhi we can be hardly said to have understood him. There is not a single field of life which Gandhi did not influence. Not only did he accomplish Swaraj for us but placed a new viewpoint of social reconstruction before us and led the people towards it.

More important than all this, he lifted our public life from the common and put it on a moral and spiritual level. Politics, it is generally believed, cannot go on without falsehood and deception. But he brought it within the purview of the moral law. Along with the attainment of a sense of spirituality he had the statesmanship capable of observing the greatest statesman in the world. And it could do so because it was based on the solid foundation of truth.

He gave lessons in true public service to people who wanted to do it. He taught even his own family to give up all thought of money and serve the people. When asked to send a message to the Parliament of Religions held in America or elsewhere, he sent this message: "If I cannot give a message through the file that I am trying to live what other message is it possible for me to give?" This was the standard of conduct he laid down for public or social workers, and the prestige our country has gained is due only to a few such workers trained under his influence. And it will last as long as the stream of such workers continues to flow.

Swami Vivekananda always harped on two things in particular, power and sacrifice. We see these incarnated in Gandhi. Because of these, people were drawn towards him. But his strength was not physical but spiritual. Who would not bow his head to a man who was ever ready to sacrifice his life for the sake of truth? And his sponge-like (non-possession) is seen from his very word, whenever he says in so many words, I do not believe that I own any property.

We cannot think of Sardar Vallabhbhai without Gandhi. He had woven each and every principle of Gandhi, in the fabric of his life. Of Ramkrishna Paramahansa it may be said that he was a life apart. Vivekananda played his life

before the people. This cannot be said of Gandhi. He was himself a great *hermaphrodite* (man of action). But this much is certain that if anybody has played an important role in the work of successfully implementing Gandhi's principles in action it was Vallabhbhai. To him goes the credit of most of the successful satyagraha campaigns in the country. And it would be no exaggeration to say that our War of Independence beginning with the Dandi March and culminating in the Quit India struggle became possible only because of the never-ending campaigns of Gandhi, successfully carried on by Sardar Vallabhbhai. We know the Sardar's wonderful power of organisation from the way in which he successfully conducted the various Satyagraha campaigns, his work in the Ahmedabad Municipality and many an other work, great and small, he undertook and later in his administration in the Central Government after the attainment of Swaraj. Like Gandhi he also interested himself in every field of public work and placed it on a proper basis and policy.

But more than all these things, he gave up his legal practice, became a fighter and devoted himself to the path of service shown by Gandhi, trained a band of workers for national service, and the work of his will never be forgotten.

Again must be thankful to God that such great personalities were born amongst us to lead us along the right path. Let us pray to God on this Independence Day that we may not forget the lessons taught us by these two great men and do anything that might tarnish the glory they have won for the nation.

KANAYALAL MANSINGH DESAI

(Translated from Gujarati)

By Mahatma Gandhi

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THE GUARDIAN OF GUJARAT

On 12-13-33 at 3-37 a.m. the Sardar left his mortal frame at Bombay. Only a month and a half ago Gujarat had celebrated his seventy-sixth birthday with great éclat. In spite his very different health the Sardar did not miss the opportunity of seeing his people and come to Gujarat. And it was good that he came. The people of Gujarat could hear his desires, and he also could see the scope of his first activities and all his old comrades and colleagues. He took part in the celebrations of the Navajivan and the Gujarat Vidyapeeth—untrammeled, in the making of which he had taken constant interest. He performed the opening ceremony of the Navajivan buildings and saw the fulfilment of a long-dreamed desire of the Navajivan Trust and Gandhiji, and presided over the Convocation ceremony of the Vidyapeeth, that was in abeyance for a number of years, made himself conversant with the activities going on there and satisfied himself. Who knew that all this was ordained by the will of God as propitiously to his departure hence? The Sardar no doubt had a feeling deep down at his heart that this was his last visit; and he must have bid his last farewell when he left Ahmedabad.

When after receiving the guests presented to him at Ahmedabad he left for Delhi, he had in his mind a second visit in January when he would be covering the various places in Gujarat which he could not cover at the time of this visit. But his health took a bad turn after he reached Delhi and was taken to Bombay. He felt a little better for two days and all thought the Bombay climate would improve his health. But it was the last flicker of a dying flame; his condition worsened on Thursday night and he succumbed on Friday morning. This was sudden news and the whole country was shocked by it. A great pillar of the nation that was in the making after 1915, as it were, crumbled down. Gujarat lost her guardian, the age that began in 1915 with the advent of Gandhiji came to an end, and the travails of the new have now begun.

When Gandhiji came to India in 1915 the Sardar had been in Ahmedabad nearly three years. As was usual with most pleaders he used to waste away his spare time in chit-chatting and playing cards at the Gujarat Club. But there was a fire burning in his heart. He was a great admirer of Lokamanya Tilak, who was a patriot burning for Swami. But what was to be done? Neither terrorist tactics nor fiery speeches and strong resolutions would be of any avail. Their fertility was patent to him. What then was the way? He was from the first a man of few words and more deeds. To make vehement speeches and try to let out the fire burning within was not to his strain. For the first time he saw that capacity in Gandhiji under whose auspices one could find full scope for doing a thing and the satisfaction of having stopped one's self and done his

part. This provision of Gandhiji to Vallabhbhai led to the latter's conversion, the source of inspiration which led him so far to quench the burning fire within by playing cards was gone and with it his plan of life was shaken out for good. Vallabhbhai found the essence of his life and more than that a field of work where he could use his inherent talents. This magic wrought by Gandhiji was at the root of whatever Vallabhbhai accomplished later during his life. And it was as a result of this magic that the Sardar was able to see the appropriate ways and means to make Gandhiji's Satyagraha technique successful. The path got the clarity he wanted and the clarity his guru. And the clarity successfully demonstrated the potentiality of the guru's message.

What should we do to bring in Swami? How should we fight for it? How to prepare the people for it? These were not questions for the Sardar alone. They were before the whole Congress and the country after 1915. And hence as soon as a solution for these was found, Gandhiji and the Sardar came up on the all-India plane. The Sardar took charge of the work in Gujarat and enabled Gandhiji to devote his attention to the more extensive field of India. To mind and mouth all the activities of Gandhiji in Gujarat became the natural task of the Sardar. He became an elder of the vast family of workers, both men and women, doing work in different fields. He made the Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee take interest in these works, and consequently, that institution also grew and became the premier national institution of Gujarat. Works of service great and small flourished under its auspices and patronage; and a machinery for carrying on constructive activities in a co-ordinated way came into existence in Gujarat. That Gujarat could convince the nation that its strength can be built up and its values find expression through constructive activities was due to Vallabhbhai's power of organisation and his method of doing work in such a way that his colleagues would feel as if he were a member of their family. Consequently the workers progressed along with the work and thanks to the above method obtained its stability and became one solid group.

But there was one proviso at the back of all this, without a knowledge of which you cannot understand the Sardar. This was the proviso of Swami. All the activities covered by the Constructive Programme were worth doing, they were a positive service of Dharma-yajna—they expressed your sympathy for the poor and love for the motherland, but the standpoint behind them was neither purely or solely spiritual like that of the Ramakrishna Mission nor that of social reform like that of the Servants of India Society; but it was to make the people self-reliant and strong by self-purification for winning freedom. And if an activity or an individual or institution

doing it did not grasp this basic principle of Gandhiji or did its work without caring for it, it could not catch the Sardar's eye. The people can, if they will, help themselves and accomplish their purpose, the foreign Government notwithstanding — that was what the Sardar demonstrated. He did not have any deference in providing for Gujarat workers the wherewithal for doing this so that they might not have to worry or experience any difficulties. Some of the construction workers who buried themselves in their diverse activities and did not grasp this fundamental of the Sardar's policy even believed that the Sardar was owing to the construction activities of Gandhiji. And later on some even went to the length of saying that he did not so much as care to look at them. These opinions are the result of a lack of understanding of the Sardar's basic purpose. If we meet the present situation by the means ready at hand and develop the strength of the people for self-government, every thing will be all right — that was his simple understanding of a child. And this is the common understanding of a Gujarati in his personal affairs, and that also was the reason why all classes of people in Gujarat were able to win the sympathy of the Sardar. The Sardar added one thing to this practical understanding: he decided to devote it to the fulfilment of Gandhiji's ideal. Hence was it that he was always a lover of democracy — and he could show us that the democratic method did not account in India-independence; there was enough scope for dignified industry in it.

After 1947 — that is, after the reins of Government were transferred to the hands of our people, the Sardar pursued his old principle and practice; he applied them to the new circumstances and undertook work accordingly. There was one principle and purpose before him, to develop the country's strength and use it in doing works for the welfare of the people. Some people say that the Sardar after 1947 underwent a metamorphosis — he became a great statesman. This is a half truth. No doubt, with the transformed situation — from foreign rule to independence — the original talent and power of the Sardar took a new turn. But the Sardar's work after 1947 was basically the same as before, to develop the strength of the nation by all means. It was with this set purpose that he undertook the task of merging and consolidating the States so that Bharat might become one nation, that he directed his attention to the services and undertook other activities one by one. He was the finest person for all these works, he had a knack of doing them. There remained the great work of stabilising the economic structure of the country. This is a very important work, a complicated work. The Sardar was mindful of it. It was necessary for the country, he thought, to be well organised and consolidated if its economic order was to be stabilised. Without it no

democracy can endure, nor any work accomplished. The Sardar applied this simple popular doctrine to the more extensive social field. He was seized of this work during his last days. He very much missed Gandhiji in those days and frequently uttered, "Would that Gandhiji were with us now!" But instantly he would say to himself, "Bapu has left this work unfinished, if I love it is for doing Bapu's work." At the time of the first heart-attack Shri Sushila Nayyar was by his side. She immediately took the necessary measures and averted the crisis. But the Sardar always used to chide her, "I was going to Bapu, you have come in my way. Well it seems God wants me to finish Bapu's work left unfinished by him." And with a resolve will be applied himself to the task without caring for his health. He toiled on for two years. The credit for this goes to his daughter Shyamali Mahabhai who looked after him with a mother's care for the last so many years. She rendered to him, single-handed, service a dozen volunteers could hardly do. She never weired for Bapu's asking for what he wanted, she anticipated and satisfied his needs with an ever attentive mind. The country must thank her for this service.

Did he then lose interest in life and become dependent and apathetic towards the end? How otherwise did he succumb so suddenly? His frame could easily have sustained for a couple of years more. But God willed it otherwise and took him away. And He knows best what to take whom, and the Sardar accepted it like a appointed time. We should all reconcile ourselves to His will and march forward. This is the greatest lesson we can learn from the Sardar's life. He was the guardian of Gujarat. He has taught Gujarat to work actively, and the work must needs be in conformity with Bapu. The Sardar also taught us not to allow provincialism or communalism to enter in. Those who consider him a provincialist or communalist know him not. Had he been either, he could not have accomplished what he did, nor could he have reached the status he did. He was a broad soul, was a clever master and understood the present well; he was perhaps more discerning in knowing men than even Gandhiji, and above all his was the heart of a Shakti. All through his life he was ever ready to do works beneficial to the country and shed no harness. He was a true kshatriya and the functions of a kshatriya as defined by the author of the *Gita* were quite natural to him.

શ્રી ગણેશાય નમઃ
કર્મણ્યેવાયેકમકમલમ

(Faith, spiritedness, courtesy, resourcefulness, and freedom from hatred, generosity, and the capacity to rule are the natural duties of a kshatriya.)

He has departed when our need of him was the greatest. But like the Lokmanya he was confident that Mother India would produce men

of the required caliber at the proper time. Let us all try to be such and gently the soul of this brave patriot. He must have by now joined the company of his Mahadev, Be and Bapu in their new jail in the next world—the jail of infinity. And he might be adding those who are the prisoners—poor who are on the earth or we here! If we bear in mind the lesson of his life he is always by our side. He has become immortal by giving us that lesson.

28-12-49

MAHATMA P. DESAI

(Transcribed from Gokulad)

HARIJAN'S LOVE FOR HARIJANS

It was a fine October morning in 1932. I had gone to the little station of Vaidikha (near Shiravadi) to receive the Sardar who was arriving from Ahmedabad to preside over the annual gathering at the Harjan Ashram at Akhama, near Vaidikha. No sooner had the train halted than he asked me "Shallo? How are you here?" I replied that after completing my studies in the Gujarat Vidyapeeth I had participated in the Nagar Satyagraha movement and, on release from the jail, joined the Antyaj Sewa Mandal (Association for Service of the Untouchables). I think that the Sardar must have seen me before only as a student in the Vidyapeeth or as a Secretary of the Vidyapeeth Pracharak (Students' Association) or occasionally at the late Acharya Chidanand's house. Beyond this he could have hardly known me.

Then Thakkar Bapu, the President of the Antyaj Sewa Mandal, told him of my affiliation with the faction. At once the Sardar, Bapu and a few other workers took food at the house of a local resident. On our way back, Thakkar Bapu expressed his great concern at the want of workers for the Mandal and also mentioned my name as a new recruit. Upon this the Sardar gave him my fuller introduction saying that I was a graduate of the Gujarat Vidyapeeth. As it happened I was appointed the Secretary of the Antyaj Sewa Mandal the very next year. As per rules and regulations I submitted the annual budget of the Mandal to the Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee, and inquired whether my presence was necessary at the meeting of the Committee. The office answered that it was not. Later I came to know that the Sardar had left permanent instructions in the office that the budget of the Harjan work in Gujarat should be sanctioned without any discussion. Thus until the foundation of the Harjan Sewak Sangh in 1932 a budget of about twenty-two thousand rupees was sanctioned every year without any discussion.

In 1938, the Harjan Sewak Sangh was in distressed circumstances. I went to Wardha to ask Gandhiji for help. He proposed to go to Ahmedabad in order to collect twenty-two thousand rupees, and sent me back in advance with an appeal for funds. But unfortunately he

told him before he could start. Thakkar Bapu happened to go to Wardha at the time. He reported Gandhiji's condition to be serious. He went to Ahmedabad and advised the Sardar to reach Wardha as soon as possible. There is a note in Thakkar Bapu's diary, under date 25th January, 1939, to the following effect:—

I had my interview at 7.30 pm after Bapu broke his illness. He asked me as to the Sardar's leave then even after death his soul would not rest. In proof of the same at twenty-two thousand was not collected, Bapu is not at all well. His condition is serious. I went to Bhagwanvali and asked Mahadev to stay near Bapu as much as possible as he said they all. I left at 10.15 pm. He asked me to take the Bhagwanvali.

On receiving this message Sardar was on the move and within a day and a half secured promises for thirty-two thousand rupees from friends in Bombay and Ahmedabad. He handed over the list to me and left for Wardha.

In 1942, Thakkar Bapu decided to open a Harjan hostel at Barad. But he needed two thousand rupees to begin with. He wrote to Sardar immediately the latter sent him the first instalment of one thousand rupees and the work started.

There was some agitation in some of the villages of Kheda district, when it was known that Harjan children would also be admitted to the public primary schools. The law was that the schools would be closed to save Harijans were not allowed to sit with caste Hindus. This was not liked by the caste Hindus and at one place an influential resident succeeded in not letting the school to be closed. This caused anxiety to Harjan workers who felt that they were thus deprived of the advantage given by law. Finally they approached the Sardar who was then in Bombay. He took interest in the matter and got the schools in two villages to be actually closed. This had the desired effect on the neighbouring villages. They withdrew their agitation, and the problem of Harjan entry in schools was solved.

For years the Sardar helped also the Nivaranthi Raj Ashram run by the Dehad Sewa Mandal and helped of his worries and preoccupations, whenever he came to Ahmedabad he made it a point to see the Subramani Ashram. While addressing the Ashram workers on his last visit he said "This is a sacred place where one may wash one's sins. For that its sanctity must be preserved." The death of such a Sardar, the hope of the future and the inspiration of the current is a major calamity. May God give us the strength to follow in his steps.

PANCHANATH MARCHAND

(Transcribed from Gokulad)

SELECTIONS FROM GANDHI

By Nirmal Kumar Bose

With a Foreword by Gandhiji

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their good qualities and encouraged the bad ones; and consequently, they became indifferent or opposed to the liberty of their own subjects. Unless our democracy is consolidated, these princes should be given good opportunities for serving the nation. They can be made to give good work as Governors or Ambassadors to foreign countries. I believe all of these princes—great and small—will stand as candidates in the coming elections, and use all their talents to win the confidence of the people. They have wealth, a little prestige, tradition, and also the knowledge of the peculiar measures necessary to accomplish one's purpose. If they stand in the elections it will be very difficult for many of the present leaders to defeat them. Had Vallabhbhai lived, he would, I believe, have drawn all these princes to the elections and inducted them into the service of the people.

The capability and prestige that the Agakhan has won by living in England can be achieved by some of the princes if only their ambitions are awakened. It will be the duty of Sardar Vallabhbhai's successor to join these princes to the service of the nation.

The late Shri Mahadev Desai has written the history of the Sardar's Gayatriya. A collection of the Sardar's speeches in Gujarat as well as Hindi has also been published. The first volume of his biography by Shri Mahadev Parikh—an able biographer you would hardly find—has very recently been published by the Narval Publishing House, Shriward. Mahadev had collected much of the material for it. People outside Gujarat know Mahadev only as an efficient nurse of her father. The country should also know the valour Mahadev showed during the days of our freedom struggle and the efficient constructive work she had put in. She has served her father with a single-minded devotion and loyalty till his last. She must now get an opportunity to render brilliant service to the country in whose cause her father spent his whole life. Then only will the country come to know all the facets of her personality. It was on the knowledge of these that Mahatma Gandhi had once said, "Mama is really a great person!"

Like Mahatma Gandhi the Sardar was in contact with most of the workers in the country and could decide what kind of work could be taken from whom. He who possesses this quality of the Sardar will alone be able to continue his tradition.

By the death of the Sardar the country has sustained a great loss. His advice and guidance will no more be available to us. But he will continue to serve the country through the institution he created. The Sardar is gone, but the glorious ideal of national service that he had placed before the country will live. We can merely search that ideal and try to realise all the dreams of Mahatma Gandhi and the Sardar.

KARA KALIRMAN

(Translated from the Bengali Prabhat, January, 1953)

SARDAR'S LESS-KNOWN MAJOR ACHIEVEMENTS

So many of Sardar Patel's colleagues and others, who are most competent to speak of his many-sided activities and achievements as a patriot and as a man, have already spoken or written in honour to his memory, that there is not much that one can say without being repetitive. But it is somewhat surprising that not one of the many who have spoken or written about the Sardar since his death has referred to the part that he played in the Partition Council—and the Joint Defence Council, which in a sense, was only a sub-committee of the Partition Council—which took the momentous decisions immediately before and after the 15th of August, 1947, affecting every branch and subject of administration and of the property and assets and liabilities that belonged to undivided India. Many had at the time thought that to partition the country within a period of three months was an impossibility. But it was actually done. (The records of the decisions of the Partition Council and the reports of the various sub-committees run into 8 folio-sized and 3 somewhat more bulky volumes and appendices.) While many attributed in different ways to the achievements of this stupendous task, it would nevertheless have been impossible of achievement, had it not been for the far-sightedness, generosity and breadth of mind which the Sardar brought to bear upon the numerous extremely complicated problems and difficulties that arose almost every day. It was he who virtually took decisions on behalf of India and in saying this no injustice is being done to his other colleagues, Dr Rajendraprasad and Shri Rajagopalachari. A good portion of this work and the spirit in which it was carried through was neutralised by the terrible happenings in the East and West Punjab immediately after partition, resulting in mass movements of population in those and, later, even in other areas. Nevertheless, that work, there can be very little doubt, will come to be regarded by historians as one of the more important achievements of the Sardar. He made himself available for consultation at all hours and showed to many of us who had not till then had the privilege of working closely with him what an extraordinary grasp he had and what clarity of mind and practical consciousness he brought to bear on every problem that was posed to him. With an almost amazing instinct he knew precisely what the right course was and without any exaggeration it can be said that we have gone wrong only where we somehow succeeded in persuading him against his own instinctive view.

The scheme of the reorganisation of the All-India and Central Secretariat Services, published a short while ago, should be regarded as another of Sardar's major achievements. It is unfortunately not generally realised in this country what an important and vital role the

Civil Services have to play in the efficient functioning of all governments and, in particular, a democracy. Unless our policy-making and executive machinery of Government succeed in planning ahead, are able continuously to adapt their technique and structure to the problems with which they are called upon to deal, unless they ensure freedom from domination by financial and monetary considerations—for, important as both these are, they must never be allowed to be masters and must always remain the servants—, unless there is the ability to harness scientific and technical advances and most important of all, unless there is developed ability to take responsibility, unless the Civil Services are organized to be able to do all these things, it would be impossible for a democratic government to achieve its objective of the welfare State. The Sardar refused this again almost instinctively and insisted from the outset on a reorganization which would instil both in re-creating those already in service and in encouraging the new generations to enter any one of the Civil Services in the confidence that they will have the fullest possible scope for their abilities and for rendering service to their country with a sense of security. It was he more than any other politician, who realized what it was that made the members of the old Indian Civil Service more capable of shouldering responsibility and of taking realistic and practical decisions and he insisted, therefore, on an arrangement which would ensure that the officers in the Secretariats should not be divorced too long from the districts where alone they can come in touch with the public and have an opportunity of seeing how what is decided upon in the Secretariats actually operates in practice. It is to be hoped that the public and the leaders will, following the lead given by the Sardar, assist in every way in the development of the Services along right lines, above all by encouraging them to develop and to maintain their independence and integrity.

Early in 1947, in the course of a short talk he gave to some 30 to 40 senior civil servants at his home in New Delhi, the Sardar explained how he and his colleagues had for years worked with only one burning desire, namely to serve the country, and treated the civil servants, as it were, to dedicate themselves equally to the service of the country. He did not promise to return anything more than the joy which he said he himself and his colleagues had experienced through this single-minded devotion to what they regarded as the sacred duty and which he was certain they too would experience. In his own way he was offering the civil servants "equality" of consideration, if only they too would respond and work as unselfishly and unconditionally, as he and his colleagues, whether in or out of Government, had been doing, for the people of this country. This was unquestionably

the right approach, and the fact that the civil servants understood it is clear from the renewal of that pledge on the 18th December in the following terms.

"In general consciousness of its service to India and its trust in us, we pledge our complete loyalty and unswerving aid to service to the best that is helped to liberate and strengthen."

Those of us who had the good fortune of seeing the Sardar at work, during the last 4 years at New Delhi, discovered quickly enough the essence of the title "Sardar", which the people had so spontaneously bestowed on him after the Baroda Satyagraha, for he was truly a leader who thought and planned as an inspired general would plan and conduct his campaign. He selected his objectives and then concentrated on it; he knew the importance of maintaining the morale of his men, small and big, he believed implicitly in the value of an offensive—exercised to the full the weapons of surprise action; never allowed his strength to be dissipated, no matter how many quarters he was attacked from, and concentrated his forces on what he regarded as the important link in the opposition, and finally, he realized, better than others, that his achievements would be the more certain and lasting the more he could secure team-work from the varied elements at his disposal. It was only fitting that Pandit should refer to him in one of the speeches or statements he made soon after Sardar's passing away: "We have lost a great captain of our forces, who with consummate skill had steered the ship of India through many stormy seas. The seas continue to be stormy and new rocks appear all round us, and we wanted that stout heart and strong arm more than ever before to meet the new crises."

A CIVIL SERVANT

A FEW INCIDENTS OF SARDAR'S LIFE

(The writer then Rashidul Hasanul Haq is the youngest brother of Sardar Vallabhbhai.—N.G.N.)

1. Takes the Teacher's Chair

I recollect an incident which relates to Vallabhbhai's school days. He had just joined the Government High School at Baroda. Once his teacher of mathematics got confused in an algebraic problem while solving it before the class. Vallabhbhai stood up and said, "Sir, you do not know how to solve this problem." The teacher replied, "Well, if I do not know it, *come and be a teacher yourself!*" Vallabhbhai straightaway went to the board, solved the problem, and sat down in the teacher's chair!

The teacher took this as an insulting behaviour and complained about it to the Head Master. The Head Master asked the Sardar to explain his conduct. Vallabhbhai tried to explain the background, but the Head Master was not satisfied and warned him that if such behaviour was repeated, he would be dismissed from the School. Vallabhbhai replied, "I do not wish to study in a school where there are such

teachers. I shall leave the school this very day." He left the school the very day and went to Madras.

2. Murdika a Murdika

Vallabhabhai was practicing as a District Munsif at Nasrud (Mudra District). There was a door communicating between the Court room and the Bar room. The Munsif (as the Judge was designated) left disturbed by the constant exit and entry of pleaders through the door, and ordered it to be closed.

This put the pleaders in considerable inconvenience. They could not come directly from the Bar room to the Court room or get to know whose case had reached the hearing and who was wanted. They requested the Munsif to reverse his order but to no avail.

This went on for some time. Vallabhabhai generally practiced in the Criminal Court, and came once or twice in a month to the Civil Court. When there he would sit and chat with the pleaders in the Bar room. He learnt about the Munsif's order and also saw that none of the pleaders had the courage to raise a voice against it. He advised them to inform the Judge that if the door was not left open, they would all go on a strike. This was done. The matter reached the ears of the District Judge who asked for an urgent explanation from the Munsif.

The Munsif was perplexed. He requested the Sardar through a friendly pleader to bring about peace. The pleader went to Vallabhabhai and said: "The Munsif Sahib has invited you at his residence." The Sardar straightway replied: "If he wants to see me he should come to me." The man conveyed to the Munsif by the pleader. The Munsif who had become sufficiently humble by this time, went the reverse. "I invite you and all pleaders at an AI Home party. I want to make peace." But Sardar would not easily agree. He replied: "We would come if he would express regret before the pleaders." The Munsif agreed to do it at the proposed AI Home party. Needless to say that the door was reopened.

Vithalabhai and Vallabhabhai

Vallabhabhai was very fond of Vithalabhai, who was immediately older than him and had a great respect for him. Whenever Vithalabhai visited him, he would bring his servants also with him. Sardar however, would not allow the servants to attend to Vithalabhai's wants but insisted on rendering himself all the personal service to Vithalabhai. For instance, he would himself bring water for Vithalabhai's bath or dress, bring him his clothes, and look to all his comforts. He considered it a privilege to serve Vithalabhai. This however did not prevent the two brothers from playing jokes with one another whenever an opportunity came.

I recollect an incident at Madras. Vithalabhai had come to Madras during the flood.

Belial" says CHET-281. The Dandi holidays had drawn near and it was one of the rare occasions, when our mother, Lakshmi, and all the five brothers, with their children, were all together at one place. Vithalabhai instigated the children to demand fireworks from 'Vallabha Jaha' (uncle Vallabha). The children surrounded Vallabhabhai and made the demand. He advised them to ask those of Mombaka (elder-uncle). But under Vithalabhai's instigation the children did not wish to beg of the Sardar and sought the elder uncle's advice. Vithalabhai prompted them that Vallabhabhai would not yield easily, some of them should, seize his hands and others his legs and pull him on two sides to make him surrender. The children began to pull the Sardar and Vallabhabhai enjoyed the fun. But Vallabhabhai was not to be so easily defeated. He said, "You must ask Mombaka to give you fireworks, and if he does not, pull his beard. That will go easier with you." The brothers often played such practical jokes with each other.

KAMARAJA JAYAPRAKASH PATEL

(Translated from Gujarati)

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HARIJAN

16 Pages

(FOUNDED BY BHABHNA CHANDER)

EDITOR: K. G. MANSURWALA

1/6-4



VOL. XIV, No. 50

AHMEDABAD—SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 10, 1954

TWO ANNAS

AN UNCONSTITUTIONAL COMMITTEE

The Madhya Pradesh Government have appointed a Prohibition Enquiry Committee, in order to have, in the words of the Minister as reported by P T I in the Nagpur Times of January 10, "a dispassionate view of the problem". "They (the Government) wanted to know public opinion and after the report was submitted they would carefully consider whether, and, if so, to what extent they should revise or modify this policy."

The exact terms of reference have not been published in the Press. The Government Press Note declared that the Committee was "to enquire into the various aspects of the policy of prohibition and to make recommendations regarding them."

I have received a copy of the questionnaire drawn up by the Committee. The Chairman of the Committee is a retired Judge of the Nagpur High Court, and at least two of the members are practising advocates. It may therefore be assumed that the questionnaire is drawn up strictly within its terms of reference. Some of the members of the Committee are known to be opposed to the Prohibition policy either wisely or partly. (By partly, I mean that they advocate a refined issue of liquor to adults.) The very first item of the questionnaire is—

"Do you think that the policy of prohibition is in accord with current public opinion? If you think that it is, have you any particular points to cite?"

It is submitted that the appointment of a Committee, with this approach to the problem, is *ad hoc* and any Indian Government under the Constitution. The opinion and mandate of the people of India has been declared in the following definite terms in Article 47 of the Constitution—

"... In particular the State shall endeavour to bring about prohibition of the consumption except for medicinal purposes, of intoxicating drinks and of drugs which are injurious to health."

As long as this Article stands, no Indian Government—not even a non-Congress Government—can go behind it and question whether

or no prohibition is supported by public opinion. A Government which holds contrary intentions would be guilty of disloyalty to the Constitution, which the people of India gave to themselves with formal ceremonies on 26th January, 1950. It is no longer a question of mere opinion. The opinion has been sublimated into the Will of the Sovereign Republic of India. It stands until duly modified by amending the article and every government must endeavour to implement it and prove its capacity to govern by making it successful. No Government can appoint a Committee with members, who are opposed to this Will. If an enquiry was needed it should be for the purpose of better and fuller measures for a thorough success of the policy, and not for mistaking it, or avoiding its harsh and difficult implementability. The Committee must consist of people who have full faith in the wisdom of the policy.

I regret that the Madhya Pradesh Government should have given a lead in taking this retrograde step. It is likely to be imitated by others. If it has been pressed to do so by the Central Government, it should have resisted the Central Government with all its moral and constitutional strength. It should have offered to resign rather than go against the directive of the Constitution. The Bombay Government had done right in resisting the pressure so far. I hope it will not give way. I regret the trend of Governments in this direction as a serious failure on their part in discharging the trust imposed upon them by the Constitution. If they are unable to fulfil their pledge, they should ask the electors to choose others, or to tell them plainly that if they are chosen they will alter the policy and seek to amend the Constitution. Let Government remember that if they give up prohibition now, the step will injure the cause of moral reform of the nation for years to come. I urge the M P Government to discharge this Committee forthwith.

Tarapur, 30-1-54

K. G. MANSURWALA

GANDHI'S INFLUENCE AND MISHON

[Excerpts from a speech by Miss Gertrude Lee of Liverpool in a public gathering in Wellington, New Zealand, in November last.]

The secret of Gandhi's enormous influence lies in two things—firstly, his singular grasp of the fundamentals of Indian culture and of the Indian mind, and secondly, his constant effort to put into practice all that he believed and said. India has known great social reformers, mighty religious preachers, world-famous philosophers and many great men in other walks of life, such as literature, politics, science, arts, music etc. But Mahatma Gandhi is unique in his influence on practically all spheres of life. It is my belief that in the course of many centuries nobody understood the fundamentals of Indian culture and the Indian mind as well as Gandhi and nobody put into practice what he thought and said as Gandhi did. It is not only knowing and believing which makes a man great but practicing what he thinks and believes. How he understood the main features of Indian culture, the unity in diversity, and what place tolerance and service had in his action can be known from many instances of his life. At his prayer meetings, on every evening, passages from the Bhagavadgita, the Bible and the Quran, were recited, showing the fundamental unity of religions. Once when he was in South Africa, the white men beat him severely. He was advised to take action against them in a law court, but he did not do so, saying that they who behaved with him in such a manner did not know what they were doing. In India, though he fought many a battle with the British Government for India's legitimate right of freedom, none of his battles were based on hatred or ill-will. The ideal of service cherished by Gandhi was manifested by him in his own life. His most striking service was the nursing of patients suffering from many diseases, even leprosy, which he did with his own hands. When he said he had devoted his life to the service of the poor and the down-trodden, there too his actions were according to what he said. He resided in a mud hut, he wore a coarse loin-cloth and he travelled third class. The most lowly and the lowest, the Harijans, on the untouchables were nearest and dearest to him. He had no property of his own.

Gandhi is known all over the world today as the Father of Indian Independence. But that is only how outsiders—foreigners—estimate him. We in India know him not only as the Father of our Independence but much more than that—the Father of our Nation, who injected new life in the 400 million sons and daughters of Mother India, i.e. one-fifth of the human race. In order to appreciate what Gandhi has done for India, you have to look at the social, economic and political situation in India at the time when Gandhi appeared on the scene in the year 1887. The Indian people were disheartened and pas-

sion. Many had begun to think that the Indian masses were for ever destined to be born in misery, live in misery and die in misery. In that most shocking mood of despondency, in that grim moment of almost complete disappearance of our self-confidence, Gandhi came on the scene.

He had two missions for his life—Indian Independence and World Peace. In fact it was only one mission, world peace through Indian Independence. Gandhi firmly believed that there cannot be any lasting peace as long as one half of mankind is free and happy and the other half is subjected to slavery, misery and poverty. The world is yet to discover that Gandhi always saw the problem of Indian Independence as a part of the larger problem of freedom for all the subject peoples. The greatest passion that Gandhi had was to improve the lot of mankind.

So then what is the Gandhian path for world peace? As I speak to you I can almost see Gandhi—his immortal soul shining in heaven and speaking as follows—

"Listen to me, O Fellow Brethren! You have done more talking and planning for world peace during the last 50 years or so than was ever done by man before. Yet the more talking and planning you do, the further is peace running away from you. The fact of the matter is that peace is not a commodity which may be procured from the market place. Peace is not forced in the external circumstances of life. Peace is a state of mind. It is something internal. It has its source, its fountain head, in the inner life of man. By its nature therefore, peace cannot be born in the unending debates and discussions of Lake Success.

"Also peace is not born on the battlefield. Violence leads to more violence, war leads to more wars. If the recorded experience of all mankind is any guide in this field, it only strengthens and supports my conviction that the way to peace is not through war. Therefore I have come to the inevitable conclusion that violence must be ended and can be ended only by non-violence.

"Now you will ask how to use this new weapon of non-violence for ending violence and for bringing peace on this earth. Well, I do not want to delude you into thinking that I have found the formula which will deliver peace. It is not an easy path to follow. Many times in human history there have been preachers and leaders who have advocated non-violence, but knowing human nature as it is, we know how easy it is to follow the path of evil and how very difficult to follow the path of good. Nevertheless, I am convinced that non-violence is the only path which leads to human salvation. In my humble way I have tried this new weapon in India, and you know the outcome very well. I am thoroughly convinced that in the face of the increasing tension in the world, I feel that my

remedy is worth trying. I cannot predict the future outcome but if my own study of the problems of mankind in any safe grade, I feel that the path of truth, non-violence, tolerance and service deserves a fair trial."

I would like to close this brief presentation by a quotation from Nicholas Harmergh of the Royal Institute of International Affairs of the United Kingdom.

"Mahatma Gandhi who attended the last two sessions of the Conference, was received with the recognition was that it is rarely accorded to a prophet in his own country. Indeed as the beloved teacher the Father of India the Father of a Continent, his message was a spiritual message and its receipt with pain that all the great religions of the world had come from Asia. Non-violence and love, he said, were the virtues which the East had to teach the West."

The reference to the Conference above is to the Asian Religious Conference held in India in 1947. A few months after this Conference Gandhi met the death which reminds us of the martyrdom of Lord Krishna and Jesus Christ.

SEVENTH ALL-INDIA BASIC EDUCATION CONFERENCE, BAYANAGRAM

Teachers' Conference—February 10 to March 2, 1951

General Conference—March 2 to March 5, 1951

Mal Taluka Harwan Shi (Hindukshi) Association—March 4, 1951

Information for Incoming Participants.

I. Travel

The Railway Station for Harigraha is Wardega Jn. on the G. I. P. My. Railway connection at Wardega for the double journey will be available for various categories in all classes. The necessary authority for presentation at the starting station in the Station Master, will be sent on receipt of an application form to be had from the office. The train will be met at Wardega Jn.

II. Boarding and Mess

The charges for accommodation and meals (morning breakfast and two meals meals) are Rs 1.00 a day, payable on arrival. A canteen will also be available where light refreshments can be had on payment.

III. Programmes

Details of Programmes will be sent on registration.

IV. Problems Subject for National Meetings

- (1) Problems of Pre-tertiary Education.
- (2) Adult and Social Education.
- (3) Development of Post-tertiary Education.
- (4) Schemes for Rural Universities.
- (5) The Training of Teachers.
- (6) Coordinated teaching methods.
- (7) The place of books in Mal Taluka.
- (8) The movement of work in schools and training schools.
- (9) Administrative problems—Reduction of standards of equipment.
- (10) Preparation of literature.

Notes—Colleges and students will choose the meeting in which they are most interested and remain in the same section for all the discussions.

V. Exhibits

All exhibits for the Exhibition must be brought or sent to us in reach Baganpur on February 10.

Secretary.

All India Basic Education Conference

Baganpur,
WASARA (M. P.)

VALLABHBHAI

(A broadcast speech by Shri G. V. Narasimham from the All India Basic Education, on 10/2/51)

Like all mortals, Bhaiji Patel, endearingly called by me as Vallabhbhai, in view of my close association with him in all fields of life for the last thirty-seven years has shed his mortal coil and attained moksha or nirvana. He has cast off the "old clothes", as the *Shrimadgita* would put it. Death is the natural end of every being that is born, and what has happened is therefore, inevitable in that sense. This is all true, and also good philosophy in view of human weakness.

But our deep sense of grief and loss are nevertheless of immeasurable magnitude and a reality. In such a colossal calamity, we try its philosophy, not out of our strength and assimilation of the philosophy of life and death, but out of our sense of sheer helplessness.

Though he has left us a rich and marvellous legacy of qualities and inspiration, we feel the void created by his physical absence from amongst us, in every walk of our life, and this is more true of persons like myself, who have been his close followers, and if I may say so, his associates for all these long years. To me, the loss is not only a national one, but a personal one also as the loss of a loving and kindly friend and elder brother.

It was a privilege to be with him in public life. My association with him started from 1913, when he came to practice at Ahmedabad as a barrister. I had also started practice about the same time. His passing away brings before me a picture of our public life right from those days. The darkness and the grit which he showed in plain-speaking to authorities in those old days of bureaucratic domination by the steel frame of the then ruling race can hardly be appraised now in proper perspective. He always stood erect and showed a sense of self-respect which was a guide and inspiration to youngsters like me. His spirit of service and devotion to duty was of such an exceptional character that, as Chairman of the Municipal Sanitary Committee, he stuck to his residence in the city of Ahmedabad when plague was raging and refused to move out for personal safety. He was a familiar figure moving in the streets of Ahmedabad, getting the sewers cleared and the plague-stricken areas disinfected. When friends argued he simply looked at them, and his silence was more eloquent than his words. It appeared as if he wished to say "I have undertaken the duty as Chairman of the Sanitary Committee and how can I seek safety for my person? It would be a breach of faith to the public to leave my post of duty, and how can I leave also the conservancy staff of the Municipality to undergo risks of plague and seek safety for myself?" He stayed in the midst of horror-stricken people, when that town was similarly afflicted by plague. I am citing these instances as such occasions are not given due weight in our

conception of service and national reconstruction, because they do not have the glamour of politics and publicity. Instances in the political field are well known. The Nagpur Flag Satyagraha, the Bardoli no-tax campaign, the Civil Disobedience campaigns of 1930, 1932-34, 1940-41 and the Quit India Struggle of 1942 are all very well known.

But though all India knew him before independence as a great fighter and organizer, since the establishment of independence he has come to be known as a great statesman. Very few have had a real estimate of his great constructive genius. The municipal work, which he did at Ahmedabad for years together as Chairman of zone or other Executive Committees, and later as President is an outstanding example of his great qualities, broad vision, untiring and continuous devotion to work, selflessness, character, fearlessness and his identification with the cause of the poor and the oppressed. There was not a single branch of municipal administration which he had not inspired. He did not play the role merely of fighting with the Government on the political front, but he initiated a number of schemes which required thought and vision. His organization of relief at the time of the unprecedented floods in Gujarat in 1937, his work for various constructive activities through the network of volunteers in Bardoli and other institutions in Gujarat are simple evidence that he could also construct ably and on sound lines. I need only mention the Vidyasagar at Anand, his guidance to the Kachubha Fund and the Gandhi Smarak Nikhi.

We have had evidence of his qualities of head and heart in his unrivalled contribution, not only in the national fight for freedom, but in keeping united, a number of conflicting ideologies and temperaments within the Congress fold and in preparing a new map of India, by the integration of nearly 600 States.

The story of his life is vast, and covers such a long period and such a wide field that it is impossible to do even the barest justice to the subject by writing volumes and volumes. What can one say in a short space of ten minutes? Instances scored and feelings overwhelm me. Vallabhbhai was a dutiful son, a kind and loving brother, was a generous friend and a kind parent. He was soft and tolerant to a degree which very few knew. His appearance, demeanour and peace of words earned for him the nickname "The Lion Man of India". This was only partially true. So far as the interests of the country, the self-respect of the nation, loyalty to Raza and the Congress were concerned, he was an iron man, he would not compromise these

with anybody or allow the opponent any quarter. But essentially in his outlook and relations with humanity, he was soft as butter all through his life.

Our loss is irreparable. He leaves a void which cannot be filled within a measurable distance of time. Every one of us, whether connected with him or not, feels a sense of loneliness. So much had he permeated into the public life of the country and entered into the hearts of every Indian! His mere presence was a source of strength and inspiration. Where shall we find these things now? But we must have faith in our future. Let us all stand firmly united and devoted to the service of the country in as bold a manner and as selfless a spirit of service as he. His body has gone, but the spirit left behind will continue to be immortal.

I cannot conclude without mentioning Shrinati Mandbhai. To me, she is, as it were, my own daughter. She was an inmate of my household for nearly eight years on her arrival at Ahmedabad in about 1954. We all have naturally great love and affection for her as a child of our family. She served her father up to the last with an admirable courage and devotion. But for her almost motherly care and devotion we would not have got the benefit of Sardar's advice, guidance and services for the country for all these years, especially during the last ten years. India will ever remain grateful to her, as she was serving India through her service to her father. Our condolences naturally go to her in this hour of her bereavement, and we all may assure her that this is a period of trial and mourning for every one of us. Sardar's family had outgrown the relationship of blood or provincial ties. The whole of Bharat considered him as the head of the great family.

May the Almighty give us all the strength to bear the calamity and prove true to Sardar by following the noble example that he has set.

By Mahatma Gandhi

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SARDAR AS I KNEW HIM

[A broadcast speech by the Honorable Sardar from the All India Radio, Delhi, on 27.12.1961]

I had the singular good fortune of staying together with Sardar Patel and the other leaders of the Congress in the Ashramnagar Fort for about three years during that hectic period of Quit India movement. Before that I had the opportunity of studying Sardar from close quarters although I used to meet him now and then in the meetings of the Working Committee. Sardar was undoubtedly a great organizer and a man of great zeal and determination. But whatever or other, he was looked upon as a reactionary in outlook by various progressive political groups in the country. He was criticised as hard-hearted. The British administration looked upon him as the most wayward and unreasonable leader of the Congress. In the midst of these conflicting opinions about him as a man and a political leader, I started my independent study of him from close quarters and I think I know him better than many do, at a critical stage in the history of India, my study of him enabled me to render some assistance to him to come to a very important decision. Sardar's heart was as well as that of a loving father. I knew it only in the full. That one's exterior is not the indication of one's interior was fully proved in the case of Sardar Patel.

As regards his political leadership, when Gandhiji was there, Sardar did not bother at all to think for himself of the present or the future of the country or to form any independent opinion about any policy or programme. He placed himself entirely at the disposal of Gandhiji and considered that his duty was only to carry out the wishes of Gandhiji by whatever means he could use for the purpose. At one time Sardar was believed to be a great believer in Gandhism but gradually it was clear that he was not so much concerned with Gandhism as with Gandhiji as his leader. Any leader would say day be proud of having a disciplined follower like Sardar Patel in that way. It was Gandhiji's good fortune that he had Sardar as one of his immediate followers. Sardar's mind was not analytical. It was prone to accept anything which would come from a person in whom Sardar had implicit faith. Now this faith used to develop in his mind, it was difficult for me to analyse. But since he himself was a man wholly averse to acquisition of wealth, or fame, which is in many cases a more powerful attraction than wealth, and other physical comforts, he seemed to place absolute confidence in persons who appeared to him to be superior in this respect to him. This was perhaps the reason why Sardar placed himself entirely at the disposal of Gandhiji. Sardar built up his leadership gradually with the help of Gandhiji by proving to him that he could accomplish whatever was deeply desired by him. I do not think Sardar

had ever come to any decision himself till 1946 during the time of Gandhiji's leadership. Satyagraha as contemplated by Gandhiji, was contemplated by Sardar as the only Parliamentary work, as contemplated by Gandhiji, was carried out by Sardar as Chairman of the Parliamentary Board. By that time Sardar had proved beyond doubt that he ranked amongst the best generals in the world and no doubt he would have proved a great general in any way if he had joined the army anywhere in the world.

The General became the administrator of the country soon after the successful end of a war. By that time the last World War had brought about so many drastic changes in India as in all other countries and Independence had brought in its trail so many problems that Sardar as the Deputy Prime Minister had to take decisions himself. He agreed to accept Jawaharlal's leadership as a disciplined follower of Gandhiji, but the process through which Jawaharlal's mind works to come to a decision on any subject are not the same as they were in the case of the Sardar. This was the difference between Jawaharlal and Sardar which was made much of in villages and even in the writings of some foreign authors and authorities. But the life of discipline was so strong between the two great leaders that the two never broke away, however much the enemies wished it. Nevertheless, Sardar had to take his own decisions according to his own way of thinking after the withdrawal of Gandhiji from the country in 1946. While Jawaharlal was busy planning to build up the India of his dreams, Sardar was anxious to maintain it as it is. The consolidation after freedom and partition was the only problem for Sardar and he devoted all his energy to this problem till the last breath of his life. His policy therefore was conservative and it was good for the country that a great leader spent himself up in conserving whatever had been secured after freedom and partition. The absence of Sardar will now be felt more by the progressive groups because they will now realize that a great leader of somewhat conservative outlook is necessary at the period of transition.

Sardar's mind knew no hesitation. His standing as a general under Gandhiji had all along been to carry out and not question any decision. A great decision he did take by himself, however, on the 14th of December, 1946, at 3 pm at my residence at Cuttack when he was there as my guest — with regard to the abolition of the feudal States. Although I had been agitating for the renunciation of the Princes States with the Province since 1938, although even the Cabinet Mission had been fully convinced of the soundness of my proposition, and although Gandhiji had already blessed my

scheme, no decision could be arrived at on the spot in spite of long protracted discussions at various levels. The latest proposal was to keep the Sikhs as they were and to take away some powers from them, for the consolidation of the country. But the situation was developing in such a way, particularly in Orissa, that a quick decision had to be taken. It was a serious decision no doubt, for its effect on other States was bound to be tremendous. Sardar went to Orissa to study the situation. After a few of us including Dr Kalia, the then Governor of Orissa, had explained the matter to Sardar, all that he came to the decision that my proposal was sound and must be carried out. All the preliminaries were gone through that very night and on the next morning Sardar was calm and determined. I was very closely watching as to how his mind was working at every stage and I think I did not fail him in his expectations on that occasion. Once a decision had been made, Sardar's mind did not allow any hesitation afterwards and the problem of States was solved to his eternal glory.

Since his mind was bent upon consolidation, he did not tolerate any kind of desperate tendency anywhere, but this was after all a negative aspect of his character; there was the positive aspect also. He had his own ideas of development of the country, but age and circumstances did not allow him to come to a decision in that matter. Now he is no more and the whole of India feels his loss. India requires consolidation and advance, all at the same time. India was, therefore, fortunate to have Sardar as the leader of consolidation and Jawaharlal as the leader of advance, both tied up to the wheel of administration. Now the Sardar is gone and it will be against his own wishes and his own personal example to weep over his death too long. Those who are left behind are now called upon to put their shoulders to the pole and carry on to the best of their ability. Sardar's work must be completed and his wishes must be fulfilled. India requires urgent development in the interest of the common man and for development a peaceful atmosphere is necessary. Let not the disruptive forces which Sardar's personality kept under check imagine that now their turn has come. The country will not tolerate them. The tradition which Sardar has left behind will continue to maintain internal peace and India is destined to make progress under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru. Although Sardar is not physically present in the country, his spirit is there in the heart of every well-wisher of the country and it is that spirit which will continue to assist Jawaharlal in the realisation of his dream—a happy and prosperous India carrying the message of peace and goodwill throughout the world.

A RECORD OF BRILLIANT FEATS

(A broadcast speech by Shri K. M. Munshi from the All India Radio, Delhi, on 2/12/58.)

It has always been difficult for me to speak about Sardar, much more so now, for my heart is full with grief.

Years ago, I heard of Sardar as a lawyer of Ahmedabad, heroically dominating the lawyers' club, building up clever defenses for criminals, playing bridge and making jokes at every one, including the newly arrived Gandhiji. Then he found in Gandhiji his Master, and his life changed. He began his fighting career by offering civil disobedience against the practice of salt—a rather large—in his home district, Kheda. Then, for the first time, an Indian was faced with the tenacity to irritate the white Commissioner in his own office and by one bold stroke the battlement of white supremacy fell in Gujarat.

Then Sardar built up the civic life of Ahmedabad. He also became the executive arm of the Gandhian labors of power—that was called satyagrah which was one of Gandhiji's greatest achievements, registered in history. Gandhiji planned, inspired and guided, set the standard and the goal. Sardar saw to it that things were done. In the prosecution of Gandhiji's vast plans Sardar ignored all personal life, gave up all ambition except the success of Gandhian policies. He was to Gandhiji what Shri Krishna was to Arjun to be a steersman, an instrument.

I saw his power of organisation in 1937 in Bardoli when for the first time I came into close contact with him. A taluk of 50,000 souls was converted into a compact whole. There I saw what Sardar could do: how he could forge out of the Gandhian weapon of Satyagraha, a non-violent engine of collective action. His capacity might also the strength and weakness of human character, his resourcefulness, his capacity for resolving the loyalty of his followers and the wholesale dread of his displeasure—all gave Satyagraha a sharp edge and was for India her first battle of freedom at Bardoli. Then I first found that what Gandhiji preached was Ahimsa Gandhism. Sardar had made of it Mohandas Gandhism.

I saw his organisational power on an all-India plane in 1938 when he was arranging elections, fixing up candidates, setting up ministries and controlling them, going to diverse centrifugal forces a united direction. He organised and directed men and forces all over the country, broke through hostile constitutions, signed new forces. The Congress then was a seething mass of ambitions throughout the country. Sardar's genius alone brought order and discipline.

For 25 months when I was Home Minister in the Bombay Congress Ministry I was in the closest contact with him. He was a vast campaign for creating power. We were often weak; many a time we knew not how to act up to the task of reducing the Government to more constitutional heads. Then the Sardar stepped in,

From 1932 to 1940 I was in touch with the negotiations which Sardar carried on in respect of Bayton, with the last stages of the Ministerial solution in November 1938 and with the intercessory negotiations with the Viceroy in 1940 I admired him for his penetrating insight, his profound knowledge of human strength and weakness, his unerring grasp of the essentials of the game, and behind it all, I saw the Grand Rebel who, like Pyrrhus, lived and moved and had his being in an atmosphere of self-created independence.

In 1940 we were together in the Yerwada Jail. Then I saw the intensely human side of Sardar's nature. He laughed, cracked jokes, told dull stories. He became our house-keeper, prepared tea for us, looked after our food and other arrangements. In March 1941, when I was laid up with serious illness, he watched over me with a father's tender solicitude. When, later, I was taken out on a stretcher in a serious condition, I saw in his indomitable man's eyes what I had never seen before: human tenderness.

Then in 1946-47 the great days of the final bid for power came. Sardar then emerged as a great player on the chess-board of Indo-British diplomacy. His eye was on every pawn, friendly or hostile. He watched the situation with unwearied eyes. He calculated moves large and small in Congress groups, legislatures, in public life in the Central Government. He made people think by his infallible advice. He meticulously engineered, analysed, directed polemics, antipathic instructions, compliments and scandals, for they provided to him the raw material for his uncanny skill to work out the pattern he wanted.

For months in 1946 and 1947, we were staying together at Park Road. I participated in some of the less intimate conferences too. These were great days with the Madia League on one side, the Indian Princes on the other, both trying to make hostile combinations with Sardar, fighting every inch of the ground. Few people know the inner history of those days—now he was the Indian Princes one by one, it is an epic (one chapter of it I will never forget). A few days before the 15th of August, a hostile combination of Indian Princes sprung up with a plan to project the Pakistan frontier from the border of Sindh to the borders of Manipal on the one side and to the Surat District on the other. It was a bold and formidable move on the part of those who wanted to disrupt our new freedom. I was also interested as I was then the Constitutional Adviser to the Maharaja of Udaipur who had also been invited to walk into the spider's web. But the combination was broken to bits by the Sardar, each element being segregated and destroyed. The result was the complete integration of India.

Jawahar was another brilliant feat and

perhaps Hyderabad was the greatest. For nine months I worked under him as the Agent General in Hyderabad. The Lakh Ali regime in Hyderabad had money, influence and powerful friends in Delhi and London. Some day I will tell the story how Hyderabad was won; but it was the most distinguished achievement of Sardar in the whole programme of India's integration.

Saraswatinaga, the great Gupta Emperor, was styled Sarvarepachakrta (sarvarepa) "the uprooter of kings". Parasurama, the incarnation of Vishnu, was distinguished for having destroyed kings; but no one knows whether the kings whom they destroyed prayed for the long life of their destroyer. But in the case of this 'uprooter of kings', every ruler so uprooted prayed for the destroyer's long life.

To his strength we also owe the maintenance of law and order in the land—the disorganisation of the Communist forces, the inability of the anti-national forces to acquire a hold over the country, the suppression of the separatist tendencies among the Sikhs and the taming of the R. S. S. It is an undeniable fact that he had the control of the machinery of the Congress, that he guided the I. M. T. U. C., that he was the connecting force between different Chief Ministers, and that he was the strong man of the Indian Government in the last hour of his life. On Wednesday the 17th night I met him for the last time before I left for Madras. On his arrival in Madras his worries seemed to have removed. For a few minutes he talked to me about an important question with almost his old vivacity. In his eye was the old familiar glow of indefatigability. But it was the last flicker of the dying flame. Thirty-six hours more and the flame was extinguished.

Courageous, resourceful, powerful in his preferences and prejudices, real to his fingertips, he built the edifice of India's strength and stability stone by stone for the last 32 years. But behind this power and strength was a peasant's simplicity which nothing would corrupt, the loyalty to those to whom he gave his affection, and an unshakable spirit which led him to dedicate himself to the cause of the Motherland.

He lived, he worked and he suffered for the Motherland and he sacrificed his name upon the soil of her history as one of the greatest of her sons, for all time.

I may be forgiven for a personal note. Three men entered my life at different periods. Shri Anandad when I was his student in the Banoda College. Sardar when I resigned from the Bombay Council on the Gandhi issue. Gandhiji when I joined the Salt Satyagraha. Gandhiji died two years ago. Shri Anandad left the world a few days ago. Now Sardar is gone. My links with an older generation are snapped. All the world, for the moment, is chill for the warmth of those men is no more.

HARIJAN

Feb 19

1951

TOTAL PROHIBITION — INDIA'S URGENT NEED

It is rather ironic that free India should use the very arguments against prohibition to which we used to take strong objection when they were used by the British. Some of the officials have frankly said, "We cannot afford the luxury of prohibition." Others ask, "What would you have—education, health measures, better living conditions for the masses or be sentimental and stick to revenue-losing, Utopian ideas?" In the same way when the Grand Old Man of India—Dadabhai Naoroji—among others, raised his voice against the notorious opium traffic that was being forced on them, the Government pleaded their inability to stop it as they could not do without the opium revenue and refused to admit that opium taken in moderation had any deleterious effect.

They made these millions at the cost of someone else. We would make the tainted money by pouring intoxicating drinks down the throats of our own people! In old days we used to call it *satvik*; now we defend it as *patritik*.

Thousands in India today are faced with the grim prospect of starvation and death. Food imports are draining away our life blood. Our representatives abroad are going about literally with the beggar's bowl to collect alms and other food grains at concession rates. To waste a single grain of food for making liquor under the circumstances is nothing short of criminal.

Indians are glibly adhered to the practice of drinking in other countries. It is forgotten that alcohol has far more deleterious effects upon an under-nourished man, with an empty stomach than on a well-fed person. Our wretched millions with scarcity of food and miserable houses to return to after the day's work deserve something better than to be drugged with alcohol. These people take to drinking in order to forget their misery and in the process create more misery for themselves and others. We dope with alcohol the poor, overworked, badly paid worker to make him accept further uncompensatingly. With the experience of the "starvation" that alcohol gives he tends to substitute drink for food when there is not money for both. The effect of such steady drinking even though it may not go to the point of definite intoxication, upon an empty stomach in under-nourished people is well-known.

The deleterious effects of alcohol even in moderate doses become more obvious as we proceed from unskilled work to work requiring training and co-ordination. What happens is

that alcohol breaks off the most highly developed centres in the nervous system first. This makes people feel dazed as their inhibitions are knocked out and they become more sociable. But at the same time there is a reduction in the rapidity of mental grasp and correct association of ideas. After prolonged research scientists have come to the conclusion that in the highest range of thought alcohol appears to be inimical to good creative work, where the need is "scientific conclusion or considered judgment, rather than mere witfulness."

And you'd see this and again India's representatives abroad give them the definite negotiations, making drink after drink. Some of them with shining red noses and almost on the verge of being tipsy, make one's cheeks burn with shame. They do it because they drink it is smart to drink. And then after wasting India's money in criminal extravagance they turn round and tell us that the revenue from liquor is needed for constructive purposes, and nation-building activities!

Another argument that I have often heard is that we have to serve liquor to the foreigners else they would not come to our parties. This applies particularly to Indian embassies abroad. I mentioned this to a friend—a State Department official at Washington. He said, "The truth is that we would welcome it, for then we too won't have to serve drinks. While your embassies get Indian liquor as a diplomatic concession, for us liquor is very expensive." But we cannot refuse to serve drinks when we go and gale them down at parties given by others!

Still another argument that is used very often is, "Prohibition did not succeed in America, how can it succeed in India?" For one thing drinking has not become such a part of our life as personal as it has in the West. We are still trying to train ourselves to drink. I found holding a responsible position in the Indian army told me a few weeks ago that he had received instructions to lower the price of rum. "They want the men to drink," he added with a sigh.

And as for prohibition in America it did not fail because of lack of co-operation by the common man. Here is what an American wrote to Gandhi in 1929: "Prohibition failed politically in America because of the political power of the big cities and because brewers and others, who stood to gain by the sale of liquor, were willing to spend millions of dollars in newspaper propaganda, while the mass of the people were quite indifferent to what had seemed to be for them a pressing problem. It is the ruin of the explanation of the country by the wealth of the cities. The same problem you have to face in making prohibition a success in India."

Loss of liquor revenue has been made into a bogey. Surely, there are enough ways and

means of economy that can be explored to make up for the loss of tainted money. Unless that is done, the liquor revenue by itself, it is certain, is not going to avert the economic collapse of the country. Whether the higher incidence of mental disease in the Western countries is the cause or effect of the drink habit, it is difficult to say. Probably it is a vicious circle which we had better avoid, otherwise the liquor revenue will not provide us with sufficient funds even for hospitals that will be needed for the mentally sick, if the incidence of mental illness in India goes up to the level of the Western countries.

Lastly, more legal enforcement of prohibition is not enough. It must be accompanied by adequate educational campaigns so that the unscrupulous bootleggers cannot mislead and exploit innocent citizens. The object of prohibition is not to take away the freedom of the people, but merely to remove the temptation and save them from the propensities of liquor brewers. No country in the world can enforce laws which are repugnant to the mass of the people. Fortunately for India Indian masses still driven upon drink and except for a handful of Westernised Indians Indians do not wish to be smart and sociable with the help of liquor.

STREELA NATH

TANASPATI AND CONGRESS

Papers announce that the A.I.C.C. at Ahmedabad accepted by 100-against-25 Shri Madhuprasanna Chaudhary's resolution, asking Government to ban opium. It was passed in spite of opposition from the Prime Minister and other important leaders. Some who were personally in favour of it made an appeal to the mover to withdraw it, partly out of respect for the leaders and partly through fear that the leaders' opposition might so influence the members to vote against it that it might be defeated in spite of heavy personal opinion in its favour. No doubt some of the 55 who voted against it did so for this reason.

It is now to be seen how far the Central and State Governments, and the members of the Parliament and the various State Legislatures will respect the mandate of the A.I.C.C. I hope that the Congress in Government and that outside will respect the Unity resolution passed by the A.I.C.C. by voting in favour on major problems.

Wardha, 3-2-61

K. C. MANDWALA

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MEMORIAL TO BAPA

Thakkar Bapa, the super-naturalistic servant of humanity and champion of lost causes too has gone the way of all flesh to join the growing countless company at the other end. For some time past he had been laid up with serious heart trouble but he refused to get completely out of his harness. When Dr. Senhale Nayer saw him a couple of days before the end he was having the recent publication of Bhabu Patel's speeches read out to him. Six months before the end, another friend paid him a visit at Dharmapur. His illness was even then far advanced and there seemed little hope of recovery. The friend tried to persuade Bapa to take things easy. "Bapa, you should now take a holiday from all worries and responsibilities. You have fully earned the right," he pleaded.

"I have no worry or anxiety haunting my mind," replied the indefatigable Bapa. "Only the conditions of Mahars in backward tribes of Bihar keeps haunting my mind. It is so miserable, it has only to be seen to be believed." He did not rest 1½ hour weeks later he had found a couple of workers to take charge of the work among them.

The cry of distress from whatever quarter it came touched Thakkar Bapa deeply. The recent Assam earthquake and floods have shook him to his depths, and even from his sick-bed he made heroic efforts to expedite the sending of his workers to the affected area. An Chaudhri pointed out in his short message on Bapa's 70th birthday. "Bapa was born only to serve the down-trodden." Whether they were Harijans, Bhils, Santals or Khasis, they could equally claim him as their Bapa—father. Later when Chaudhri wanted to find a secretary for the Kumbha Trust, he could find no more suitable person—man or woman—than Thakkar Bapa.

Out of the latest public statements which Thakkar Bapa issued from his sick-bed, was in relation to our pledge to the Harijans. In that statement he reminded us that under the new Constitution special representation and safeguards for the scheduled castes have been provided for a period of ten years ending with 1990. Within this period we have to create conditions which will render unnecessary the need for special representation and safeguards for the Harijans so that they may not have to ask for their continuation at the end of the term. It is a question of now or never.

The best way of paying our homage to Thakkar Bapa would be to take upon ourselves the concern expressed in that statement. We even today to be more progressed in the scramble for the fruits of freedom than in preserving the tree that bears that fruit. But as sure as the morning follows the night, the tree will wither away if the roots are neglected and the fruit itself will turn into ashes in our

months like the proverbial Dead-end fruit. Full measure of justice to the out-caste and the down-trodden and unequivocal fulfilment of our national pledges is this behalf is an indispensable condition that must be fulfilled if we do not want to be overtaken by the Germans that persecute nations, who, when they gain power forget the pledges they made when they were in the wilderness.

We dare not postpone to a distant Utopia the complete liquidation of untouchability in practice as it has already been done in law. And the way to do that, as Gandhi told us, is for us to convert ourselves into Harijans by choice. There is no other way of obliterating the distinction between the caste and the out-caste in practice.

The first step in this direction, if we mean business, is to introduce the science and art of scavenging and sanitation as an essential item in the curricula of our educational institutions. There is no reason why there should not be a faculty of municipal and village sanitation and scavenging in our Universities and why special diplomas in these and related subjects such as cottage-tanning, leather manufacture, utilisation of the by-products of dead cattle and compost-making should not be given by our Universities. A natural result of this will be to bring about an improvement in implements and techniques of scavenging and making it a clean, healthy and respectable profession. As it is it is a most degrading sight in our towns and cities to see human beings carrying dripping baskets of night soil on their heads so that 'respectable folk' might live in cleanliness and comfort. High heavens won't touch a continuance of this degrading indignity. It is more worthwhile to tell ourselves and others that all we have to do is to work till the whole of our sanitation system is mechanised and then show the red will disappear.

As a corollary to this it is but fair that so long as these traditional vocations continue to exist in our society those who engage in them should be given special honours higher orders in certain services which in essence really are an extension and continuation of these vocations. Take for instance the various health services. What is a Sanitary Inspector or a Public Health Officer if not a master scavenger? Why should not those be specially chosen to fill these jobs who have actual experience of the backst and the broom? If we want to run a hospital we look for a practising doctor for it. If we want to run a factory, we select an engineer with mechanical experience. It was said of Field Marshal Koonseel that in his private dimensions, which made history nobody could rise to the rank of a captain or a corps commander who had not constructed or at least assembled one tank with his own hands. And, when a valiant once went to see him in the battle line, he found him with

greasy hands and a soiled apron at work in a tank-repair field workshop, hardly to be distinguished from other mechanics. Why should not then the personnel for public sanitation and public health services likewise be recruited and trained from amongst the class of people who are actually engaged in the vocations of scavenging and sweeping? Why should not a specified number of promising Harijans be specially selected and trained every year at State's expense in an academy that should be specially set up for the purpose preferably in rural surroundings? That would result in an immense improvement of our standard of municipal and village sanitation which is today a scandal and a disgrace.

Such a re-orientation of our outlook and a concrete programme to give it body would be the worthiest memorial to Thakur Bapa.

New Delhi, 21-1-51

PTANJALI

RAPA THE UNIQUE

Great men reveal to us how life includes a satisfaction deeper than joy or sorrow. This satisfaction comes of a deep peace that is born of purposeful activity and well-integrated philosophy. Great men express through the perishing human life some imperishable, innate greatness that belongs to the source of life which pervades of the divine and immortal. For this reason great men leave an indying inheritance to mankind, enriching the common stock of experience and adding to the quality of civilisation. All these remarks apply to Thakur Bapa who left the earthly scene a few days ago.

The social history of India will speak of him as the greatest humanitarian force in India's recent past. An imagination that vividly realised the sufferings of millions neglected vast sections of humanity, a sympathy which went out in full tenderness to the 'submerged' and the 'underprivileged', a heroic spirit that dared to bring hope and redempt in spheres sunk deep in frustration an organising ability unmatched in the unorganised field of social service an amazing industry which amounted to genius in his case and above all 'the high consciousness which marked all his undertakings' — each has a unique personality and traversed him with an awe and corporate rare in contemporary history. Verily he became a power among powers — a power of pure benevolence. Tender to a degree and capable of deepest affection, his ever-living parent of duty made him appear like some elemental force, grand and invincible. On occasions he seemed to have the alchemists of some natural force pursuing relentlessly the desired path of duty. He was a type of the wise ascetic who rises to a secure and serene level of true peace above ordinary enjoyments and common satisfaction. In him weakness was stilled and virtue made perfect. The contemplation of such a life must be a perennial inspiration.

22-1-51

T. N. JACKMAN

A GREAT DEVOTEE

(That Thakkar Bapa paid the following tribute to Lord Thakkar Bapa in his post-prayer speech on 18th January 1961 at Paramdham, Pune)

The speech began with the famous song of Saint Tukaram.

— B K J

It is not that, with you as my lord,

My mind, to you, is turned.

(He who adopts the oppressed and the depressed as his own, knows him to be a saint, and the shade of God.)

Tukaram had said we were women Thakkar Bapa's life in those few lines. And I also knew that this was one of Thakkar Bapa's favourite songs. Although Bapa's mother-tongue was Gujarati, he understood Marathi very well. He had lived long in the company of Gokhale and Devdhar, and drawn from them the inspiration for service. The first half of his life was spent in earning bread for the family. The other half he dedicated absolutely to the service of the poor.

Amrindas's was a papa (way) of life in disguise. It was a papa of a very high order. He desired to bring the heaven on earth and wanted to transform the mind into super-mind, so that he could transcend the realm of the superstitious to the realm of humanity. The significance of such contemplation lay in his endeavour and not in his achievement. Endeavour he did till the end of his bodily life, and if he could not show achievement in a visible form, it was yet a very admirable failure.

The Sarkara way of life (papa) had comparatively a low high goal. He aimed at organizing the society, strengthening it and at achieving public good in the popular sense of the term. It was not a small ideal, but at the same time was not out of the reach of human effort. It was liable to partial success and partial failure. And so it happened. He achieved success in the case of some of his targets, but could not do so in the case of some others. I have therefore described him as a great *harmayogi*.

But Thakkar Bapa's papa was a simple one—one which was within the reach of ordinary man. He was not a *disparayogi*, and, though he led a fully active life throughout his long career I would not call him a *harmayogi*. His was the path of bhakti (devotion). He got was to enter to know the heartings of others. That was his activity, his worship and prayer, and his way of life (papa). Tukaram has rightly said that the path of bhakti was the easiest. "In this Kali Yuga (the life of struggle) all the other paths of life have become dim and difficult to tread. Who can apply himself to *disparayoga*? Is it easy to bury oneself in one place, for forty years? It was possible only for men like Amrindas to do that." And who again can play the deputy of the society and bear the blows on his own chest on its behalf? How many can put themselves in the position of a Railway engine,

pulling single-headed coaches of loaded wagons? Only a Sarkar Vallabhbhai or his like could do it. How can you and I do it on the hard times we are passing through?

We have put Tukaram on a very high pedestal. But he regarded himself as one of ourselves. "It is not possible for me," he said, "to practise difficult systems of discipline. I find the devotee's way of life best suited to me." He would say to God, "The great devotees of the past contemplated deeply on Thee, with the rigorous discipline of japa (repetition of name), tapa (austerity), practical etc. I cannot even imagine them. Humble that I am, I can only pray for Thy mercy and try to serve the poor to the extent to which I can realize their hardships."

This was also Bapa's background. He had not therefore to experience the admirable failure of Amrindas, nor a mixture of success and failure of the Sarkar. He had to see only achievements,—simple, but such as could be seen by the world. If you questioned the donor of a charity man, you have done. The action is complete in itself. It is immediately followed by the fruit, and the satisfaction both to the giver and to the receiver. The Lord has said, "Easy is the Royal Road of Service. It bears immediate fruit." It is like the satisfaction of a full meal by a hungry person. It is produced immediately and with every moment.

Such was the path of service that Thakkar Bapa tried and laid out for us. He built the road, and departed; and departed after attaining complete success. It is now our turn of service. The agonies of the world have not ended, and may not end so long as God desires to maintain and preserve this path of service. But these agonies need not discourage us; they should rather encourage us. They are a challenge to us. They, too, it seems, have been made immortal, so that we may not be deprived of the privilege and satisfaction of service. Let us, therefore, take to service at once and with earnestness. Let us forget our own sorrows. Let us have the enthusiasm to diminish the agonies of the world.

(Referring to the students (all in all) in number) of the Marjari Prasthiti House, Varanasi, who had walked all the distance to Pune to contribute their labour in the digging of the well at the Paramdham Ashram, Varanasi said:—

That was a good thing done today. Thakkar Bapa will feel happy thereby. You have walked a distance of six miles to participate in the sacred digging of the well at Paramdham. Yours was a pre-arranged programme, and you did not cancel it in spite of the sad news of Bapa's passing away, but worked unflinchingly for about three hours.

You have done a good selfless service today. How fond Thakkar Bapa was of Marjari boys! His spirit will say today, "These beloved children of mine have not forgotten me. They have fulfilled my message of service. They did not disturb their programme of service at the news of my death. Not only that, they have

carried out their programme more enthusiastically. Verily, my message has reached their hearts."

Let us inculcate this spirit of service. The body may live long or die now; but let it be devoted to constant service, as long as it lasts. This is our prayer to God.

(Transcribed from Marathi)

GAUR'S KEEN PERCEPTIONS

Mahatma Gandhi was regarded by some people as an enigma on account of his austere ways of living. Our such persons once told me that Gandhiji had neither eyes, nor ears, nor nose. This was his *Maat* way of saying that the Mahatma's perception of beauty, sound and smell had become blurred as a result of his ascetic mode of life. I countered his caustic remark by narrating the following incidents which occurred during Gandhiji's stay in Hyderabad (India) when he visited the place to attend the All-India Kishor Conference during the stirring days of non-co-operation. Gandhiji's entourage included the late Pandit Bhanbhajprasad Chaudhari and his talented wife Sarabati Sarabadevi Chaudhari, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Dr S. Krichew. Mahatma Shasthral joined the party at Hyderabad. It was a union of diverse elements under one roof.

Many persons came to pay their respects to Mahatmaji. Among them were a batch of local Gujarati women belonging to the shamshooni community. He returned their salutations with his characteristic smile and remarked, "Look at their Aryan features!" Evidently he was impressed by their looks. This showed that Gandhiji who was a lover of nature had his eyes wide open. But though his eyes could perceive beauty in nature as well as inanimate forms he turned them and his mind to higher things, for instance the star-studded sky which proclaims the glory of God. And what could be more entrancing than the vast panorama of the starry heavens?

One misty evening Shramati Sarabadevi came rather tired from the efforts of the Conference. She expressed her desire to go to the ladies which lives at a distance of about three miles from the town, and asked me to request Mahatmaji to accompany us. He readily agreed when approached. Our carriage had no proceedural for when there was a slightly creaking sound, Gandhiji though wrapped in thought detected it and enquired if it was a hackney carriage. I replied in the affirmative. He said, "Why do you waste public money like this?", and firmly asked me to "turn back." I had no option but to obey the command. This incident shows not only Gandhiji's keen awareness of his surroundings but also the scrupulous care with which he would have public funds spent.

Another incident also centres round Shramati Sarabadevi. At night time, she was being served dinner at a white room. Gandhiji casually

walked in, stood for a few seconds and left saying, "So you are having your dinner!" Next morning he inquired from Shramati Chaudhari what arrangements she had made for his food in the train as they were to leave for Bombay in the afternoon. She replied that she had asked the waiter of this to prepare a few slices of goat's milk from which she would prepare 'khanna' (milk dried by boiling) for her use. Gandhiji who had smelt nothing at her table the previous evening quizzically said, "And you will take smelly chaps for yourself?" Gandhiji showed remarkable tolerance for—in the words which occur in one of his letters translated from Gujarati, "some of those who stay with me and are my companions and who are meat-eaters", for he held that reform must come from within and not be superimposed from above.

Those unforgettable incidents throw some light on the rigid principles guiding Mahatmaji in his sublime life of plain living and high thinking which culminated in his glorious martyrdom. Gandhiji had consecrated all his faculties to the attainment of his goal which was the realisation of Truth through service of fellow beings. So he did not another his senses but kept them functioning under proper check, just as an experienced coachman restrains his fiery horses and keeps them on the straight path with the aid of blinkers and occasional crack of the whip.

R. G. MANBHAIWALA

INJUSTICE TO SCHEDULED TRIBES

One of the mistakes, which weighed on Thakkar Bappa's mind, before his death, was regarding the injustice done to some of the Scheduled Tribes (Adivasis) of India in the official list published by the Government of India on 8th September, 1936. It is believed that at least 20 per cent, if not more, of Adivasis will be affected by the omission of several tribes from the published list. Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan are said to have made the largest omissions. Bombay shows an increase of population by 3 1/2 lakhs in 15 years. It is not clear why other States show a considerable decrease. Some well-known names are conspicuous by their absence.

At Thakkar Bappa's request a Conference of Social Workers and Members of Parliament interested in Tribal Welfare was held at New Delhi on 10th December, 1950, under the presidency of Dr B. N. Kharas. Thakkar Bappa's illness prevented him from being personally present in it, but he was extremely anxious about the matter. The Conference resolved to send a deputation of M. P.'s to wait on the Prime Minister to get the matter recommended by a Committee, two members of which should be representatives of Bharatya Adivasini Sangh. It urges further that before any action is taken by Government on the proposals of the Committee, they should be given wide publicity to elicit public opinion.

I hope the error will be rectified and justice done to good time.

Wardha, 20-1-51

R. G. MANBHAIWALA

FULFILMENT, NOT FAILURE

One of the last sayings of Jesus, from the cross on which he died, was a triumphant exclamation "It is finished." It was as if the Master Drummer, who had staged on the plane of human existence his latest presentation of the eternal drama of redemptive suffering, was writing "Fines" to this perfect piece. That life is perhaps the most convincing illustration of the dictum of the poet that

"In small proportions we just beauties see,
And in short measures life may perfect be."

Death at the early age of thirty-three was no defeat for Jesus, rather was it the gateway to fuller life and greater influence. "I, if I be lifted up, shall draw all men unto myself," he said and surmised, knowing what manner of death he would die. And he had gone to face it undaunted, laying down his life of his own will. Many are the sayings which lead to the inescapable conclusion that Jesus had deliberately embraced death as a supreme act of self-giving, then which there can be no greater sacrifice. "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends."

What happened on the proper ground of this Cross in Delhi, on January 30, 1948, was another enactment of the drama of redemptive love, of the God of love paying in pain and for men the cost of human redemption. It was merely in the shape of things that Gandhi died at the hands of a fanatic of his own religion, that religion to which he was devoted all his life and which he sought to serve and purify. The misguided young man who fired the fatal shot may honestly have believed that he was thereby safeguarding the interests of his religion and his community in doing away with a dangerous enemy. For there is no greater enemy of false religion than real religion, a distinction which those who would sweep away all religion from the conscience of man fail grievously to realise. There must have been, and still might be, many in the country, who reckon over that death, feeling like the High Priest of the Jews who condemning Jesus said "It is expedient that one man should die for the nation."

Gandhi has undoubtedly died for the nation and for mankind too. The only question is how his death is going to avail for the healing of our wounds, which are sore and grievous. Jesus' death was followed by certain abnormal expectations which gave his disciples the conviction that he had survived death and was present with them as a power without serving them to direct superhuman efforts. It is a measure of the change in the mental climate of the race that in spite of multitudes of equally fervent devotees Gandhi's death has not been followed by any such super-natural phenomena or belief based on them. It is also a measure of the reality of the leader who discouraged all personal-claim-

ing faith in him. Gandhi never rose to higher heights than in his last days when he literally threw off his clinging followers and stood in his utter loneliness, drinking the very poison of communal hatred to its bitter drugs as in his lonely wanderings in rice-revered Noakhali. In an inspired passage in his *St. John*, Bernard Shaw makes the Maid, faced with desertion by even her supporters, exclaim: "My loneliness shall be my strength." It is better to be alone with God. His discipleship will not fail me, nor His command, nor His love. In His strength I will dare and dare and dare until I die. If I go through the fire I shall go through it to the hearts of the common people for ever and ever."

Gandhi in his loneliness dared and dared still he dropped down. Was the spirit in him that was released through the assassin's bullet gone into the hearts of the people of India? It is a personal question. If it lives in you and me it can, and then alone will live in the heart of the nation. The particular applications he made of his principles are not fundamental, though part of his unique greatness lay in the thoroughness with which he applied his principles to everyday life, in his practical idealism. But what is fundamental is his spirit, the spirit underlying the words that were constantly on his lips during his last years. *Do or Die*. We are true to his spirit if only we too dare to do or die for those that are of vital concern to us and to those around us. Politically we are free today. But there are still many bonds that bind the human spirit in our land and all over the world. The eternal fight between right and wrong will continue. The motto of a great institution where I had the privilege of my education the Madras Christian College, says:

"They are brave who dare not be
In the right with two or three."

Gandhi said that he was never as happy as when he was in a minority of one. If his spirit lives in us, if we are true to him, we too shall taste that happiness, of being in the right with two or three, that supreme happiness beside which the richest prizes earth offers are vanity. Our lives shall then find fulfilment, in our own little measure, whatever life may do to us. *Gandhi is in*.

V. K. KRISHNA

Available Press

Dear Editor

I heartily approve your suggestion about fortnightly prices of essential and refined stuffs. It shows the pulse of the North market and enables all interest way out of the present chaos.

If the principle of your suggestion is accepted, I would be glad to offer a few practical suggestions regarding details. And in that case, almost all the staff in the Food Department may be disbanded, necessarily benefiting the Government and the people.

Thiruvananthapuram 28-1-52

SHYAMAN

SARDAR — A LESSON TO THE YOUTH

When the poet said that lives of great men remind us that we too can make our lives sublime, he perhaps meant this. Every great man is composed of a fibre which has its own distinct characteristics. It is the duty of a young person to discover these characteristics, determine their value and try to emulate them to the best of his ability.

Thus looked at, the life of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel has a very simple lesson, easy as well as straightforward, that can well be grasped by a youth, like the humble writer, born in the twenties and after and who could not have had the opportunity of working with him or immediately under him.

He was not, like Gandhi, an ascetic with a distaste for the ordinary comforts of life, nor a seeker who had resolved to reduce himself to zero. Nor had unique opportunities, good fortune and special circumstances gathered together to crown his efforts. Nor were there any symptoms of hero-worship with or about him in fact he achieved greatness. He was an ordinary man who attained great heights by dint of his own efforts and strength derived therefrom.

I think three features stand out very prominently in his life. They are fearlessness, directness, and one-thing-at-a-time-ness. It is these three qualities which essentially turned the schoolboy at Baroda first into a District Pinder, next into a Barrister and then into a rebel and finally he forward into a symbol of unity and peace. Because he was fearless, he was true and sincere. Because he was direct, he was unflinching and unaffected. Because he did one thing at a time he was practical and painstaking and he did it with devotion and thoroughness and rarely his performance was per excellence. And, therefore, whether he was fighting his case in a Law Court or presiding over a heated debate in a Municipal Board, or directing a campaign as in Bardoli or addressing an A. I. C. C. meeting at Tripuri or discussing a controversial affair like that of Narayan or Khare, or negotiating with a Viceroy in Simla, or arguing with Princes in New Delhi, he always won his point invariably, inevitably, and inexorably. He wanted Victory had always marked him as her own.

We are prone to forget that true fearlessness, real directness and substantial one-thing-at-a-time-ness cannot long stay unless they are associated with what is at the bottom of them all, a heart, loving and kindly and open. Without it the Sardar could hardly have acted heroically as a "mother" to Ezoji in the Teravad Prison and become all and everything to his daughter in her life.

May God bless the youth of India to learn something from the unparalleled leader and save their country at one of the most crucial hours of her history.

Wardha, 12-1-51

STURGEON KARANJOL

OUR SARDAR

On the night of December 15, when the funeral pyre blazed in all fury, a wet-eyed elder leader sighed. "It was kind of Fate to have taken away the Sardar. We the unfortunate ones are left behind to grapple with colossal problems."

In those words there was unadulterated affection for the Sardar as also profound concern for the nation's future. But I know what Sardar would have said if he could hear those words and respond. Sardar never could wish for escape to death. He was ever faced with the urge to battle with problems and conquer them. If he accepted defeat it was only from death which remains unconquered. The Sardar never conjured up imaginary problems, he smote them down as they came.

We know that Sardar was invincible in the face of problems. India's millions also were well aware of this. The sorrow that afflicted every single Indian on Sardar's death was not due to mere sentiment. The people had boundless confidence in his strength. They regarded him as their sentinel and shield. The shield was suddenly broken; the sentinel himself had become the victim of death, the watchman had gone into eternal sleep.

Physically enough the Sardar too had described himself as India's sentinel in a public meeting at Nagpur two years back. He had challenged the enemies of India's integrity and had vowed that they dared not lift their heads so long as he watched over India truly. How rock-like this self-confidence! What a faith in the co-operation of the people; what utter contempt for the enemies!

Sardar always recalls to my mind the Indian peasant. Sardar was not only born as a peasant home; the whole make-up of his personality was that of an Indian peasant. The peasant is completely engrossed in his land. To tend it and make it productive is almost all his concern. He is practical, and knows not how to prance about on the wings of imagination. The simple wisdom of ages is all his knowledge. He is not aware to new ideas, but only when you convince him of their practical utility. He would call a friend a friend, an enemy an enemy. He has no talent for sweet talk. If you win his trust, he will even lay down his life for you. He is peace-loving, but he will not hesitate to use force in the defence of his land.

The Sardar was steeped in all these attributes of a peasant. He loved India as intensely as a peasant loves his land. I believe this is the last word in patriotism.

The Sardar was an scholar, in other words he was not afflicted by bookishness. But he was careful to find out all that was worth knowing about any matter at hand be it from books, files or newspapers. Indeed he never neglected this

knowing, despite all preoccupations. Sometimes, if he had to interrupt his radio listening to attend to a phone call, he would immediately find out from others what he had missed. He would meet a variety of people to keep himself well informed. He was not fond of his own voice, but only of listening to others.

I am myself a keen lover of books, but sometimes I suspect that they provide more of intellectual indulgence than really useful knowledge to the matter in hand. Perhaps they also hamper the urge for action. But even those lovers of books who look upon themselves as *Openminded* would have to admit that there is another path to salvation—the path of *Karmayoga*. And perhaps this latter path is more conducive to the welfare of society.

The Sardar truly was a *Karmayogi*, he had the straightforwardness of a *Karmayogi*.

Some might suggest that I am exaggerating when I describe the Sardar as a *Karmayogi*, but I feel I am not wrong. The Sardar had sacrificed his all at the altar of patriotism. His life was a single pattern of renunciation and devotion. His entire way of life was simple and austere. The Gandhian stamp which it had acquired remained unaltered till the end. It is sad that the Score for fame is the last trophy of great minds. What is amazing is that the Sardar was singularly unaffected even by this weakness. He was completely lost in the mission of the moment. He never bothered to tell the world what he achieved. The fact was that he forgot a task the moment it was completed and he would be lost in another which demanded his attention. He was utterly unconcerned as to the credit for his achievements. Even when the Sardar's enemies would go to the length of holding the crime of before against him, he was content to leave the slanderers alone, without uttering a word of refutation. So long as the nation's vital interests were not jeopardized, he cared not to correct misrepresentation. If someone brought these things to his notice, his only response was a gesture of contempt.

It would be contended that the Sardar could not be called a *Karmayogi*, because he was not free from attachment and hatred. This may be true, but this writer has yet to come across a man wholly free from these passions. Even so the Sardar's passions were a class apart. Those who were with him in any active cause were for the moment the objects of his favour, and those opposing it, appeared to be the objects of his dislike. As soon as he took up another cause, having served the first and if the former objects of his dislike extended him co-operation, they too became the favoured ones.

In his lifetime countless persons, who regarded themselves as his opponents at one time or another, subsequently turned into the trusted ones. So also did he discard not a few

who turned out to be inefficient or characterless. In the heart of his heart, he had neither love nor hate for any of these. If he had any attachment, it was solely for certain national causes and people became objects of his love or hate even as they were promoters or detractors of these causes. The concept of a *Karmayogi*, untouched by passions, is theoretically a fascinating one, but in actual life, it is only seen like the Sardar who lead us to believe in the feasibility of that perfection.

Another misconception spread against the Sardar was that he had a weakness for capitalism. This came from those who were steeped in the book-lore of Socialism, Communism and other 'isms'. You could not induce the Sardar to accept a proposition merely by labelling it with an 'ism'. He would agree to it only if it was presented as a practical solution for some specific national problem. If Marxism has any substance, the Sardar could have been induced to gulp the whole of it, if administered one by one as positive pills for some national maladies. But when 'isms' and dogmas are the order of the day, it is not surprising that the Sardar should have been accused of capitalism. Those who did not hesitate to brand even Gandhi as a friend of the capitalists could not be expected to be considerate to the Sardar.

The Sardar is accepted on all sides as the sole legislator of nearly six hundred feudal States. But even this has not deterred the Marxists from labelling him as a partner of the Prince¹—Marxists are champions of class-war. They refuse to accept revolution as revolution unless they are enabled to shoot Jagatbhai Shinde with their feet tramping the corpse of the enemy. They have no use for concepts of universal well-being. They will not trouble to see that in a generation or two, the progeny of the princes will have been blended with and lost into the social fabric. Their souls would have known peace only if rivers of blood had flown in every State and if some blood-thirsty people had danced on the corpse of the prince. It would have been grand fun, no matter if it took half a century in coming and protracted the unification of the country. Their satisfaction is not in achievement but in the process of achievement, and the bloodier the process, the more happy our revolutionists. Indeed the Sardar did them grave wrong. He deprived them of their beloved prince. No wonder that they did not pardon the Sardar.

Some princes too continue to bear a grudge against the Sardar. They are prone to think that they made a mistake in taking the Sardar's counsel. The Sardar inaugurated the process of the merger of States with the Eastern States Agency. Cuttack and Nagpur were the first to be visited by him in this behalf. I will never forget the historic evening when he discussed merger with the last rulers of the above Agency. There was first anger and stubbornness, then panic

and came and lastly down of winters and reconstruction. All the princes passed through these three stages. One of the princes remarked to the Sardar in all princely courtesy: "Just as we acknowledged the sovereignty of British Government, so shall we, of the Congress Government. Why not take us also under your protecting wings?" Sardar merely replied: "The British have conferred independence on you also. You may remain independent if you so direct. But if your own people revolt against you, pray do not expect from India's arms to rush to your aid." This was enough for the prince. They thought for a while and quietly agreed on the dotted lines.

This fundamental change in the situation of the Indian princes so succinctly expressed by the Sardar was not applicable only to the princely dominions existing within the borders of India but it had significance, as we already see, for such independent neighbouring States as Nepal. It is surprising that just when the wisdom of the Sardar's advice to the prince is being demonstrated in Nepal some of our princes should choose that very moment to regret their only act of wisdom since the appearance of the British on the Indian political stage.

The Sardar was an indomitable fighter in the battle of freedom. He translated into action Satyagraha—that priceless gift from Gandhi to humanity. He gave tranquillity and security to the country in the most turbulent period of transition from slavery to freedom. He was the author of the finest achievement of the first independence Government, viz., unification of India.

The Sardar could achieve all this only because he was utterly selfless, because he was endowed with genuine wisdom and indomitable courage, because he had nerves of steel and an intellect as sharp as the razor's edge.

We can well deny these qualities of the Sardar. But many are under the impression that the Sardar hid his heart, that he was completely devoid of emotion. But those who had the privilege to observe him at close quarters—and such are not few—will stoutly deny this assertion. The truth is that though the Sardar was rightly known as a man of steel, he was a true specimen of Bhavabhai's concept—"Harder than a diamond and softer than a flower." The fact of the matter is that the Sardar was hard just because he was selfless. And how can we expect softness for others from one who had none for himself?

The truth is that the human side of the so-called crafty Sardar was wholly unseen and unrecognized. This was amply demonstrated in his love of children. He was well-known for his sense of humour and liking satire but very few knew that whenever affairs of State permitted he would spend hours talking to children. The

children too were spontaneously attracted to him. Just as I escaped from memory the image of sorrow that was Manibehn in the net by the windows of the Sardar, so will remain carved in my memory Shri Shankar's baby-daughter who stood sobbing nearby. She was the playmate of the Deputy Prime Minister during the hours of his relaxation and her grief was as heartbreaking as that of Manibehn. And no wonder that it was so, for had he not made a place for himself in every Indian heart—old and young alike?

Nagpur

UNPUBLISHED MEMOIR

THAKKAR BAPA

TrIBUTES TO THAKKAR BAPA from letter, more closely associated and more effective writers make it unnecessary for me to add one more contribution. It is also not convenient to me. The more deeply I get moved, the more difficult it is for me to express my emotions in words. Suffice it to say that though I did not actually live and work with Thakkar Bapa for any considerable period, since 1924 onwards he was one of the major influences upon my life. I am heavily indebted to him for his great affection for me, his continuous encouragement to me in all my activities that met with his approval, and his prompt reproval whenever he felt that I was on a wrong track. His name will always be associated in my memory with tender feelings of love and veneration.

Wardha 1-2-52

R. G. MADHURWALA

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HARIJAN

FOUNDED BY BHAGYMA GANDHI
EDITOR: K. G. NARAYAN



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150 LAKHS

BA AND RAJU

In the evening (28-2-44) Raju said to me: "My mind does not think of anything else but Ba."

I replied: "Raju, the passing away of Ba has affected you more deeply than that of Mahadev." "Yes, it is very deep," he said. "Mahadev passed away suddenly in a moment, but Ba lay suffering for weeks. I cannot forget those days of her torment."

The table whereon Ba used to sit or lie down was brought to Raju as desired by him. He will now be served his breakfast on it. "Good, be," "This table has become a very valuable thing for me. The picture of Ba reclining her head on it always stands before my eyes. On the one hand I feel a satisfaction in that Ba breathed her last before me and was served by me to the burning place, while on the other, I have been blessed with grief at having lost her my companion for more than 22 years."

Ba was the subject of our conversation during our evening walk also.

Referring to the last moments of Ba, Raju said, "Ba's calling me thus at her last moment and her passing away while lying on my lap is really a wonderful thing."

At this I replied, "Raju, this clearly shows that however much Ba seemed to be depressed with you, she had in her heart of hearts great faith in and loving love for you. I have never seen even a single instance in which the wife lay thus on the lap of her husband."

Raju said: "It is true no doubt. Even I myself have not found such an example. Such a kind of relation between husband and wife does not exist generally among us."

ROSELA HAYAT

(Translated from the Hindi)
Rajul Karmal Khand

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THE TYRANNY OF LANGUAGE

The following is reproduced as received bearing a few mistakes obviously made by the typist:

"I the undersigned the father of J. Ramji most respectfully beg to draw your kind attention to my application addressed to the Collector, District B. dated ... whereby I have requested the Collector to grant me the Dependent Certificate together with share of my family as we wanted to go to K. on my daughter's marriage.

"In reply to this on ... I was informed by the said Office that the Dependent Certificate will not be granted to you. Ba, more over, I applied to the Collector on ... and stated therein that I have to go to K. on my daughter's marriage, which under no circumstances, it was, now, be postponed and so I shall be highly obliged if you grant me the Dependent Certificate and thereafter I proposed two more and three ... and the another one from the most respectable citizens of
... regarding my families. Even then on ...
... I was informed that I won't get the same mentioned.

"With reference to this, I beg to state that I had applied for the same on ... but due to the malicious attitude of the local ... on day at the time I was not placed in a right way and as I was not given the Dependent Certificate but was afterwards I got my daughter betrothed to ... and then I had to go but in order to avoid undue journey I applied not immediately, but after some delay.

"On ... I applied once more, whereby the Collector ordered and asked for the opinion from Police department regarding myself as well as the members of my family but the police department did not change their attitude towards me at all.

"By the way in connection with this I may let you know that when Mr. ... the in order to fill in his nomination, from ... as a candidate for ... constituency, I was the man who was specially called for in order to record their vote. This will give your honour an idea as to what type of man I am, and so what would I expect the party in power. Moreover I was one of the four members of the committee of the local ... This will let you know my political ideology also.

"In spite of all the above mentioned facts if I am denied the right to have a Dependent Certificate and put into difficulties I shall be led to believe that it means nothing but their rejection of both democracy and justice. The fair minded press will report this sort of treatment accorded to me.

"But I beg to request your honour to kindly inquire through any agency you like in ... or ... the Secretary of District Congress or any Government office and if you think it do I most respectfully request your kind and aided favour to

good, the No-Objection Certificate and to send the holder down to me.

"In case, I may be compelled to leave India, before I get No-Objection Certificate and then afterwards if you remember my case and come to the conclusion that my return to India is not objectionable—but it involves heavy expense to send my No-Objection Certificate through only of my old friends who are, by chance as may be, my photo-graphs if needed, are in the possession of the Collector office."

"I am a homeless wanderer of I and shall always remain wherever I shall go, I taking to I and I. In case, that as I am not satisfied with No-Objection Certificate, I shall be compelled to leave for K. and in the circumstances over which I have no control. Let this be finally closed."

Once more, I send friendly, my best wishes to kindly consider my case with a calm and sympathetic mind and allow me to have a No-Objection Certificate so that I can have a free happy and convenient trip to Palestine with all my regards and loyalty for India.

"Thanking you in anticipation,

Yours truly,"

On the merits, I can make no comment, as I cannot verify the statements made therein. My purpose in publishing it is to draw the attention of the rulers to the absolute tyranny unnecessarily caused to the subjects by insisting on confining the system of presenting applications in a language which the writers cannot understand and much less write correctly. I know how difficult it is to write correct English. A correspondent a scholar of English grammar periodically sends me a list of grammatical violations which he discovers in Harijan, and at one time the list showed more than forty errors in a single issue. I cannot therefore blame such applicants for the faults of their language.

Perhaps, it will be pointed out that almost all Governments have permitted applicants to make representations in their own languages, and it is the fault of the people themselves that they do not take advantage of it. This is partly true. But the reason for this odd behaviour is the opinion that has given round, based on the experience of applicants that applications in Indian languages, however supported, do not receive attention in Government offices, when they are not even read before being re-sent to the main-paper basket. People must be assured on this point, and officers should be instructed to give as much respect to applications in people's own languages as they have been accustomed to do those in English.

Applications in languages should also understand a few essential points. Applications are often written in very small hand, without leaving any marginal space on any side; the lines are too close to one another, or there as many as 40 or 50 on a half-sheet of Railway paper. It is too difficult to read them. This is irritating to the eyes of the addressee and his assistant, who have perhaps to deal with scores of such letters

everyday in their own interest, the applicants should write them if possible on typewriter otherwise in ink, and in bold legible and elegant handwriting preferably as similar as possible to printed writing. They need not judiciously imitate the illegible handwriting of men in responsible offices. They should take compassion on the letter, and not ask them to teach the people by their own example. An application elegantly written commands attention in the same way as an applicant presenting himself in a neat and tidy dress.

In the manner of writing as well as personal interviews, expressions and gestures of too much familiarity—expressing almost to much of self respect—are not good. Polite and courteous style is a virtue, not so the 'please your honour' way in which courtiers, favour-courts and feudal subjects used to address their rulers hitherto. At the same time rudeness and impudence towards public officers, when treated even among constructive workers, is a definite want of good training. It is a vice.

Wardha, 26-12-30

R. C. MANDREKAR

AN HUMBLED SOLDIER FARMER ATWAT

Shri N. Narayana was a distinguished village boy of ten when his uncle brought him to be educated in the Government school at Narayan (Bhandara) for education and training as a worker. Here as a young boy he had an English mind and starting of progress. During his five years stay in the school he absorbed all he could and had glimpses of hope even in 1924 and again in 1927 when hope showed the school by his visit.

The Government Government had thought of him enough to be brought, and ever since he used his best to be true to the land.

After a few months' training in Bhandara he selected for him a village 25 miles from Bhandara and he went and settled there. He was the best and capable of the village because like a son to the husband of the village, and conducted a school where he took care by admitting Harijans in the school. From the school, the Harijan children entered the ranks of the landless—and after that a short revolution took place in the village. Later on when the Mysore State Harijan Youth League proposed some land for starting an institution nearby, he became the speaker and used the land, which ultimately came on 22 1/2 30, when he was nearly 30 years old, he stayed at his post.

Shri Narayana was a product of the school, the first and best of the batch of youths who have emerged out of the school and are busily working in different spheres.

He worked in various capacities—in the Secretary of a Harijan Board, as a Harijan worker in the Mysore State Harijan Youth League. Later, he had several couple of years as a propagator for prohibition. He knows behind him a widow and two young children.

Shri Narayana's life was one of dedication to the cause of Harijans and village. He passed his life as one of our devoted workers. May his young life full of ardent activity be a light to the village workers. May his wife and children that is abundant the attention that is necessary to enable them to carry on their work.

Government,

WARDHAR

Wardha (Bhandara),

24-1-31

SCRIPT FOR THE SINDHI LANGUAGE

Shri Narok G Motwani of Bombay has drawn my attention to the controversy going on in the Press between two sections of Sindhi refugees about the future script of the Sindhi language. One section desires to retain the Arabic script in which the Sindhi language has been written for about a century past. The other wants to re-introduce the Devanagari script, in which it used to be written once, and supports the Bombay Government's policy in that direction.

I think that the step of the Bombay Government is correct and in the interest of the Sindhis. Indeed, the pace proposed by the Government is much slower than needed. The Sindhi language belongs to the same group of languages and dialects as that of Gujarati and Panjabi, and, I think, may be relegated to one of the Prakerit languages of India, from which all current Indian languages have developed. Its relation to Sanskrit is the same as that of Hindi, Gujarati etc. Since the Sindhis have to settle down in India and in various parts of it, the future generations of the Sindhis will undoubtedly find the Devanagari script as a more convenient medium than the Arabic. Between the two scripts the Devanagari is admittedly more perfect and phonetic and they will find it easier to print their papers and books in it. In a few years' time all the literature in Sindhi can be reprinted in that script. Some of the additional words of the Sindhi language can be denoted in Devanagari in the same way as those of Urdu, by placing marks under the normal letters. Devanagari, being the script of the national language of India, will have to be studied any way. Nagari typewriters and telegraphic signals have already come into use, and would be helpful in them.

No doubt several people of the present generation may find the change over to Devanagari somewhat difficult. It may be necessary for them to have at present some books and papers in the Arabic script. The pace which the Bombay Government has adopted is so slow that the present generation will hardly be affected at all. Even thereafter some students might like to learn that script by way of accomplishment or scholarship. This can be done in the same way as Urdu, although the script for general education is Devanagari. Such study might be compared to the study of the Hindi script in Maharashtra or the Brahmī script in Rajasthan. These two scripts are not taught in schools, but there are always to be found some people who use these scripts. They learn them privately, mostly from parents and friends out of their own fondness. In the same way, the Arabic Sindhi script need not be made a burden upon all, except at a later stage for students of ancient Sindhi manuscripts and publications.

Wardha, 28-1-31.

K. C. MARCHWALA.

UNDER THE GANDHI CAP

The Ahmedabad session of the A I C C will be remembered by visitors and protagonists of the Congress, among other things, for

- (i) the excellent arrangements made for the guests,
- (ii) Shri Jawaharlal's Unity Resolution,
- (iii) the passing of a new Constitution of the Congress, introducing a primary-membership fee of Rs 1/-,
- (iv) the ruling of the Congress President that even non-Congressists can be elected to the Central Election Board,
- (v) the passing of a non-official resolution banning the sale and manufacture of sarisapari; and
- (vi) the change of terms of the Khadi clause.

It is to the last feature that I wish to refer. Article IV mentions the conditions, the fulfilment whereof will make a primary Congressman 'active'. The second condition reads as follows:

He must be a faithful wearer of hand-spun and hand-woven Khadi.

Shri Gobakuldas Bhatt of Rajasthan moved an amendment for the reinsertion of the clause as it stood in the Constitution now repealed. It was as follows:

He is a faithful wearer of certified Khadi—woven through the agencies specified and approved by the Working Committee—made from hand-spun yarn.

The amendment, when put to vote, was lost. This means that a Congressman will not be bound any longer to put on certified Khadi. It may be argued that 'hand-spun and hand-woven Khadi' implies certified Khadi. But the history behind the old clause shows that no such implication can be presumed. Indeed if presumptions were sufficient, it would not be necessary to mention the words hand-spun and hand-woven too. For, under the Khadi Act, no other cloth can be called Khadi. The conclusion is that the omission is deliberate. Is it to honour Jawaharlal, who warned that the head wearing the Gandhi cap was of greater importance than the cap, that under the Gandhi-fashion cap the head will be anything but of the Gandhi mind?

Thus the Congress has spoken its mind. It would have been bolder and more honest to give up the Khadi clause altogether as Gandhi advocated years ago, than to promote this hypocrisy.

The writer has a great respect for the Congress President Shri Parashuramdas Tandon. He is straightforward and sincerely wants to purify the Congress. But he must fail, even as individually good officers in the British regime failed to reform that system, and individually good ministers and officers in the services are unable to stop the present corruption and demoralization. A good man in bad company gives the latter a prestige which it has ceased to deserve.

Wardha, 6-2-31.

SUBHARU KACHHAWA.

HARIJAN

Feb. 17

1951

COLLECTIVE CO-OPERATION IN AGRICULTURE

The Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee has circulated for opinion a "draft statement of programme" of land settlement and agriculture. It consists of 14 points. Ten of these deal with the principles of land tenure and the method of farming, the eleventh with the price of agricultural produce, and the rest with the fixing of the maximum limits of personal income.

The fundamental principle of its land settlement is co-operative farming. It is laid down as follows:

"First is the most elementary need of man. The chief means of producing it is land. Land is the gift of nature, and not the product of man's labour. Land should, therefore, belong to the community and not to a few individuals who may exploit it by their ownership to their risk by shirking the liabilities. The proprietorship of the farmer will consist of (1) the right to cultivate his land, (2) the right to lease out this right, and (3) the right to sell this right subject to the conditions laid down for the community in this behalf. Before leasehold buildings shall be pushed into co-operative farms and all the liabilities of a better-farming system shall be co-operatively performed. Progressive programmes shall be followed by all, all farms operating in a village should work under the control and supervision of the community as represented by the Village Panchayat."

Co-operative farming along with proprietary interest in particular plots of land has been generally advocated by most of our 'progressive' thinkers and planners. The necessity to reorganise the proprietary interest or occupancy right in particular pieces of land is regarded as unavoidable in order to provide to the cultivator an incentive to work hard and to improve his land.

Incidentally in an article (*Harijan*, 18th Sept., 1950, not intended for discussing this proposition in particular, I observed

"Our present economic and social order based on individual and separate proprietorship, is very chaotic. The system which makes it possible to partition property on grounds of being physically divided in a profitable manner may be applied. In a factory owned by a limited company a holder of even fifty per cent of shares cannot claim a physical part of the factory and ask for specific possession of half the factory his right need to become the managing director on the strength of his fifty per cent shares but that would mean privatisation of the whole factory. In the same way the land of a village need not be physically partitioned if it could be fitted together with greater advantage or has a common source of irrigation, which has then to be secured in accordance with its capacity to produce to couple crop of cereals in a normal year and it should be assigned a capital value, not in terms of money but in terms of produce. Assuming that thousand-

acres has been totally exhausted previously and all the fields in the villages are so enclosed all of them should be designated as one unit, constituting one single village economy, of which each individual owner is a shareholder to the extent of his proportion of the fields. A small plot should be assigned to each cultivating family whether it belongs owned and held or not, for what may be termed "personal today cultivation." This is to satisfy the patriotic sentiment for land to enable it to make experiments to grow diverse vegetable crops etc, particularly liked by it, to keep its going, raise poultry etc, and for other similar purposes."

I find that I do not stand alone in thinking on the above lines. Apart from the Communists, who are believed to be the protagonists of this system, there are other agricultural reformers also of a similar view. I received a letter last week from U. P. in which the same principle was advocated. Prof P. N. Datta of the Agricultural College, Poona, in his scholarly book *Problems of Reorganisation and Land Tenure Reconstruction* also pleads for the same system. It is therefore worthwhile to explain this idea more fully.

I would advocate the formation of the kind of agricultural farms on new lands for settling landless agriculturalists, and then extend it to old tranches.

Suppose a new area of a thousand acres of land is to be colonised by a hundred families. It is estimated that the total area could produce two lakh bhandis of wheat, if fully cultivated. Its productive value, therefore, is two lakh bhandis of wheat. This capital may be divided into 20,000 shares of ten bhandis each.

In the first phase 100 acres of land at the rate of one acre per each family to be given to it for being cultivated and used at will. It may also be used in part by the family for constructing its house. Thus each family will get an equivalent of twenty shares in the form of a plot of one acre each.

The remaining 900 acres of land must be utilised for collective co-operative farming by these hundred families. No particular part of these 900 acres shall be the exclusive property or occupancy of any individual. It is the joint property of the colony to be managed by its Managing Panchayat. The Panchayat shall decide which part is to be cultivated, which is to remain fallow, what is to be sown in each field or strip and so on. The members of the 100 families who will work on the land must be given "reasonable" wages. If their labour does not suffice external labour can be engaged. But such labourers must be given "full" wages such as may be earned in other forms of labour.

(The difference between "reasonable" wages and "full" wages may be explained by taking the example of partners in a firm. Each partner draws a definite sum every month for his maintenance. It is bound to be less than his total share in the firm. But at the end of the year

he will take up the balance. The amount drawn by him every month is no more than a 'reasonable' allowance for an owner in his position. But the employees of the firm would have to be paid 'full' 'living' wages all along. If the full wage of a peasant labourer is one rupee a day the share-holder's reasonable wage may well be about ten or twelve annas.)

The value of the remaining 900 acres of land is, according to the opposition, $900 \times 200 = 1,80,000$ thousands of wheat distributed into 18,000 shares of 10 thousands each. These shares may be purchased by these 100 families, provided that no family can purchase more than 400 shares, i.e. in other words none can possess more wheat than that in twenty acres of land. The shareholder would have individual proprietary interest not in any particular plot of land, but only in his shares, which he can sell, give away as gift, pledge, will away, and pass to his heirs. All the unpurchased shares should be regarded as held by Government.

It may be recalled that one acre of land has been allotted to each family. That plot may not be divided into more than four parts, i.e., if the owner has four sons each would get a quarter acre. That much portion can also be given away by sale, gift etc. But no family may, by means of purchase or otherwise, own more than two acres of upland land.

With regard to the yield and profits of the joint cultivation of 900 acres of land made the following suggestions in the article above referred to:

"The rest of the land must be cultivated as village land. An estimate should be made of the various pulses, vegetables etc. needed for (a) the full subsistence of the population for at least three months, (b) surplus of maize in addition to food, (c) surplus sugarcane to purchase their own necessities, (d) payment of revenue and other dues to Government, (e) payment of 'procurement levy' if any, (f) payment of interest on debts if any, and (g) expenses of and incidental to cultivation. Whatever share of these items are paid in cash or kind, and whether the clothing and other needs are produced locally or purchased from outside, there are charges which have to be met by the village before there can be any surplus for redistribution, consumption and for procurement or storage of profits. The sum total of these items is, therefore, the minimum agricultural wealth, which the village must produce in order to live."

I have chosen the name Saravastava (Sanskrit Saravastava) for a village or society based on this principle. For instance, a society named Pioneer Collective Society would bear in Hindi the name And Saravastava or And Saravastava.

I request the Ministers of Agriculture and Rehabilitation, the members of the Planning Commission, as also others interested in land tenure and co-operation to examine these suggestions.

Wardha 1-2-51

K. S. MATHURANGA

GANDHI'S LEGACY AND OUR RESPONSIBILITY

"Ordinary people go by beaten paths, and not by the spiritual one" — says a Sanskrit adage. That is true not only of the common populace but of the intelligentsia as well. To go by the beaten path is to accept current values passively and without enquiry. Out of this is developed a mass mind. The mass mind hardly possesses the capacity to create new values. Hence, the revolutionary has to break loose from the confines of the mass mind and create his own spiritual values. We get a glimpse of Gandhi's heart of mind by the creation of spiritual values from his very childhood.

His preparedness to cut neck for acquiring physical strength, his revealing the fact of his marriage before he had in England during his student days, his going to the High Court of Bombay on foot as a practicing barrister, his effort to bring about a settlement between hill-people and Court during his legal practice in South Africa, his adherence to Hindu Dharma in the midst of a Christian society, his religious inclination finally developing into equal respect for all religions, his work for recruiting volunteers for the army in India, his experiment of killing a dying calf, his discovery of basic education and ultimately his 'do or die' mission for communal unity — all these acts of Gandhi which he has called his 'Experiments with Truth', owe their origin to his fresh spiritual values.

Gandhi has left to us the legacy of spiritual values. How far we take advantage of this legacy in establishing the Sarvodaya Scheme of his conception is to be seen. To achieve his ideal, he initiated manifold constructive activities. It is for us to fulfil his incomplete task. It does not mean easy today. The hostile forces are held responsible for it. There is nothing stronger in this. What is necessary is to consider is how far we ourselves are responsible for non-implementation of the Sarvodaya Programme. Is it not that a sort of materialism — a regard for mere form and words — has been created about the slogan of 'constructive activity'? How far can it be said that this activity is based upon spiritual values? What capacity do we possess to convince the people, who are sceptic about the value of the Sarvodaya Programme? Remember that the number of such people is very great. Are we able to present an all-comprehensive picture of the Sarvodaya Programme? Have we thought out a grand plan of converting the present order into the Sarvodaya order in case we are frustrated with the means of Government? Have we enough competent persons who can shoulder the responsibility of implementing the Sarvodaya Programme? The sooner the constructive workers realize the importance of seeking accurate answers to problems such as these the easier will be the work of popularizing and promoting the Programme.

(Received for reprint: 24 FEBRUARY 1951.)

A SCHEDULE OF NEW VILLAGE HOUSES

The following description of village houses at Arraigh (Munawar District in Karnataka) will apply also to houses in most of the villages of India. They consist of rectangular houses in opposite rows adjoining each other separated by narrow walls. A narrow surrounding road passes between the two rows. A great many of the houses are in a dilapidated condition. They are series of two or more rooms one behind the other. They have no windows. The ventilation is through the doors in front and behind. The ceiling are that in the front room where that and the human beings live together in the middle of the roof of their wicker and dung. There are no latrines. Bath is taken in the open. They have no chimneys. The smoke of the kitchen stove, round and round the space before leading out of the door.

We decided to improve these conditions of living under the Government scheme of the Frontier House. We organized a housing co-operative society for the residents belonging to the backward class in the village of Arraigh with three objects:

1. Providing them with airy and ventilated houses calculated to improve their health and the efficiency of their work.
2. Demonstrating to the residents of the villages rural about the advantages of living in good houses.
3. Giving employment to the villagers who were in over the houses and reside in them. There was a total failure of rain in 1949-50 in these parts and the status of living the people had to be found out.

A majority of the members are farmers, farmers of sorghum and wheat, but agriculturists by profession. The village had 34 families then. It was decided to construct 15 houses in the first year. The Government granted a sum of Rs 27,000 in the ability payable by instalments as the work progressed.

An area of 15 acres was taken up in 1950. The land area was about 15 feet in width and depth. The area was plain measuring 15 feet in width and depth. The area was 15 feet in width and 15 feet in depth. A space of 15 feet x 15 feet on the other side of the street was set apart for a poultry and three plants and 15 feet x 15 feet at the back of the house for the planting of vegetation and for a poultry house. The house together with the verandah was to be on a plot of 15 feet x 15 feet. Out of this, 15 sq feet comprising an open verandah, 15 living room, 15 kitchen and a bathroom form the living space. The remaining area of 15 sq feet forms the verandah. It is up the side of the house separated from the living space by means of a wall. Arrangements have been made for the provision of a latrine over the living space for storing sundry articles and for a chimney to lead the smoke of the kitchen hearth out of the house. The distance between two houses is 15 feet.

The village is in the middle of a forest. The Forest Department were kind enough to permit them to take gratis materials like wooden poles and some bamboo for the construction of the superstructure. The price of the materials taken under the privilege has been estimated at Rs 100 for each house. The foundation and the plaster of plaster stone which are obtainable in the house, is sufficient quantities. The walls 15 feet in height are of natural bricks. A reliable clay for the masonry houses of them is also obtainable locally. The tiles were manufactured in the adjoining village. Only lime and lime costing about Rs 10 per house were purchased from outside.

The land on which the houses are constructed was given. No extra difference in the cost of the construction of the foundation and the plaster was payable. But expenses for the other items were exactly equal to the cost of all the houses. The villagers themselves attended to the application of the forest for materials and

transported them from the forest to the house sites. Considerable quantities of bricks were manufactured by them. They also utilized the money by the laying of bricks. Professional bricklayers and brick manufacturers were invited from the neighbouring village to assist. These village men who were in over the houses. While the masonry and the brick manufacturers were paid the full price for the work done by them, the residents of the village were paid only 75 per cent of the wages that would have been paid ordinarily. The balance of 25 per cent was regarded as their contribution towards the expense of the construction of the houses. The expenses for the plastering of the walls and the construction of the flooring were arranged to be looked after by the members.

The expenses for the construction of the houses were as follows, they suggested the average of the cost of each house:

	Rs	p
1. The digging of the foundation 1500	—	—
2. The laying of the foundation and the plaster with granite stones 1500	150	0
3. The construction of 1500 bricks at Rs 11 per 1000. Each brick measuring 1 foot x 6 inches x 4 inches	165	0
4. The cost of transporting them from the site to the houses at Rs 5 per 1000	100	0
5. The laying of the bricks at Rs 30 per 1000	450	0
6. The construction of masonry superstructure and the laying of the tiles	120	0
7. The price of windows (extra)	40	0
8. Price of 2 doors (extra) and 2 window frames	120	0
9. Price of door and window shutters and latching them to the houses	20	0
10. Price of latrine and chimney	30	0
11. Charges for latching water from the river to the house-site	50	0
12. Miscellaneous charges, such as price of ropes, bamboo, etc.	10	0
13. Insurance charges, clerical and other visiting expenses satisfactory etc.	50	0
Total	Rs 1,500	0

If the full wages had been paid to all the masons there would have been an additional expense of Rs 177 and if the forest materials had not been given gratis there would have been a further expense of the Rs 100, thus making a total of just below Rs 1,800. The plastering of the houses and the preparing of the door were left to be done by the members themselves with their own funds at their leisure. The door has been prepared for all the houses but the work of plastering is not complete.

The scheme provided food and employment to the entire village. Men, women and children were engaged over a period of six months. The construction of the houses commenced in January and went on till the end of May. It gave Rs 15,000 to that village and Rs 1,500 to the adjoining village. The members began to settle in the houses in August 1950.

The loan is repayable in 10 annual instalments of Rs 15 each. It carries an interest of 1 per cent p.a.

It brought the district rank. 30 new settlers were 15 belonging to Arraigh and 15 of them other villages applied for loans of Rs 100 each for the construction of similar houses. They will make their own provision for the loan. In three other villages there will be a scheme for housing programme.

L. K. KALLAPUR

PRESIDENT'S PENSION

A Bill was introduced in the Parliament fixing a pension of Rs 1,500 for the President. The President's term of office is five years and during that period, he receives a pay of Rs 18,000/- a month and the pension is thus 1/6th of the pay.

A poor country like India cannot afford princely salaries or handsome pensions. They become a burden when deflation sets in, they are out of proportion to the average income of an ordinary citizen.

On principle, no pension should be granted to any Government servant, much less to the incumbent of the highest office in the State. It is re-considered with capitalised repugnance and makes the office a source of exploitation, and places the holder beyond the necessity of working for his loved. The man who confers the largest benefit on the State—the food producer—gets no pension, no honour, no commendation for his hard toil; he works to the best of his capacity till his demise and, when, altogether disabled depends upon the gratitude of his descendants. The Government servant gets all the good things of life during his tenure of office—his pay, his insurance, high connections, power of patronage, higher education for his children and commendation for their employment. Sometime after retirement, he takes up other paying trades or occupations. None of these chances are available for the common producer.

The producer is the taxpayer and is the employer of all servants. He is the donor of the salaries or pensions and the latter are the donors. He must not be called upon to confer benefits which he can never hope to taste or to shoulder burdens which he can never carry.

A convention must, therefore, grow up that he who is wedded to non-possession of property should be elected as the President of the Republic. He will, therefore, receive only what is actually necessary for his human needs and will not condemn to take more than that minimum. India will then realise the ideal of Servadaya, and set a noble example for the nations of the whole world.

Vinayakram, 28-01-50

HYDRABAD

(Note: Alternatively I would suggest, not in the name of Servadaya or any other ideal, but as a practical course and, not as a convention, but a definite rule, that a retiring President might be provided with a supplementary allowance, if his other means and sources are insufficient to enable him to provide himself with an income adequate for such a standard of living as the nation considered proper for an ex-President. The amount would vary for each ex-President, and might be varied from time to time, according to such ex-President obtained or ceased to obtain other income.

— K. G. M.)

A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF THAKKAR BAPA'S LIFE

1

A young engineer, in the service of a Kothari Railway, was busy laying new railway lines. Many of these were to go across the fields of some cultivators. A number of farmers approached the engineer with fairly large sums of money to induce him to so plan the new lines as not to cut through their fields. The sum offered for this was big enough. But without a moment's hesitation the engineer refused the offer and turned out the visitors. He was no other than Anandil Vithhaldas Thakkar, lovingly called Thakkar Bapa.

Thakkar Bapa was born in Sharnagar on 25th November, 1889 in a highly respected middle-class family. His father, Shri Vithhaldas Thakkar, was an orthodox Vaishnav, who earned his bread sometimes by service and at others by business, but devoted much of his time to the service of his community. He took a keen interest in the social and educational uplift of his community, and was responsible for establishing a Lokmanya Sharda High School in which he gave security the last years of his life. He had in all six sons and one daughter, among whom Anandil was second.

Vithhaldas was keen about the education of his sons. He desired that his sons should have college education. Bapa's family is considered to be the foremost among the linkans of Kothari with higher education.

Anandil passed his Matriculation in 1899 with good marks in Mathematics and received a State scholarship. He selected the civil engineer's course and joined the Engineering College at Poona. After three years he took the diploma of I. C. E.

Soon after this, he got an appointment as an overseer on the Harar Railway on a pay of Rs 75 per mensem. After a year he was appointed as an Assistant Engineer on the B. G. J. P. Railway of Kothari. The incident narrated at the beginning of the article refers to this period.

Anandil's standard of integrity did not suit his chief and he found it difficult to pull on with him. Ultimately 'Thakkar Bapa' resigned his post. He was immediately taken up as the Chief Engineer in Wadhwa State. After some two years he was invited by The Porbandar State, which he served till 1928. Here he contracted friendship with the late Sir H. S. Das who was the Chief Medical Officer there. This friendship resulted later on both of them joining the Servants of India Society.

But during the interval, Sir Thakkar had a variegated career. The Uganda Railway was being constructed in East Africa, and in response to an advertisement for engineers Anandil applied and received an appointment on a monthly salary of Rs. 500. He was posted at Hongkong. He has recorded in his diaries a

decided as court of law. He passed his three years in Adana. He kept himself in touch with events in India, and with current Gujarati literature, especially poetry, still also read and studied Hindu Scriptures.

It was during these years that the severe famine of 1869-1870 occurred in India. Amrith's father had opened a free kitchen for the poor of his community. He could collect money, but not so easily willing for an organization. Shri Viththalji personally looked to every item of work. He would stay till the last man in need had had his meals and the kitchen was cleaned. He would come home when it was past mid-day. He would find at the door, a crowd of about fifty to sixty shivering beggars. People at home were expected to keep ready plates of gharar or kharo bread to be distributed among them. He would do this with his own hands. Thereafter he would have his own mid-day meal.

In his fortnightly letters to Amrith, the father used to send details of his household work. They proved very inspiring to young Amrith and made him yearn for a life dedicated to the service of the people. Among his four gurus, as Thakkar Baps called them, his father's name stood first, the other three being Shri Viththal Kanga Shinde, G. K. Devdhar, and the venerable Shri D. K. Karve.

On the expiry of the term of contract he sailed back to India and after a brief year got an appointment in the Saurashtra State of Maharashtra (1880). Dr. Dew was already there as the Chief Medical Officer of the State, so that the two old friends of Porbandar were together once again. After about a year or so, Amrith Thakkar got an appointment in the Bombay Municipality. He was posted at Kurla. His job was to inspect the Charpoy Light Railway line that carried the refuse of the whole city of Bombay to Kurla side, where the municipal sweepers were to collect it from the wagons and bury it in the pits dug for the purpose. It was here that he came in direct touch with sweepers and got a first-hand knowledge of the miserable lot of the Bhandis and the Mahars who had to do this work. He saw their wretched dwellings. Many of them hailed from Gujarat and had paid a pretty good sum to the middle-men as *danash* (tip-money) in order to secure a job. They also borrowed money from Patidar money-lenders at exorbitant rates of interest. They started their career as debtors and got no chance to extricate themselves from that condition even after years of service. Unfortunately, after people before him must have covered these things but they took them as a matter of course. But for Shri Thakkar they had a different appeal. He made a resolve to ameliorate the lot of these people. He had only to know the way to do it.

Amrith had been married while still a student in the High School, to a young lady named Jinhambai. She bore him a son who died in his sixth year. There was no other issue. Jinhambai died of tuberculosis in 1907. Amrith was married again to Dinabai in 1908 but she too died in less than two years. He remained a widower thereafter.

It was about this period that the Servants of India Society and the Depressed Classes

movements were organized by the late G. K. Gokhale and Viththal Kanga Shinde respectively. Thakkar Baps contacted Shinde and studied his work. He became his warm admirer and was deeply touched by the amazing but wonderful work which his mission was doing to elevate the depressed classes. He had been fighting against the orthodoxy of the Hindu society, under circumstances much harder than those that later workers had to face.

A year's service in Kurla brought to the notice of his superiors Shri Thakkar's capacity and efficiency as an engineer and his sterling honesty, and within a short period he was made the Superintendent of Roads of the Bombay Municipality on a monthly salary of Rs. 300.

While in Bombay, Amrith rapidly developed close intimacy with Shri Devdhar and other members of the Servants of India Society. He also got closely acquainted with the noble and admirable work that was started by Prof. Karve for widows. As stated before, he regarded Karve and Devdhar as his third and fourth gurus respectively. After his duties of the day were over Thakkar Baps would often work up to the Society's House and discuss with them plans for the uplift of the depressed classes, and for organizing co-operative societies to redress them from indebtedness. This part-time or spare-time work became a regular feature with him.

But a strong feeling that part-time public work was not enough arose in him and he requested his father to spare him for the service of the down-trodden. But the father replied, 'No, not so long as I live, and I have not many years of life yet,' and Baps obeyed. The father (Viththalji) died in 1913, and by the end of that year Thakkar Baps prepared himself completely for the service of the submerged humanity. He made the necessary arrangements for the members of his family and settled the accounts freely. In January 1914, the Municipal Commissioner received the resignation of Shri Thakkar. He tried to dissuade him from taking that step, gave a promise of another big promotion and asked him to finish 15 years of service, which would entitle him to a proportionate pension. But it was now impossible for Shri Thakkar to hold on for a day longer. The call of his conscience, which he had suppressed with difficulty in obedience to his father's wishes, could no longer be disregarded.

G. K.

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

EDITED BY K. G. HARBETSWALA



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TWO ANNAS

GANDHI IS TIMELESS

At midnight on August 14, 1947, I was present in the Legislative Assembly when power over India was transferred from British to Indian hands. I was profoundly struck by the fact that Gandhiji was not there. On Thursday, January 24, 1950, India became an independent Republic. Again Gandhiji was not present. And yet, we err when we say he was not present as President Day or at the time of the founding of the Republic. He was there far he is timeless. He was in Delhi on August 15, in the words of the speakers in their hearts, and in the very fact of freedom. His stage today is upon the Republic, he is one of its great foundation stones. For Gandhiji is timeless, as timeless as the sun and the stars, as the hills and the seas. When Delhi is in dust and when Washington is no more, he will still live.

He is timeless because of his concentration in Truth—to the eternal. On August 11, 1947, I asked him the question as to the use of non-violent method to compose the struggle in America between the white and the darker races. He said he was unable to help me for he himself was in darkness. He described his long struggle to convince his people of the validity of the spirit of non-violence—non-violence in thought and word and deed. But then he returned to the fighting which at that moment was going on in Calcutta. I ventured that perhaps he was too pessimistic. To which he replied, "I am not pessimistic because I believe in Truth. Even though the whole world goes against me, I will still believe in it. That is my optimism. I sleep well at night."

The genius of Mahatma Gandhi lay not only in his timelessness but in the fact that he translated the timeless into time, ideals into reality. Upon his death, I was deeply disappointed in spite of the commiseration upon him. He was called a saint and an idealist, and men were warned that they could not be expected to follow his lofty teachings. What we have in his life is a record of the realization of ideals which he taught.

He demonstrated, for example, the only truly effective way for men to gain their freedom

in this world. In leading India into her freedom, he demonstrated that first, the oppressed must never cease to seek his freedom; second, he must seek his freedom in such a manner as always to preserve his own soul; and third, he must seek his freedom in a manner that will lift to a higher moral and spiritual plane the oppressor from whom he wrests his freedom.

Path of Peace

In the second place he demonstrated the only true and lasting way to bring lasting and warring factions into reconciliation. Toward mid-August of 1947, he was besieged by the people of Calcutta to resolve their and try to bring calm out of the chaos that was developing—peace out of the conflict. His answer was that he would stay provided he could move about the city, in his room, on the prayer ground, everywhere, in company with the Muslim Premier who was regarded as a bitter enemy of his own people. This was a revolutionary suggestion. It was accepted, however, and in the wake of this action there came upon Calcutta a peace which had not been known in that city for months on end.

Later, when violence broke out again in Calcutta, he entered upon his last of unrelenting duration. Calcutta, by this act, was lifted to the greatest heights of self-examination, self-criticism, and penitence, and when finally he broke his fast, a peace descended upon that city which lasted for months. All men know the story of the Delhi fast and of its enormous fruits to the stricken people of that city and of India. In all of these ways he performed the miracle of transforming the ideal into reality.

Men will continue to believe in Gandhiji, to revere him, and to emulate him. The great question to the world standing today is whether or not they will follow him. Let us pray for an affirmative answer to this question by men everywhere as individuals and as the nations of the earth.

(DR) WILLIAM STUART NELSON,
Dean of Harvard University (USA)

A NEW SITUATION CREATED BY VANASPATI

Although it may have been possible for *ghams* to withstand competition from the crushing mills to some extent so far, it is going to be very hard for them to be able to do so hereafter. Vanaspatis is making it difficult for the small man to operate at all. It is leading to monopolizing the crushing of seeds by big concerns alone. Vanaspatis can fetch higher and higher prices as it bears resemblance to *gham* and catches the imagination of the consumers. This has raised the price of oil, specially groundnut oil, which is used for vanaspathi. Groundnut oil has ceased to be the cheapest edible oil that it used to be. The average annual price of groundnut oil was less than that of linseed oil by about 12½ per cent. In May 1950, the price of groundnut oil per maund at Bombay was Rs 48-4-10 and for linseed oil, 43-7-2. The groundnut oil has become costlier than linseed oil by about 11.2 per cent. With the rise in price of groundnut oil, the prices of other oils have also risen in sympathy. The prices of oils have consequently proportionately risen. The Government of India's Economic Adviser Index Numbers of prices show that in July 1950, while the cotton price rose to 483, those of *gaur* and *soya* rose to 353 and 345 respectively and that of groundnut rose to 391, taking August 1939 prices at 100 for all the above four. This abnormal rise in the price of groundnut is due to a major factor, viz. *vanaspathi*, in addition to the general rise in prices.

With practically no resources at his hand, the village oil-presser is unable to hold any stock for crushing. Even the duration of the season when seeds are available to him for crushing is getting shorter. It is difficult even for an ordinary co-operative society in a village to keep up a capital of the order of about Rs 15,000/- which is required to stock seeds for running a unit of 2 *ghams*. The high prices are diverting more and more oilseeds from the villages to the factories. This process is bound to eliminate the village oil-presser from the field of operation. Adequate steps should therefore be taken for the retention of sufficient oilseeds in the villages through the arrangements of Government godowns and with the help of all regulatory powers if necessary.

It is not only the small oil-presser who is thus crushed by vanaspathi. The poorer sections of the rural population are practically being deprived of their quota of edible oils. The story of the controlled large-scale oil mills thus makes disconcerting reading. They began with a claim of supplying cheaper oil than the *gham* to the consumers. Together with their appendages, the co-operative factories, these mills seem to end in making the oils more and more costly. Thus the question of the relative efficiency of

the *gham* and the mill declines into insignificance before a new set of circumstances created by powerful influences working towards centralization.

JEANVEDRANATH PATEL

HIMALAYAN LESSONS

II

At Nihharth

At Nihharth people had kindly put at our disposal one of the only two private houses in the place, which belong to the Nepal royal family. These buildings usually remain empty, with the inevitable result that they are slowly, but surely, crumbling away. However, though the doors and windows were hard to open and shut, and the kitchen had no roof, the rest of the house was spacious, and kept out the rain. There, as we came to know in our later peregrinations, were luxuries we were not going to find again.

The little temple of Nihharth Mahadev lies at the confluence of two small mountain streams, with the hills rising steeply on three sides. The house we occupied was situated about 100 yards up the right bank of the main stream, on a small piece of flat ground cut out of the side of the mountain, from where one looked down on to the roofs of the little buildings surrounding the temple, which stood in a thick grove, the shade itself being held in the embrace of an ancient purple tree.

Crushing & sale

I immediately began to look about for a possible site for the contemplated branch Ashram, but this was not easy. Though these first mountain ranges are not very high (3,000 to 5,000 ft.) they are very steep, with deep valleys, and there is hardly a flat piece of ground or a level path to be found anywhere. I used to be a good walker in the old days, but now, at 58, I found it a bit of a strain to climb up these precipitous paths. When I had come back to Peshawar, so there was nowhere for him to live or to gaze, and now-a-days his front legs are not quite strong enough for the steep mountain paths. Anyway by studying the map and the landscape from nearby hill tops I began to get a clear idea of the countryside. The villagers also began coming in from round about. Each one would explain how his village was the ideal place for the Ashram. This was very complimentary, but not very helpful.

Problems of the Present

Day by day, as I contemplated the landscape and listened to the villagers' talks, several things began to impress themselves upon me. The most striking was the lack of any practical Government help or guidance—only dues to be paid and a certain amount of harassment. What I have often felt in the *ghams* I felt with double force up in these hills, and that is that the

villagers pull on not because of the Government, but despite of it.

All agricultural operations throughout the Himalayas have to be carried on in terraced fields. The rice fields are very well built up but the others are often so badly made that the soil is getting washed away year by year, and patches of erosion are spreading. It is a hard job to prepare and keep in repair these terraced fields, and the peasantry being poor and neglected conditions go on deteriorating. Their handicrafts in the Nilkanth area are in no better state. Cotton spinning and weaving is neglected. Close contact with the modernised plains has also spoiled the former tenacity of these lower hillmen. The peasants look down on the sparkling electric lights of Haridwar and Dehradun and like moths, rush into the fire, only to get burnt up morally and physically.

The cow, as a milk-producer has so seriously deteriorated in these mountains that she gives about half a litre (1 lb.) per day. A cow giving 3 litres (12 lb.) is looked upon as something very special. The chief cause for this seems to be the absence of any breeding bulls. Such local bulls as I saw were little brown fellows, not bigger than a lowland calf of 25 months.

The Little Fellow's Pain

On the steep hillside opposite the house in which we were staying, there was a little cottage with terraced fields belonging to the chowkidar. I used to visit these cottages and fields. My attention was particularly attracted by a small girl which lived tied up in front of the cottage. I used to play with the children and secured very much attached to its owners. If the whole family happened to go out to work in the fields, it used to bleat frantically, and on their return would greet them with bounding joy. I thought of climbing up one day to the cottage and said to myself, "I will take a little grain for the goat, and play with it for a while." But in a day or two there was no sound of its voice and it was not to be seen. That evening Swami and Bhawan Singh on their return from a walk reported having met the chowkidar family returning from the nearby temple of Bhawerchandra, with the remains of the goat in a basket! They had remarked since little friend as a preliminary to a feast of meat! It is no good getting angry. If people so near to us still have lived half in actual starvation, we should blame ourselves, and make a concerted effort to bring such practices to an end through the spread of enlightened sentiments and beliefs.

The Flight of Holy Places

Unfortunately for us we had come to Nilkanth in the height of the pilgrim season. On Sundays and Mondays the place used to become packed. Sometimes over two hundred people would be crowded into the tiny valley. The charangshals by the temple would overflow and the rest of the crowd would surge into the house

next to ours. The worst part of it all was the complete lack of any sanitary arrangements, and until there had been two or three heavy down-pours of rain to wash away the filth. This condition of things is not peculiar to Nilkanth, but is common to the shrines and pilgrim centres throughout Uttarakhand. The so-called guardians and servants at shrines in these parts, as elsewhere, amass huge piles of wealth out of the donations of the devotees. But what happens to these piles of money? Precious little of it goes towards the well-being of the pilgrims, or the purity and beautification of the holy temples and shrines. Charangshals are inadequate, sanitary arrangements are nil, and the surroundings of the sacred temples and shrines are not adorned, as they should be, with lovely flowers and fruits, but are, instead, encircled with bad nightsoil and the hateful smell of human urine. At the same time there is no feeling of sanctity, no impressive chanting of Vedic mantras or uplifting ceremonies, or readings from the scriptures. All is unbridled, undisciplined noise and shouting. The people who are responsible for this state of affairs are never tired of crying "Hinduland in danger"! The greatest danger to Hinduland is from these very people themselves.

Mosquitoes, Bugs and Skinners

In the days when by the climate at Nilkanth became more and more oppressive. The clouds sat on our heads, the rain poured down and to add to our troubles mosquitoes and bugs started tormenting us. We ate kept good health, and Krishnamurti, each time he had visited our camp, collapsed with a severe attack of fever immediately on his return to Peshawar. At last he said he decided to come up at all. As for myself, my health, which was sufficiently run down from the beginning got steadily worse. Now-a-days, if I get overwhelmed on the climate dangers with me or both, as was the case at Nilkanth, I develop severe pain in the head and a feeling of sickness which leaves me very exhausted. These such attacks get hold of me in succession, the last being exceptionally severe. It had become clear that Nilkanth was no place for a branch Ashram, and we all felt that the sooner we got away the better. But where to go, and how to get there in this weather?

MIRA

(To be continued)

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HARIJAN

Feb 24

1951

THE REALIZATION OF SARVODAYA

This is the last number of this volume. The year which we have left behind has not been looked upon by the people in general as showing indications of leading them from darkness towards light, from a sense of depression and frustration towards that of inspiration and hope. Nature has not been very kind to the country, and those whom the people looked to for working for their well-being have looked in their eyes as improving their condition. Further, there is a growing feeling that the situation has gone worse during the year. Almost every ail institution shows signs of demoralization. Most seem to work with a unity of purpose, a common mind, faith in a common creed, loyalty to a common ideal and feeling of mutual respect and affection among principal workers. Old organizations have been breaking up into various groups, none of which is composed of persons who inspire people with their sterling character, capacity and high moral standards. There is a general feeling comparable to that of a people sailing in a ship, which they suspect to be sinking. It is provided with several boats and life-belts which are unmanageable, due to their being damaged. They have not the courage to plunge into the sea with any of these saving appliances, and still less on the strength of their own faith. They look in all directions to see if any ship will come to their rescue. They feel now and then as if they saw a ship on the horizon, and cry out to it for help. But they get no answer. Sometimes a ship is seen to have heard their call, but it too fails to give them the aid they need. The crew of their despair may be gauged.

There are several who are conscious of this state of the popular mind, and feel that something must be done to change this situation. It is imperatively necessary, they feel, that the people must be provided with a proper medium for effectively expressing their grievances, and guided to some work, which they might undertake on their own initiative and with self-help. It must be such as might make them feel while doing it that they have found a way which will lead them to a better life, and give them strength to resist the evil which seems to surround them on all sides. They feel that if the people can be made to discover their own strength and set to work in an orderly fashion with faith and hope they might realize that the remedy for some of their ills lies in their own hands, that some of them are more imaginary than real and some need only to be expressed in a determined and unshakeable manner for their redress.

I have noticed this expectation of the public. How it can be fulfilled, of this I have not a clear idea. The attempt of Harijan has been all along two-fold : to give expression to the hardships of the people in a truthful manner along with an analysis of their causes and suggestions for meeting them, and to create in the people the real strength of freedom, that is self-help.

Ultimately we can have only such Government and social and economic order as we deserve. Self-Government can be Good Government only if we work for it, suffer for it to make it so. It cannot drop for us from the sky, nor can it come merely from the brain of a leader or a philosopher with his elaborate plans or accurate diagnosis and theories. Good Government like the remedies of a metaphysician demands a careful, determined and life-long discipline. In Sanshodhaya in the beginning, the patient has to submit to a course of fasts, herbs, exercises, briefly restricted diets consisting of foods which do not give him satisfaction of a full and tasty meal, and several other curious practices, which he feels to be tedious and anything but natural. Provided the patient has sufficient vitality still subsisting when he begins the treatment and provided he patiently and meticulously follows the treatment he may hope to see himself restored to real health and enjoy its blessings. But if, like me, a patient is unable to submit himself to all such discipline, and in contrast to carry on with drugs which give temporary relief to some extent, without giving up the habit of violating truthfulness with Good Government and Sarvodaya. We can have them only if we will patiently work for them. Let us resolve to do so, and God Who blessed us with great among men like Gandhi and his illustrious companions and contemporaries, will surely help us further.

Wardha 1952 51.

S. L. NARAYAN.

PROMOTION ENQUIRY

Since I wrote on this subject, I have received a copy of the terms of reference of the Madhya Pradesh Promotion Enquiry Committee. They are as follows:

"The Committee shall—

- (1) examine how far provision has been effective in achieving its primary objective of eliminating or reducing the class evil;
- (2) examine whether it has given an impetus to metropolitan work in class elimination, unemploying, and amelioration of distressed substances;
- (3) examine whether and if so, how far it has contributed to the dispersal of law to general;
- (4) examine whether and if so, how far it has led to corruption;
- (5) inquire whether it has resulted in any improvement in the economic and physical condition of the destitute classes and whether the general standard of living has risen in any way affected, and if so how far;
- (6) ascertain what effect, if any, it has had on the efficiency and well-being of labour in the industrial areas;
- (7) examine what effect, if any, it has had on juvenile and juvenile delinquency.

(ii) examine what extent, if any, it has lost in the general financial position and inflationary pressure.

(iii) examine how far the policy of prohibition has received the active support of the people in general, and

(iv) make recommendations with regard to the policy the State Government should adopt in future.

The issues traced above are not quite as fair as are expected of a Government definitely committed to prohibition. They give, not to say wrong, an indefinite lead to the Committee and the public about the nature of evidence to be particularly collected. But I shall not resort to hair-splitting arguments on that point. I would be prepared to regard such a "fact-finding" inquiry as proper, if the terms of reference had been preceded by a clear preamble. No such preamble is given in the appointment order itself. It is provided by a Press Note. It, too, lacks definiteness, and seems to forget the existence of Art. 47 of the Constitution as well as the mandate of the Congress, which are definite in their respective directives. When the Press Note says that "the objective of Government in introducing prohibition was to ameliorate the moral, social, economic and physical condition of the people", it forgets that it is a servant of the Constitution since 26th January, 1950, and was an agent of the Congress before that. The Constitution and the Congress might put both these objectives, but so far as the Madhya Pradesh Government is concerned, it has to go further than the objective, namely, to carry out its duties.

It is not a Government which has been set up under Art. 31 of the Constitution. This is looking in the direction. The Government attitude is what is termed 'an open-minded approach'. It may be a good approach for a principal or for a scientist. It may be an allowable approach in the absence of a definite direction. But like a court of execution or an agent, the Government has no scope for an open mind here. It has not even the liberty to be satisfied with a 'reduction' of the consumption of intoxicating drinks and drugs. It has to prohibit their consumption, except for medicinal purposes. The Committee appointed ought to have been told this, and the last term of reference should have been "to make recommendations with regard to the measures which the State Government should adopt in future for successfully carrying out the principle of prohibition as required by Arts. 37 & 47 of the Constitution read together".

Wardha, 14-3-61. K. C. MASHKURKHA.

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LESSON OF THE THREE MONKEYS

While going through the literature on mental hygiene, I came across the following:—
"Particularly it is highly desirable that the next generation should not be able to feel themselves as cowardly and as unconsciously and as easily as we have done. They should not be the same kind of people who can avoid unpleasant things by not looking at them. They should not be brought up, as many of us have been brought up, on a perfectly ghastly symbol, that I am afraid many of you have seen in quite avoided houses. The symbol I refer to is three little monkeys, one with his hands over his ears, who will hear nothing distressing, who will hear no evil, another with his hands over his eyes, who will not see evil, another with his hands over his mouth preventing his saying anything about it."

I was amazed to find such a caricature of a beautiful idea. The intolerance and lack of understanding appeared to me inconsistent with the very fundamental of mental hygiene. While it is perfectly true that we must do everything possible to avoid self-deception and face the facts of life, the distortion chosen by the author in support of his argument is unbelievable. The lesson of the three monkeys is not to avoid hearing of distressing things or to escape the unpleasant duty of raising one's voice against them. The three monkeys simply say: *do not talk to others, do not listen to those who talk ill of others. Let not your eyes dwell on things evil, rather use them to pursue good.* We all know how some people delight in talking about a particular thing being evil because in worldly that particular evil has a fascination for them. The lesson of the three monkeys is not to seek an inverted pleasure in evil while denouncing it but to seek and find good even in things evil.

What is the meaning of not to see or hear evil? There is plenty of evil in the world. But there is plenty of good too in the world. What we seek we find. The philosopher who conceived the symbol of the three monkeys wants us to concentrate on the good in the world rather than evil. We become what we think. In order to avoid evil from entering into our own lives we must avoid dwelling upon it needlessly. It is only a man leading a good life who can resist evil. Mahatma Gandhi kept the three monkeys on his table and called them his *gurus* (teachers). He did not accuse him of taking evil lying low. All his life he fought evil in every walk of life, social, political and economic. But the rock-bottom of his efforts was a living faith in the essential goodness of human nature. If man appears to act evilly, there is always a reason for it. Man is a combination of the divine and the brute and the way to light the brute or the evil instincts in us is to awaken and strengthen the divine. The form of character is not ultimately brought

about by the demonstration or wide publication of the evil or the punishment of the evil-doer, but by making him see his mistake. Suppose someone on hearing a child innocently, should I, too, hit him on the head in order to stop him? No. First, in that case, I endorse the same principle on which he has acted. The right way to do so is make him see his mistake in a positive manner. The principle involved is the principle of mental hygiene — not to drive the evil inward by suppressing the manifestation of outward symptoms, but to cure it by raising his healthier or better self — to treat him as a sick man and find the cause of his peculiar malady. One of superior force might cause him to desist for the time, but he will indulge in it or something worse whenever he gets the chance again. Instead of that if he can be made to see his mistake and desist, the cure would be permanent.

In the language of the philosopher who designated the three monkeys we must not keep our eyes glued on the evil deed — we must get behind it and try to see some spark of goodness on which we can work and build. It is the same principle which has led to the psychiatric treatment of delinquents. In the case of a delinquent child we try to divert his emotions and aggressive impulses into constructive channels. We must use similar techniques for children to grow-up men. Prevention is better than cure, but we cannot afford to neglect the sick. In order to treat them and to prevent mental ill-health in the coming generations, we must ever steadily make an effort to cultivate our own mental health. An essential requisite for that is to repeatedly turn the searchlight towards us distinguished from morbid brooding over real or imaginary sins. And I must not force my truth on any one. I must be open-minded enough to try to see the truth from another's viewpoints and be humble enough to accept it and admit my own mistake if I can see it. Only when I find after an impartial examination as possible that the other person is wrong I must stick to my truth and then my duty is even to die for it if necessary.

Without any study of the scientific theories and principles of psychiatry, Goethe had come to recognise that mental health, peace of the individual and peace of the nation depended on the inner growth and maturity of men and women so that they should be able to say what they think and do what they say. This has been termed by the philosophers "adherence to truth as thought word and deed." The pursuit of truth is only possible through the practice of love. Men of truth and love do not look for evil, do not talk about any belief in evil but try to eliminate evil through the practice of good — the practice of truth and love.

That is the lesson of the three monkeys — the essential lesson for those who wish to work for peace, goodwill and brotherhood of man.

Such people ever keep growing and help others to grow till they have attained full emotional maturity which is synonymous with the attainment of inner wisdom (intelligence) of the Bhagavadgita.

New Delhi, 22-12-60

SURESH NAYAR

SELF-HELP IN RURAL UPLIFT

(The following is abridged from the report of the Transportation Plans Development Office of the upper west zone in the Agartala village in the Madhupur district of the Madras State. Similar work is being done in some other villages also of that zone. The inmates of the Madhupur Jail, have been doing constructive work in that area for long. It seems the idea was prepared by their activities and it is now being built under the present Government's programme. This is an excellent model of attention to village welfare and co-operation to do work on similar lines. — Jpd)

There are about 40 houses with a population of 600 people. The village has constructed good masonry drains carrying away rain and sewer at their own cost. The work was undertaken by the local Government functionaries and the required money was collected from the people according proportionately to the length of the drain, that was to run in front of their respective houses. In the case of poor labourers who were unable to find money for such work, the committee itself has helped them by paying the cost from the common fund. The estimated cost per running foot of drain was about Rs 2124 but when it was actually done by the villagers it came to only about Rs 1220. 2,500 feet of the drains have been constructed at the cost of individual villagers and the rest at the common cost. There is no house in the village which has not been provided with a drain in its front. The first water that is drained through the drains is collected in 2 big masonry pits separate from one another and the whole drain, although it is designed for the purpose of taking it into earth, there will be usually 2 pits, so that when one is filled up, the other is used. The material that is collected from the pits is carried and the material so obtained is added to the common village fund. There is a great demand for the material so prepared and it is found very useful for crops and vegetables. Government have contributed only Rs 500 towards the cost of the disposal drain and the balance has been met by the villagers. The estimated cost of the drains is about Rs 4500.

For the construction of the drains technical advice was given by the department. A sanitation expert has also been posted in the village who will do the street cleaning once in a week. It is now planned that once in a week the material saved with the help of the villagers will do the street cleaning of the village in the morning and evening. Men and women in the morning. They will have the community prayers in the place which has been chosen in the morning. The village Sanjay Sangham are leading people.

3. The villagers are also constructing a village road around their village at their own cost to enable them to take their bullock carts to the fields and to serve as a means of communication.

In the matter of construction of the village road the arrangement is that each household owner should give his own free cost in a week and work hand-labour should also contribute labour free cost in a week. All the work is finished. The work is almost completed. Besides the construction of the village road all the sanitary pits are also dug up and the drains are laid up by special methods of earth on them.

3. The village has now an elementary school run by the District Board. With a view to convert the school into a high school the villagers have contributed 2 acres of land free and also Rs 2,000 towards the cost of the construction of the building.

4. The villagers have been interested in opening schools. There are about 30 schools working. Generally women and children do opening work regularly. It is proposed to start evening class in this village very shortly.

5. A (Panchayat) Board and a multi-purpose co-operative society have also been formed.

6. There is an adult night-school.

7. A banyan is being constructed for the purpose of starting a maternity home.

8. It is one of the five villages in the State area that has taken a leading part in Harijan uplift work.

9. A few Harijan-type single-story houses are in use in the village. The work of constructing a new type of house based on Varanasi pattern has been started.

10. Besides the above activities great attention has been paid to developing village cultural activities like the radio and the reading room etc.

A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF THAKKAR BAPU'S LIFE

II

Thakkar Bapu made up his mind to join the Servants of India Society. Dr Desai, who had also made up his mind to do so, recommended him to Shri Gokhale. At first Thakkar Bapu proposed that during his period of probation in the Society, he should go on a long leave from his service in the Municipality, and resign after his regular confirmation as a member. But Shri Gokhale did not want half-hearted people. He sternly told him to burn his boats if he wanted to be a Servant of India. Hence, Thakkar Bapu resigned outright, and both he and Dr Desai were accepted as full members immediately.

He was 45 years old then, and did his death at the age of 64 served the country with a devotion and energy now well known to every one.

Bapu's first work as a Servant of India was one after his own heart—famine relief work in U. P. Since that time he has appeared on the scene of every famine and flood in the country with his well-organized relief measures. In 1905, he organized co-operative societies for sermpers and agriculturists in Bombay. In 1906, he organized famine relief work in Cutch. In 1907, he worked in collaboration with Shri Devdhar and Joshi in conducting a revenue inquiry in the Kutch district of Gujarat.

In 1909, he performed one of the most remarkable pieces of his life's service. In that year Orissa was under the sway of a widespread and intense famine. At Gandhiji's request Thakkar Bapu went to Orissa to put in operation comprehensive famine-relief measures.

While the Orissa work was still unfinished, the Servants of India Society desired him to go to British Guiana for assisting some of our countrymen there. Gandhiji did not appreciate this step, and he wrote to Shri Shrinivasa Shastri:

"I wanted to take to you about a matter I proposed with in British Guiana. This work is so close there is not to be compared with the work he is at present doing in Orissa. Any Guianese man could go to British Guiana but no one can efficiently replace him in Orissa. I hope therefore that you will not require him but he has finished his famine work."

And so Bapu was allowed to continue his work.

In 1911, Shri Thakkar was engaged in which work in Kutcharwad. Like Gandhiji, he also was a firm believer in hand-opening. 1911 saw him again doing famine relief work in the Panchmahals in Gujarat. In 1912, he founded the Sars Seva Mandal of Dohad. The work started with 4 settlements in the rural parts, each of which contained a school, a small dispensary and a centre for temperance and health propaganda and miscellaneous social welfare work, including the introduction of mount training in Bhal boarding schools. The years 1914, '15 were mostly spent by him in the consolidation and extension of Bhal and Antyaga Seva Mandal work in Gujarat.

In 1920, he also spent about 3 months in studying the questions of the aboriginal tribes in U. P. (now N. P.), Assam and Chhota Nagpur. These and further studies of his have led to the presentation of definite schemes for the amelioration of the aboriginal tribes in the country as a whole.

He also took share in a movement for administrative reforms in the Indian States and presided in 1926 over the Dharwar State Subjects' Conference. In 1927, he presided over the Kathiawar States People's Conference at Porbandar. In the same year, he worked as a flood relief engineer in Gujarat, Saurashtra, South and Orissa.

Between the years 1928 and 1930, Thakkar Bapu devoted his life to the problem of the Indian States and constitutional reforms therein. He took part in the Kathiawar Political Conference and the All India States People's Conference. He was a member of a Committee appointed by the latter body to inquire into the grievances of the people of Poonah against their ruler. A report of this Committee attracted wide attention and led to the institution of a departmental enquiry by the Government of India.

As a result of Thakkar Bapu's efforts, the Bombay Government appointed a committee to inquire into the social, economic and educational condition of the depressed classes and aboriginal tribes in the Presidency and to report upon measures for their uplift. In 1931, he made a survey of the municipalities in Gujarat. In 1932, he was engaged in flood relief work in Assam. Thus between 1928 and 1934, he was also engaged in famine relief work during nearly the whole of the period, and attended particularly to the reconstruction and repairs of charwellahs, schools, wells etc.

In 1930, the country was convulsed with the civil disobedience movement. At that time Bapu was working in Gujarat, the nerve centre of the movement. While observing the picketing of a liquor shop at Mehadah he was arrested on 2nd August 1930, and was sentenced to 6 months' hard labour, but was released after about 2 months.

They soon came a New Order. Thakkar Bapa could work not only in close co-operation but also in intimate association with Gandhiji. The story of Gandhiji's epic fast unto death to resist the Communal Award and the Poona Pact is well known. Thakkar Bapa played a very important role in the negotiations leading to the Poona Pact and was one of its signatories. He was appointed General Secretary of the Anti-Untouchability League as the Marathi South Group was then called.

Soon after taking up the new post, he toured all the provinces of India for over 6 months and studied the extent and intensity of the problem of untouchability. In less than a year he organised 22 provincial branches and 178 district centres. He travelled long distances and paid divided attention even to distant frontiers. He also accompanied Gandhiji on his famous tour for Harijan work and travelled more than 1200 miles in 8 months.

In 1935, Congress Government took office in the provinces. Thakkar Bapa toured extensively, interviewed the Premiers and Deputies of the various Provinces and States, urging on them the need to provide for liberal expenditure for Harijan uplift. He prepared a scheme for Harijan uplift in all the provinces where the Congress party was in power and established it in the Ministries in the respective provinces.

In 1940 Thakkar Bapa was Chairman of a Committee appointed by the Government of Orissa to inquire into and report on the condition of the backward people there. After an extensive tour he submitted the Committee's report to the Orissa Government recommending various administrative changes and amelioration measures for the backward. In the same year, he again made an all-India tour for Harijan work. Side by side with that, he visited areas inhabited by the Gonds, Kayas and Bards. Parajis in Orissa and other castes for aborigines in Assam and Khandesh.

1943 was a year of distress in several parts of the country. Thakkar Bapa was present in almost every one of these scenes of calamitous suffering. The people of Orissa had suffered a great deal from the cyclone and the consequent loss of standing crops. Thakkar Bapa organised famine relief work with the help of the public men of Orissa. It was largely due to Bapa's influence that money and crops for famine relief were collected. He also played a notable part in the relief of the Bengal famine.

1944 found him busy with the Orissa Famine Relief work, Harijan work and Ab-origines work. He took a leading part in organizing the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Fund and was appointed Secretary of the Fund and subsequently of the Trust. In the same year he found Varanasi Sanshodhan Mandal in C. P. (now M. P.). It was about this time that he developed cancer in his eyes.

In 1945, he became the Secretary of the Mahatma Memorial Memorial Fund. In 1946, he proposed five-year Adhyatma Welfare plans for the

Prabar and M. P. Governments. He was appointed Vice-president of the Adhyatma Mandal, Ranchi. He also worked in Noakhali and Tippera districts with Gandhiji. In 1947 he was elected Chairman of the Evacuated and Partially-Evacuated Areas Sub-Committee of the Constituent Assembly, and member of the Sub-Committee for Assam. He was elected, in October 1948, from the Union of Sarawaka to the Constituent Assembly of which he remained active member till the framing of the Constitution.

In 1948, he completed 90 years. India celebrated his birthday in a befitting manner and presented him with a Commemorative Volume.

He already had heart-attacks before then, and his health was visibly declining. But he would not rest as long as he could not sit up and move. Towards the middle of 1948, he went to his paternal home in Bhavanager for a short rest, and had sustained repeated attacks of fever and heart-disease, and became incapable of undertaking tours any longer. Non-the-less, whenever he felt energy enough to go about, he visited local institutions and took part in local engagements. On hearing of the Assam Earthquake he felt sorely distressed that he could not personally visit that State. He however deputed one of his able colleagues to help the Assam Government in the Relief operations. He kept himself well informed of all current events and the welfare of his workers and children in the various schemes and personal friends. The pain which now afflicted him greatly and made him unhappy. He knew that his condition was growing near, but he knew no depression and thought of his work and his beloved friends as if he was deathless and agnostic.

He expired on the day of his death the date and name of the week-day, and bearing that it was Friday, the 15th January, he seems to have derived some satisfaction at the prospect of his end that day, as Friday happens to be the day of death of, among others, Gokhale, Gandhiji and the Sardar, and 16th (2d February, 1915) was the date on which Gokhale had died.

Thus ended the career of a great saint of modern times.

Compiled from various articles from
the Thakkar Bapa and Bhikaji
Commemorative Volume. O. H.

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